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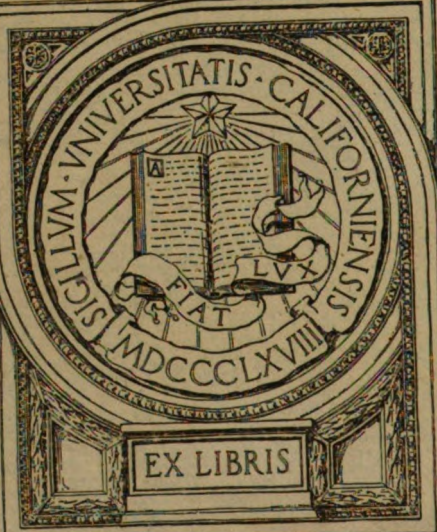
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of Great Britain & Ireland*

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland



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OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Śrāvastī*. By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S., M.R.A.S.

IN a recent paper Dr. Bloch has made a valuable contribution to knowledge by publishing an edition and translation of the inscription on the colossal statue found at Sāhet-Māhet by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1862-63. When Dr. Bloch published this paper he had not read my essay entitled "*Kausāmbī and Śrāvastī*." I have since sent him a copy of my paper, but he still adheres to the view expressed in his. I may therefore deal with Dr. Bloch's statement of opinion as if he had expressly considered my views and had rejected them. I propose in the following pages to defend my position.

The inscription, which is imperfect at the beginning, is translated as follows by Dr. Bloch:—

" (*During the reign of —, in the year —, season —, half-month —, on the*) 19th (*day*), on this date (*specified as*) above, (*this statue of*) a Bodhisattva, (together with) an umbrella and a stick, (being) the gift of the monk Bala, a teacher of the Tripiṭaka, (*and*) fellow-wanderer of the monk Pusya-(*mitra*), has been set up in Ārāvastī, at the place where the Blessed One (i.e. Buddha) used to walk,

in the Kosamba-kuṭī, for the acceptance of the teachers belonging to the Sarvāstivāda School.”¹

The inscription unquestionably states that this statue was set up in Śrāvastī. For my present purpose, namely, the discussion of the position of Śrāvastī, I am not concerned with any other information to be deduced from the record. The image having been set up in Śrāvastī, and having been found in Sāhet, a section of the ruins of Sāhet-Māhet, the conclusion necessarily follows that, if the image when found was in its original position, Sāhet must be Śrāvastī.

Dr. Bloch fully recognizes the necessity of establishing the proposition that the statue when found was in its original position. He also recognizes, though by no means fully or adequately, the fact that the apparent testimony of the inscription as to the position of Śrāvastī is contradicted by the unequivocal testimony of Fa-hian early in the fifth century and of Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century.

In continuation of the arguments adduced in my essay entitled “Kāśāmbī and Śrāvastī”² I now undertake to show that (1) there is strong reason to believe that the statue had been moved from its original position before its discovery, and (2) that the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims as to the geographical position of Śrāvastī is far more emphatic than Dr. Bloch will allow, and is absolutely irreconcilable with the supposed evidence given by the inscription. Of course, if the statue was not found in its original position the inscription is irrelevant to the question as to the position of Śrāvastī, and the Chinese pilgrims' concurrent testimony remains unshaken and must be accepted. I shall take the opportunity of recording some observations based on two recent visits to Sāhet-Māhet,³ and of showing the absolute futility of the reasons, apart from

¹ J.A.S.B. for 1898, vol. lxvii, part 1, p. 278.

² J.R.A.S., July, 1898, p. 503.

³ I was Commissioner of the Fyzabad Division, which includes the Gondā and Bahraich Districts, from the end of November, 1898, to the end of July, 1899, and was on tour for nearly three months. My official duties were heavy, and left me little time for archaeological work. This paper has been written at intervals, and is consequently, I fear, somewhat wanting in literary finish.

the statue, for believing Sāhet-Māhet to be Śrāvastī. A few words, in conclusion, on the general credibility of the Chinese pilgrims, and the extent to which we are at liberty to reject their testimony, will not be out of place.

Cunningham succeeded in satisfying himself that Sāhet-Māhet must be Śrāvastī by a series of fallacious arguments, and arbitrary alterations of the Chinese pilgrims' texts.

Fa-hian proceeded from Kanauj to Ā-le, which I have proved to be Jogikot in the Unāo District. Thence he went south-east to Shā-che. According to the Chinese text the distance from Ā-le to Shā-che is ten *yojanas*. According to the Corean text it is three *yojanas*, which seems to be the more probable. Both texts agree in making Shā-che to be south-east from Ā-le. Its site must, therefore, be either in the Unāo District or in the Rāi Bareli District.

But Cunningham insisted on identifying Shā-che with Sāketa, which is said to be used in the Rāmāyaṇa as a synonym for Ajodhya.¹ There is no warrant for the identification of Shā-che with Sāketa. Ajodhya (close to which city I am now writing) is about 80 miles from the possible southern position of Shā-che, and about 115 miles from the possible northern position of that place.

Cunningham saw the difficulty, and, as usual, in order to remove it, altered the pilgrims' text. He next identified the Visākhā of Hiuen Tsiang with the Shā-che of Fa-hian, and having persuaded himself that Shā-che, Sāketa, Visākhā, and Ajodhya were all one and the same place, he proceeded to ascertain the position of Śrāvastī. Again the distances would not fit, and Cunningham had no hesitation in arbitrarily altering Hiuen Tsiang's "500 *li*" to "the nearest round number of 350 *li*, or 58 miles, to bring it into accordance with the other [statement]. Now," he proceeds, "as this is the exact distance from Ajodhya of the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti, called

¹ "Reports," i, 320. Cunningham quotes a verse professing to be in the Rāmāyaṇa, but gives no reference. Fergusson long ago ("Archaeology in India") proved that Sāketa and Shā-che were not identical, and that neither of the Chinese pilgrims visited the Hindu town of Ajodhya. No Buddhist remains at Ajodhya are known.

Sāhet Māhet, in which I discovered a colossal statue of Buddha¹ with an inscription containing the name of Śrāvastī itself, I have no hesitation in correcting Hiuen Tshang's distance from 500 *li* to 350 *li* as proposed above."

A more perfect example of argument in a circle it would be difficult to find.

Cunningham's discussion as to the position of Śrāvastī contains many other unsound observations, but the above quotation is sufficient to show that the real reason for asserting the identity of Sāhet-Māhet and Śrāvastī is the inscribed statue, and nothing else.

The case is parallel to that of Kasiā. The discovery there of the statue of the Dying Buddha caused Cunningham to jump to the conclusion that Kasiā must be Kusinagara, and that conclusion having been once arrived at, all topographical facts had to be forced to suit it.²

Whenever Sir Alexander Cunningham had formed an *a priori* opinion as to the identity of any modern site with an ancient site, he found no difficulty in making more or less plausible identifications of particular mounds with buildings mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, and his draughtsmen and surveyors were not slow to support his opinions by fancy plans and sketches.

The result of this discussion is that Cunningham's arguments as to the position of Śrāvastī, which rest on the fundamental error identifying Shā-che with Ajodhya—an error bolstered up by arbitrary alterations of texts—are, so to speak, more than worthless. When criticized they really render it extremely improbable that Śrāvastī could be in the position assigned to it; that is to say, it is highly improbable that arguments manifestly fallacious should have chanced to lead to a right result.

Opposed to these figments of Cunningham's ingenuity we have the positive statements of two sober writers, who

¹ It is a statue, not of Buddha, but of a Bodhisattva.

² "The Remains near Kasia, in the Gorakhpur District, the Reputed Site of Kuçināra, the Scene of Buddha's Death." By Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., Fellow of the University of Allahabad. (Allahabad, 1896.)

both visited Śrāvastī, were intensely interested in it, and had no conceivable motive in making false statements as to its position. There is, unfortunately, an admitted error in all the texts of Fa-hian concerning the position of Śrāvastī relatively to Shā-che, but concerning its position relatively to Kapilavastu both the pilgrims substantially agree. Now the position of Kapilavastu is, for geographical purposes, fixed. It is not easy to decide which particular mounds of ruins belong to Kapilavastu, and which to the towns of Konāgamana and Krakucanda. But we know that Kapilavastu forms part of the group of ruins some ten or twelve miles in a westerly direction from Rummin Deī, or the Lumbini Garden,¹ of which the position is absolutely certain.

The Chinese travellers define the position of Śrāvastī in relation to the fixed point of Kapilavastu as follows :—

Fa-hian reckons 12 *yojanas* south-east from Śrāvastī to the town of Krakucanda Buddha, thence less than a *yojana* north to the town of Kanakamuni Buddha, and thence less than a *yojana* east to Kapilavastu. The nett result is that Kapilavastu is located about 12 or 13 *yojanas* in a south-easterly direction from Śrāvastī.

Huien Tsiang mentions the *stūpa* containing the relics of the entire body of Kāśyapa Buddha near Śrāvastī, and says that “from this point going south-east 500 *li* or so, we come to the country of Kapilavastu.”

500 *li* divided by 6 (the commonly assumed value of the *li* being one-sixth of a mile) gives 83½ miles. 12 *yojanas*, at 7 miles to the *yojana*, give 84 miles. 12 *yojanas* of Fa-hian are, therefore, equivalent to about 500 *li* of Huien Tsiang. The equivalent of either expression is in English miles rather nearer to 90 than 84 miles. The *yojana* seems to be generally rather more than seven miles, and rather less than six *li* go to a mile.

¹ Extensive though hurried researches have been made in the Kapilavastu region during February and March, 1899, by Mr. P. C. Mukherji and Major Waddell, I.M.S. Mr. Mukherji's report will be published under my superintendence. Major Waddell is understood to be preparing an independent report.

Both pilgrims, therefore, place Śrāvastī from 84 to 90 miles in a north-westerly direction from Kapilavastu. The trend of the mountains rigidly limits the direction in which a pair of compasses can be applied to the map. As I have already shown, the required position for Kapilavastu is where the Rāptī issues from the mountains to the north-east of Nepālgunj. Dr. Vost and I went there, and saw very extensive and very ancient ruins of a large city, including two *stūpas*, and we heard of many more ruins which we were unable to visit. Having found the remains of an extremely ancient city of great size exactly in the place where, according to the concurrent testimony of both pilgrims Śrāvastī stood, we logically inferred that the ruins which we discovered must be those of Śrāvastī. How can the inference be disputed? I have shown that Cunningham's geographical arguments are invalid. The concurrent testimony of the Chinese travellers, confirmed by observation, should not be rejected except for good reason. Where is such reason? There is none but the statue.

Dr. Bloch, though living in Calcutta, with every map in India at his disposal, oddly remarks that he is unable to make out with certainty the distance of Kapilavastu from Set (Sāheṭ)-Māheṭ. There is no difficulty or mystery about it.

Sāheṭ-Māheṭ is distant in a north-westerly direction about eleven miles from the town of Balrāmpur (now a railway station), and nine miles from the Balrāmpur camping-ground. It stands on the banks of the Rāptī on the boundary of the Gondā and Bahraich Districts, part of the ruins being in each district. From Sāheṭ-Māheṭ to the site of Kapilavastu is about fifty-five miles. Sāheṭ-Māheṭ is about W.S.W. from Kapilavastu. The distance is certainly between fifty and sixty miles. I cannot be more precise, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing the ruins of Kapilavastu from those of the towns of Krakucanda and Konāgamana and the ten unnamed deserted towns in the region which are mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Now a distance of about fifty-five miles cannot possibly be made to agree with the distance of about ninety miles stated by both pilgrims.

Inasmuch as Sāhet-Māhet is a little south of west from Kapilavastu, no ingenuity can reconcile that fact with the concurrent testimony of both pilgrims that Śrāvastī was north-west from Kapilavastu, if Sāhet-Māhet be identified with Śrāvastī.

All this was so obvious to me that I did not take the trouble to develop the statement in "Kausāmbī and Śrāvastī," and was content to say briefly that Set (Sāhet)-Māhet could not possibly be the real site of Śrāvastī, because it is "too near Kapilavastu and in the wrong direction."

As people seem slow to accept the plainest facts which conflict with a traditional belief I must rub in the facts.¹ I repeat that both Chinese pilgrims, writing at an interval from each other of more than two centuries, reckoning from slightly different points, one counting in *li* and the other in *yojanas*, agree in saying that Śrāvastī was nearly ninety miles north-west from Kapilavastu. Owing to the trend of the mountains, the only possible position for Śrāvastī that accords with the pilgrims' evidence is that discovered by Dr. Vost and me. Unless both the pilgrims purposelessly lied about the position of a place which they both visited, Sāhet-Māhet, which is south instead of north of west from Kapilavastu, and is only about fifty-five miles distant, instead of about ninety miles, cannot possibly be Śrāvastī. There is no conceivable reason why the two pilgrims should have lied in the matter. The different modes in which they calculated the distance, and the agreement of the results, preclude the hypothesis of textual error. Therefore, unless there is evidence to show that the pilgrims' statements cannot be true, their evidence must be believed, and Śrāvastī must be where I place it. There is no such evidence, unless it be that of the statue.² I now

¹ Dr. Hoey has recently avowed his continued belief in the identity of Sāhet-Māhet and Śrāvastī.

² I am, of course, aware that Dr. Hoey derives the name Set, which he uses in preference to Sāhet, from some form of Śrāvastī. But such derivation cannot be proved, and is, I think, phonologically impossible. If independent proof of the identity existed, some confirmation might be obtained from Dr. Hoey's observations. That gentleman points out that in certain elements the Buddhist legend of Virūdhaka agrees with a fairy tale which he heard at Sāhet-Māhet,

therefore proceed to show that the so-called evidence of the statue is worthless.

The ruins of Sāheṭ-Māheṭ consist of two principal parts. There are also numerous scattered mounds in the neighbourhood, some of which I shall notice when describing my personal observations on the spot. The two principal parts of the ruins are the walled city, now known locally as Māheṭ, and the group of buildings known as Sāheṭ, a short distance from the south-west corner of the city. Cunningham believed Sāheṭ to be the site of the Jetavana. When excavating here he found a small temple with very thick walls, the dimensions of which he states as follows:—

Interior	7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ' square.
Exterior	19' × 18'.

A statue of a standing figure broken off a few inches above the ankles was found leaning against the back wall. When the statue had been moved, and the floor of the temple cleared, "it was seen that the pedestal of the statue was still standing erect in its original position. The floor was paved with large stones, and immediately in front of the pedestal there was a long flat slab 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ foot, with a pair of hollow footmarks in the centre and two sunken panels on each side. At the back of the incised feet towards the pedestal there was a rough hollow, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 4 inches broad, which, judging from what I have seen in Burma, must once have held a long stone or metal frame for the reception of lights in front of the statue. But all this arrangement was certainly of later date than the statue itself, for on opening up the floor it was found that

and that a *stūpa* in which a begging-pot, alms-bowl, and a porcelain bowl containing ashes were found, may be the *stūpa* of Śāriputra, in which such relics were enshrined. But there is no inscription to confirm the identification, and similar relics might occur in many *stūpas*. As a matter of fact, memorials of Śāriputra were numerous. "In places where priests reside they make towers in honour of Śāriputra, of Mudgalaputra, of Ananda" (Fa-hian, ch. xvi). The name of Śāriputra occurs in an inscription found in the Kasiā ruins (Arch. Rep., vol. xxii, pl. iv). As to the name of the place, I did not hear the form Set.

Everyone whom I met used the form Sāheṭ-Māheṭ (साहेट माहेट). The *t* is the cerebral, and I think that the *a* vowels are long, but as to this latter point I am not quite certain.

the Buddhapad slab concealed the lower two lines of an inscription, which fortunately had been thus preserved from injury, while the third or uppermost line had been almost entirely destroyed."

The statue was a colossus. Cunningham erroneously supposed it to be that of Buddha the Teacher, and fancied that it was the statue actually seen by Hiuen Tsiang. Dr. Bloch has shown that it is a statue of a Bodhisattva.

Cunningham gives the height as 7 feet 4 inches. Dr. Anderson gives the height as 11 feet 8 inches.¹ The discrepancy is a good illustration of the difficulty experienced in obtaining accurate statements of fact. The inscription on the pedestal is in characters of the Northern Kṣatrapa type, and may be roughly dated at the beginning of the Christian era, either a little earlier or a little later. The statue itself, of course, dates from the same period. The material is Mathurā sandstone, and must therefore have been carried a distance of about 300 miles. The direct distance from Mathurā to Sāhet-Māhet is about 270 or 280 miles.

The particulars given above show that the statue as it was found at Sāhet had been revered by some person who cared nothing about the inscription and who probably could not read it. The greater part of the inscription was carefully covered up by a slab engraved with a representation of Buddha's feet. This slab was let into the stone floor which had to be opened up before the slab could be extricated, or the inscription revealed. It is, therefore, obvious that both the floor and the slab are of later date than the inscribed statue, and that when the statue and slab were imbedded in the floor the inscription was of no importance or interest to the builder. Now, if the statue really occupied its original position in 'Buddha's Walk' in Śrāvastī, is it conceivable that the inscription should be thus covered up? It is quite inconceivable that the original

¹ Cunningham, "Reports," i, p. 339; xi, pp. 84, 86. Anderson, "Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum," part i, p. 194. The slab with the impressions of Buddha's feet is described on p. 193.

dedicator, Bala, should have concealed his own inscription. Why should any later worshipper have gone to the trouble of covering up the inscription on an image occupying such an exceptionally sacred position? But if we assume that the image was brought from Śrāvastī and was set up at Sāhet centuries after its original dedication, and when the characters of the inscription were no longer legible, the assumption exactly fits the facts. The Rāptī river, which flows past both Śrāvastī and Sāhet, afforded a ready means of transport. The distance is only about 50 miles, and the statue could have been brought down by a country boat in a few days. The difficulties in the original transport of the stone from the neighbourhood of Mathurā were incomparably greater.

I think that this hypothesis of transport must be adopted because, as I have shown, we are bound to accept the testimony of the pilgrims unless it is controverted by incontestible archaeological facts. The facts which were supposed to contradict the pilgrims do not really controvert them in the least, while the theory of removal of the statue explains the fact of the concealment of the inscription, which is inexplicable on the assumption that the statue occupies the position in which it originally was dedicated.

I think it possible that the removal took place as late as the eleventh or twelfth century, in the time of the Buddhist revival under the Pāla kings. Dr. Hoey found at Sāhet a long Buddhist inscription dated V.S. 1276 = A.D. 1219-20.¹

At Kasiā, in the Gorakhpur District, too, there is a fine mediaeval Buddhist group, Māthā Kuar, belonging to the time of the Pāla kings.

¹ Hoey, "Set Mahet" (extra number of J.A.S.B. for 1892, p. 57). The inscription has been edited by Professor Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* for 1888, vol. xvii, p. 61), whose version Dr. Hoey has with some boldness undertaken to amend. Dr. Hoey gives the date as 1176. Dr. Hoey, though a firm believer in the identity of Sāhet-Māhet with Śrāvastī, which he never questioned, was by no means certain that the statue was found in its original position. He says: "The large statue found in 12 by General Cunningham may have been there from a very ancient date" (p. 46). He shows that the buildings have been frequently altered and added to.

I cannot see any improbability in the removal of the statue. Old statues from ruins are constantly picked up by villagers, dubbed with orthodox names, and put into temples. Why should not a Pāla king or somebody else move an exceptionally valuable statue from the Śrāvastī jungles when easy water carriage was available?

I, therefore, am convinced that the inscribed statue found at Sāhet was not found in its original position, and that there is no difficulty in believing that it may have been removed from the true site of Śrāvastī and set up where it was discovered as late as A.D. 1200, when nobody was able to read the ancient inscriptions.

The concurrent testimony of the two Chinese travellers as to the position of Śrāvastī remains unshaken and must be accepted. That testimony places Śrāvastī in the position of the ancient city discovered by Dr. Vost and me.

To prevent any possible misconception, I had better repeat that we did not profess to ascertain the *exact* site of Śrāvastī, or to identify any building. We cannot yet tell whether the ruins which we saw belong to the main city itself, or to its suburbs, or to dependent towns. But I have no doubt that the position of Śrāvastī and the Jetavana has been determined within a limit of a very few miles.

Dr. Vost has drawn my attention to the observation which we noted that the tract below the hills near the ruins is called Udain, and that this name may well be a reminiscence of Rājā Udayana, whose name is connected both with Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī.

The Rājā of Nānpāra tells me that he has seen at Mahādeo or Mahādeva, in the forest, a *stūpa*-like structure larger than the one which we saw at Intawā. I have no doubt that further exploration will reveal many more ruins, but I understand that the tract is almost entirely covered with dense jungle, and is a favourite tiger-shooting ground. Exploration, therefore, will present serious difficulties.

I now turn to the discussion of the name and topography of Sāhet-Māhet. Dr. Hoey prefers to call the first element of the name Set. No doubt both forms are in use, but

I only heard the form Sāheṭ. The final consonant in both elements of the name is the cerebral *t*. I think that the *a* in both Sāheṭ and Māheṭ is long. But Hindī spelling is very lax and irregular.

I confess that I feel grave doubts as to Sāheṭ-Māheṭ being a genuine place-name at all. The locution means, as Cunningham duly noted, 'topsy-turvy,' or 'upside down.' Last February, when visiting the ruins of Dogām, or Dūgam, near Nāmpāra,¹ one of the villagers actually used the expression *sāheṭ-māheṭ* as an adjective, when explaining how Dogām had been overthrown by the curse of the local holy man (*sāheṭ-māheṭ hogayā*). I have therefore a suspicion that the ruins reputed to be those of Śrāvastī were originally known to the country people as the 'topsy-turvy' place. The assignment of one-half of the expression to the walled town and of the other half to the ruins of the religious edifices on the south is, I suspect, fictitious. The people now call the walled town Māheṭ and the ruins outside they call Sāheṭ. In Cunningham's map the name Sāheṭ is given to the walled town and Māheṭ to the outer ruins. I do not know whether this discrepancy is due to a blunder or not. However that may be, I doubt greatly if Sāheṭ-Māheṭ is a genuine place-name.²

Sāheṭ-Māheṭ, like many other Buddhist sites, is regarded as sacred by the Jains, who believe that their third patriarch, Sambhunāth, was born there. He is known locally as Sobhnāth. His image has been carried off. Dr. Hoey removed images of seven of the patriarchs from this spot

¹ Dūgam is the local pronunciation. See Captain Vost's article on "The Dūgam Mint" in J.A.S.B. for 1895, vol. lxiv, pt. 1, p. 69.

² Compare the case of Bāngarmau. "According to the legends of the people, Newal was a large and flourishing city, under a rāja named Nala, when the Musalmans first invaded the country. Saiyid Ala-ud-din bin Ghanaun came from Kanauj to Newal, and wished to settle at Bāngarmau; but the rāja ordered him to go away, and sent his servants to drive him out. On this the saint cursed him, when the city was immediately turned upside down, leaving only mounds, which are seen at the present day. So firmly do the people believe this story that they affirm that all relics of the old city, no matter of what kind, are always turned up upside down. Hence the old site is generally known as *Aundhā Khēra*, or 'Topsy-turvy town'" (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. xi, p. 48). I think it probable that Sāheṭ-Māheṭ is merely an equivalent for Aundhā-Khēra, that is to say, a nickname rather than a name.

to Gondā. The Jain name for the site is Sāvitrī. This name was heard by Cunningham. The tahsildār who accompanied me happened to be a Jain, and gave me notes collected by his father concerning the holy places of Jainism, which record the name of Sāheṭ-Māheṭ as Sāvitrī nagar. The word Sāvitrī apparently means 'the sun.'¹ It cannot be phonetically connected with either the Sanskrit Śrāvastī, or the Pāli form Savatthi, or the Sinhalese Sewet.² The Hindū name of the place is said to be Chandrikāpuri. But I am sceptical as to the genuineness of this name also. The Brahmins' legends about every holy place in India always provide it with a name, or a set of names, supposed to have belonged to it in ancient times, which names are, I think, generally imaginary.³ The Jain name Sāvitrī, or Sāvriti nagar, is, I believe, a genuine name. The superficial resemblance to Śrāvastī, though curious, is nothing more. The original position of Dr. Hoey's slab dated 1276 V.S. is not known. The inscription on it mentions a place named Jāvriṣa, or Ajāvriṣa, but there is nothing to show where that place was.

According to Major Waddell's Tibetan guidebook, of uncertain date, the city of Śrāvastī was known as Kosalapuri. The writer says that "now traces only remain of the fort." Nobody could call the massive and conspicuous ramparts of Māheṭ "traces of a fort." He also says that "on either side of the eastern gate of the city there is a long stone of about fifteen fathoms." No object of the kind has ever been heard of at Māheṭ, where the principal gates are on the south and west. I doubt if there is any gate on the eastern side. The writer of the guidebook places Kapilavastu eight or nine days' journey eastward, and so far agrees with the Chinese pilgrims.⁴ Nobody could spend eight or nine days

¹ In Sanskrit *sāvitra* (m.), सावित्र, means 'the sun,' and *sāvitrī* (fem.) सावित्री, means 'a beam of light,' and is also a proper name (Benfey).

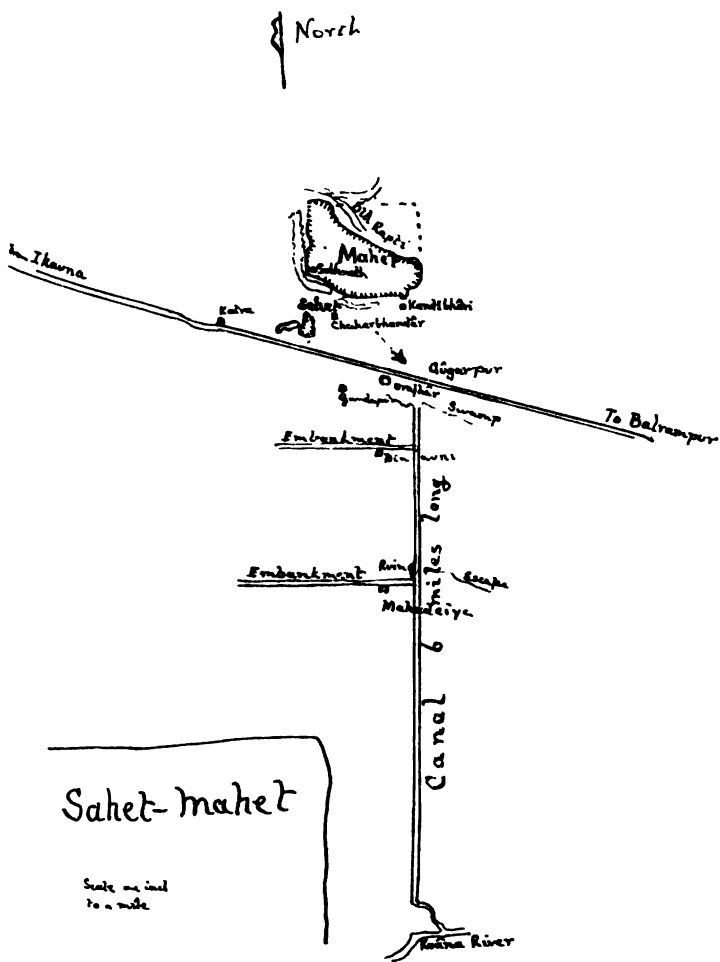
² For this statement I have the authority of Dr. Grierson.

³ Dr. Hoey gives some doubtful reasons for supposing that Chandrikāpuri is a blunder for Champakapuri (Bhāgalpur). (p. 5.)

⁴ J.A.S.B. for 1896, part i, p. 276.

going from Sāhet Māhet to Kapilavastu ; the distance is four days' easy marching.

The annexed tracing from the map of the Gondā District shows the position of the Sāhet-Māhet ruins and the relative size of the fortified town and of the Sāhet remains. The extreme length of the walled town, now called Māhet, is just a mile and a half. The remains at Sāhet, although extensive, do not seem to me to cover sufficient ground to justify the application to them of the description of the Jetavana and its surroundings. The buildings there were extremely numerous, and must have covered a great area. The tracing displays very clearly an interesting feature of the locality which has been strangely overlooked by previous visitors, the great canal connecting the Rāptī and Kuāna rivers. The walled town was protected in old days on the north, and perhaps also on the east, by the Rāptī, which used to flow under the ramparts, and has cut away a portion of them. The walls in the eastern portion of the northern face are lower and weaker than the fortifications on the north-western and western side. Major Jaskaran Singh, of Balrāmpur, who accompanied me on the occasion of my second visit in March, 1899, believes that these lower walls are comparatively late substitutes, perhaps dating from the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, for parts of the original fortifications cut away by the river. The country people say that masonry is found far out in the bed of the river, of which the stream has now moved a couple of miles away. The city was originally probably of a nearly rectangular shape, as indicated by the dotted line inserted in the tracing. The western rampart is still about forty feet high. The southern and western faces in which the gates were situated were protected by a broad moat supplied with water from the Rāptī. This moat is now for the most part rice-swamp, though clearly traceable. It communicated, as indicated by the arrow in the tracing, through ponds with the great canal six miles long running south to the Kuāna river. The Rāptī and Kuāna were thus connected. The canal was cut perfectly straight, the main bank being on the east side. Opposite the village of



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Binauni, and about half a mile or a little more from the Ikaunā-Balrāmpur road, a massive dyke, with a silted moat on the south side, runs westward, and is said to extend for about three miles more or less distinctly visible.¹

At a distance of about two miles from the road there is a second parallel dyke, which begins close to the village of Mahādēiyā and extends westwards for about three miles to the Piṭāiya Nāla. The moat or canal running alongside the southern dyke is on the northern or inner side of the dyke. A great portion of the large area enclosed by these dykes is under water in the rains. The south-eastern portion near Mahādēiyā is known as the Beorā Tāl.

Opposite Ailāwā, and about 200 yards more or less from the point where the Mahādēiyā dyke joins the canal, a wide outlet for the waters of the Beorā Tāl into the canal was provided, and was guarded on its southern side by a large brick building of circular outline projecting into the *tāl*. From this point to the head of the Mahādēiyā dyke there are traces of brickwork the whole way. The village of Binauni, which itself stands on a considerable mound of ruins, is situated just south of the inner or northern dyke.

Major Jaskaran Singh, who kindly took me over these remarkable works, was full of stories of Arjuna and the Pāṇḍavas, and firmly believes that the northern dyke with its moat on the south or outside was the exterior line of defence of the town, while the southern dyke with its moat on the north or inside was the entrenchment of the besieging Pāṇḍava host. He regards the Beorā Tāl and adjoining lands as the battlefield. I am disposed to regard the whole system as being rather a system of drainage than one of fortification.

The village of Gundāpur (said to be equivalent to Govindapur) is built on a rectangular mound about ten or twelve feet above the surface of the fields, which is, I believe, the site of a monastery. A mound close to the

¹ The cross dykes and the hamlets of Binauni and Gundāpur were not marked on the map from which I took my tracing, which therefore shows their position approximately. The canal is clearly marked on the map.

village, a little north of west, seems to be a *stūpa*, and a very low circular mound a little further west is probably an extremely ancient *stūpa*. The bricks at Gundāpur are of large size, about $15'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$, such as were used in Aśoka's time. Another mound about half-way between Gundāpur and Sāhet also looks like a small *stūpa*. There are also some remains at Katrā on the Ikaunā road about three-quarters of a mile from Sāhet.

The country to the south of Māhet is noticeable for the extraordinary number of small ponds. Major Jaskaran Singh plausibly suggests that these are the spots from which earth was taken to make the vast quantity of bricks required for the various buildings. Although I do not believe in the identity of Sāhet-Māhet and Śrāvastī, I note that Fa-hian mentions the "ponds of water clear and pure" as one of the elements which constituted "the lovely scene" still presented by the Jatavana when he visited it.

The great gateway of the town, leading into what Dr. Hoey calls Broad Street, directly faced the huge *stūpa* of Orājhār. Dr. Hoey persuaded himself that this building was a "terraced palace," but it is undoubtedly a large *stūpa*, as stated by Cunningham. The little building on the north side of the road known as Panahiyā jhār, in which Dr. Hoey excavated "3 concentric rings of brick wall," and which he fancifully calls "a cockpit," is doubtless the base of a *stūpa*.

The inner structure of *stūpas* varied greatly, and many various devices were adopted by builders to secure stability and at the same time to economize masonry. I did not happen to see the Panahiyā jhār.

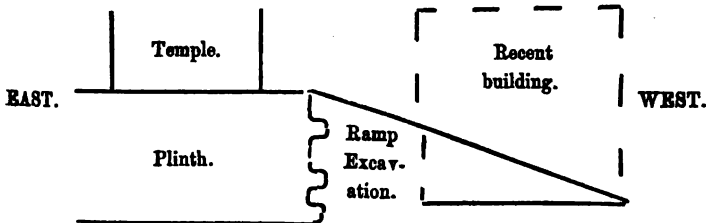
In the walled town, now called Māhet, the two most remarkable ruins are the so-called Pakkā and Kachha Kuṭi.¹ The northern ruin, or Pakkā Kuṭi, was identified by Cunningham as the Angulimālya *stūpa*, but Dr. Hoey correctly observes that beyond the size and prominence of the mound there is no ground for this identification. Dr. Hoey drove a gallery through the basement right from

¹ The word *kuṭi* is applied to the residence of a fakīr, or holy man. Both the mounds in question have been occupied by fakīrs.

one side to the other, and ascertained that the building is constructed of compartments formed by brick walls filled in with earth. He whimsically seeks to identify this solid mass with the "Hall of the Law." The building is obviously, as Cunningham rightly observed, a *stūpa*. The circular courses are quite distinctly traceable on the western side. If there is a deposit, Dr. Hoey's tunnel failed to hit it, probably missing the true centre by a few feet. The division into compartments is merely a device of construction.

The Kachha Kutī, about 25 feet in height, is called the *stūpa* of Sudatta by Cunningham, whereas Dr. Hoey thinks it was a private residence, or the house of Sudatta. The partial excavation made by Dr. Hoey shows that the building stood on a massive brick rectangular plinth, highly decorated with mouldings and panels, which latter contained terra-cotta statuary. The entrance was to the west. The approach was by a ramp, or slope, paved with brick set on edge, of which a small portion still remains. A more recent building has been thrown right across the lower portion of this ramp. Accordingly, where the north and south sides of the ramp were partially excavated the excavations produce the false impression of being chambers, owing to their being closed in by the comparatively late mass of brickwork on the west and the plinth on the east.¹

¹ See photographs on view at the Society. A man is standing on the pavement. The annexed diagram explains my meaning.



The Jain Tahsildār who accompanied me at once said that the plinth looked like that of a Jain temple, and he is probably right. The building was certainly either a temple or a *stūpa* resting on a decorated rectangular plinth. The nature of the upper structure cannot be made out. It has been modified by the fakīrs who have taken up their residence there. The herring-bone brick pavement made of bricks set on edge "may have been," remarks Dr. Hoey, "either a graduated approach to a building or a roof covering a passage into one." I opened enough of it to satisfy myself that it is a graduated approach or paved ramp.

Dr. Hoey selected another mound near as being the *Angulimālya stūpa*. The great discrepancy between his fanciful identifications and the equally fanciful identifications of Cunningham, shows that neither explorer was on solid ground. Both firmly believed in the identity of Sāheṭ-Māheṭ with Śrāvastī, and, having plenty of mounds to choose from, allowed their fancy to play and made a selection of particular mounds as the equivalent of particular ancient buildings.

When working at the Sāheṭ mounds, Dr. Hoey (p. 51) came to the conclusion that the lowest level seen by General Cunningham was about fifteen feet above the original ground-level, and remarked that this fact shows how much excavation has to be done before we are entitled to speculate on the identity of particular ruins with the Gandha Kuṭi or Kosambha Kuṭi of the Buddhist books.

Enough, I think, has been said to establish the proposition that not a single building in either Sāheṭ or Māheṭ has been satisfactorily identified with any building of Śrāvastī. The so-called identifications are mere guesses, more or less plausible, not justified in any instance by proof. They all rest on the *a priori* assumption that Sāheṭ-Māheṭ and Śrāvastī are identical. That assumption rests mainly on the inscription of the Bodhisattva statue, and has been feebly supported by clearly fallacious geographical arguments, unscientific etymologies, and unsubstantial conjectures.

The general conformation, extent, and position of the ruins at Sāhet-Māhet do not agree with the pilgrims' description of Śrāvastī.

Huen Tsiang says:—"The kingdom of Śrāvastī is about 6000 *li* in circuit. The chief town is desert and ruined. There is no record as to its exact limits (*area*). The ruins of the walls encompassing the royal precincts give a circuit of about 20 *li*. There are several hundreds of *sanghārāmas*, mostly in ruins. . . . There are 100 Deva temples. . . . To the south of the city 5 or 6 *li* is the Jetavana. . . . By the side of the *stūpa* commemorating the slaughter of the Sākya, and not far from it, is a great lake which has dried up. . . . To the north-west of the capital 16 *li* or so, there is an old town" with a *stūpa* to the south, and another to the north containing relics of the entire body of Kāśyapa Buddha. (Beal, ii, 1-13.)

Fa-hian places the Jetavana about 1,200 paces from the south gate of the city, and mentions that there were ninety-eight monasteries according to tradition around the Jetavana *vihāra*. He places the town and *stūpa* of Kāśyapa 50 *li* to the west of the city.

Cunningham, when describing the well-preserved ramparts of the walled town Māhet, was conscious of the discrepancy between the facts and the description, and tried to get round the difficulty. "The whole circuit of the old earthen 'ramparts,'" he writes, "according to my survey, is 17,300 feet, or upwards of $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Now this is the exact size of 20 *li* or $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles which Huen Tsiang gives to the palace ["royal precincts," Beal] alone; but as the city was then deserted and in ruins he must have mistaken the city for the palace. It is certain at least that the suburbs outside the walls must have been very limited indeed, as the place is almost entirely surrounded with the remains of large religious buildings, which would have left but little room for any private dwellings. I am therefore quite satisfied that the city has been mistaken for the palace; and this mistake is sufficient to show how utterly ruined this once famous city must have been at so distant a period as

the seventh century, when the place was visited by Hiuen Thsang."¹

Now the walled enclosure of Māheṭ (see sketch-map) is the ruin of a complete town, not of a palace or royal precincts. The great street leading from the main gate opposite Orājhār, which Dr. Hoey conveniently calls Broad Street, was clearly the main street of the town. The citadel or palace was evidently in the west end, where no excavations have been attempted, and the jungle has not been cleared. The town was complete in itself. It is not accurate to say that it was almost entirely surrounded with the remains of large religious buildings. No such buildings ever existed on the north side, the river face. On the east there are no ruins at all near, except a single *stūpa* or temple on the bank of the *tāl* or shallow lake beyond the camping-ground, and about a mile from the town. To the west there are no remains to speak of. Orājhār, Sāheṭ, Gundāpur, Binauni, and practically all the outlying remains, are on one side only of the town, namely the south. But it is true that there are no signs of the existence of anything that can be called a town outside the walls.

To suit Hiuen Tsiang's description we should have a wide undefined area of city ruins extending to a long distance from the walled 'royal precincts.' There is nothing of the sort at Sāheṭ-Māheṭ. But when Dr. Vost and I walked over the ruins near our camp at Bālāpur, the remains were so worn down by time that we had to look carefully at the ground and watch for minute fragments of brick to ascertain when we were within the limits of the old town. The little that we saw presented an appearance of very great antiquity, and the remains were certainly undefined in extent. The remains at Sāheṭ-Māheṭ may be concisely described as those of a strongly fortified town of moderate size, with extensive religious establishments on the south in a space enclosed by great dykes.

Cunningham's hypothesis that Hiuen Tsiang mistook the palace for the town seems to me undeserving of serious consideration.

¹ "Reports," vol. i, p. 331.

The ruins at Sāhet, even if we include those at Gundāpur, Binauni, and other places not included in Cunningham's survey, do not seem to me at all large enough to agree with the descriptions by the pilgrims. The town gate opposite Sāhet is quite a minor one, the main gate is far to the east, and faces Orājbar. The next most important gate is that on the west side.

As to the distance of the Jetavana, the actual distance of Sāhet from the ramparts agrees sufficiently well with Fa-hian's estimate of 1,200 paces, but is much too short for the estimate of the more accurate Hiuen Tsiang, who gives the distance as five or six *li*, that is to say, about a mile. If the site of Śrāvastī is ever surveyed I believe that the ruins of the Jetavana and its surroundings will be found covering a very large area about a mile from the main city gate.

As to Kāśyapa's town and *stūpa* the pilgrims differ seriously in their statement of the distance. Cunningham follows Fa-hian's lead, and fixes on Tandwa as the site. I cannot stop to discuss this identification beyond remarking that it is unconvincing.

Two details in Hiuen Tsiang's narrative seem to me to indicate that Śrāvastī was near the foot of the mountains. After describing the fate of Devadatta and the other sinners who were swallowed up by the earth, he says: "These three ditches are unfathomable in their depth; when the floods of summer and autumn fill all the lakes and ponds with water, these deep caverns show no signs of the water standing in them." Such a phenomenon might well occur at the foot of the hills. It cannot be made intelligible when the description is applied to the ordinary ponds south of Māhet.

The other indication is given by the story of the blinded robbers. "At this time Tathāgata was in the *vihāra* of the Jetavana, and hearing their piteous cries he was moved to compassion, and caused a soft wind to blow from the Snowy Mountains [Himālaya]" and heal them. This legend indicates the proximity of the mountains.

In another publication I have remarked that "there is no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of Hiuen Tsiang's account of places which he personally visited, and when his account is inconsistent with local facts, an identification based on an attempt to force the facts into agreement with the account must be rejected." On the other hand, arbitrary emendations of the pilgrims' texts in order to make them agree with the local facts of places assumed to be identical with those visited by the pilgrims are equally uncritical and unsatisfactory.

For Fa-hian, besides the old versions of Rémusat and Laidlay, we now have the versions of Beal, Giles, and Legge. The translation by Professor Legge is from a Corean text, the other translations are from Chinese texts. The testimony of Fa-hian cannot safely be called until these versions have been compared, and that which appears to be the best has been selected. For Hiuen Tsiang we have the translations of Beal and Julien. The earlier version of the great French scholar is a very useful check on the renderings of Mr. Beal. Occasionally, even when all available critical sources open to a student ignorant of Chinese have been exhausted, the conclusion becomes inevitable that there is an error in the text. That error may be due to an original blunder of the observer, to mistakes in transcription of the Chinese text, or to imperfect interpretation. But I believe that such errors are few. Fa-hian is undoubtedly very lax in his indications of direction, and when he says "east" he may mean any direction east of a north and south meridian. This laxness of expression must be allowed for, and when Fa-hian says "east," while the more precise Hiuen Tsiang says "north-east," the statement of the more precise writer should ordinarily be preferred.

In statements as to distance both pilgrims are generally, so far as I have observed—and I have studied large parts of their writings with great minuteness—equally trustworthy. Fa-hian counts by *yojanas*, Hiuen Tsiang counts by *li*. When both writers, using these different forms of expression, agree substantially in the result, we are bound to accept

that result as correct unless there is the clearest evidence to prove it wrong.

Concerning the position of Śrāvastī relatively to Kapilavastu, the two pilgrims, as proved above, agree in this manner, and must not be disbelieved until the critic can give some plausible explanation for the agreement of the two writers in error, and can produce conclusive evidence that the error exists.

At Benares, Rājgīr, Barāgāon (Nālanda), and many other places, the identification of which is certain, the accuracy of the observations of the pilgrims, and especially of Hiuen Tsiang, has been proved in innumerable instances. A very striking confirmation of the accuracy of both Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang has been afforded by the recent discovery and exploration of the Lumbinī Garden (Rummin Deī). The local details agree admirably with the pilgrims' descriptions.

Dr. Stein's hurried tour with the Buner Field Force has proved that even when the scantiest allowance of time was available for exploration the itinerary of Hiuen Tsiang served as an accurate guidebook and permitted of the satisfactory identification of all the principal sites.¹

Therefore, I repeat, sound principles of criticism require us ordinarily to accept the statements of each of the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang, in the first instance, as they stand. In the case of Fa-hian the two texts, represented by three versions, should be compared, and the best selected as his testimony. When Fa-hian differs, or appears to differ, from Hiuen Tsiang, the apparent difference should be closely examined to see if it cannot be reconciled. I can cite cases in which such divergences, which at first sight appear large, can be reduced to very narrow limits. If the difference is irreconcilable, the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang is generally to be preferred. But, in order to be certain what his testimony is, it is

¹ "Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force," by M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal Oriental College, Lahore. 8vo; pp. 69, with eight plates. (Lahore: printed at the Punjab Government Press, 1898. Price R. 1-6-0.)

desirable to check the version of Beal by that of Julien. When the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang" disagrees, as it often does, with the "Records of Western Countries" (Si-yu-ki), the testimony of the "Records" is to be preferred. When these strict principles of criticism are applied I venture to say that the number of legitimate and necessary emendations in the text either of Fa-hian or of Hiuen Tsiang will not be large. Arbitrary emendations made to suit preconceived theories are wholly inadmissible.

Fyzabad, June 25, 1899.

POSTSCRIPT.

After I had passed for press the proofs of my paper, I happened to come upon the record of the transport of a heavy image, probably in the twelfth century, over a distance of about seventy miles, which affords a striking parallel to the event which according to my belief occurred at Sāhet-Māhet.

At a place called Lonār, nearly twelve miles south of Mehkar in the Buldānā District of Berār, there is a group of temples adjoining a remarkable salt lake. The sanctuary of the finest of these temples is occupied by an erect statue of Viṣṇu, described as standing on a "pedestal apparently original," which image is said to have been brought from Nāgpur at very great cost. The Lonār temples are believed to date from the twelfth century.

The direct distance from Lonār to Nāgpur is not less than seventy miles. If somebody in Berār thought it worth while to transport a heavy image seventy miles or more across country, there is no reason to hesitate in believing that somebody in Oudh took the trouble of moving a statue fifty miles when water carriage was available.¹

V. A. S.

¹ "Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berār," compiled by Henry Cousens, M.B.A.S., Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Bombay. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1897. Price, rupees five and annas eight. (Vol. xix of Archaeological Survey of India, New Series.)

ART. II.—*Aśwagrāntā, near Ganhati.* By Captain P. R. GURDON, I.S.C., M.R.A.S.

AMONGST the many interesting places that lie near the old town of Pragjotishpur or Ganhati is *Aśwagrāntā*, or, as some people call it, *Aśwagrāntā*. It is called *Aśwagrāntā* because the route of Krishna is said to have been *vid* *Aśwagrāntā* when he was carrying off his bride, Rukmini (*Aśva* 'horse' and *grāntā* (क्रान्त) 'passed by'). If it is called *Aśwagrāntā*, it means the place where the horse was tired; *grāntā* meaning 'tired' or 'weary.' It should also be remembered that *r* and *l* are often interchangeable. Compare Sukreshwar, which is often called Sukleshwar. *Aśwagrāntā*, or *Aśwagrāntā*, is on the north side of the Brahmaputra, a little to the west of the island of Umananda, which lies in the midst of the mighty Brahmaputra. The people at the temple show you various holes in the rock at *Aśwagrāntā*, which, they say, are the footprints of Krishna's horses. It is at this place that the people bathe during the Asokāṣṭami festival, the day when the current of the Brahmaputra is thought to flow backwards, the reverse current being popularly supposed to be the holy Gangā. The origin of the festival is said to be due to *Aśwagrāntā* having been the bathing-place of Rukmini. This goddess bathed in the river, but was annoyed by people staring at her from the opposite bank, upon which Krishna promptly interposed what is now known as the "Ar parbat" as a screen. Another explanation of the "Ar parbat" is that it is unlucky to look upon the rocks of Karmanasa (near Umananda). These rocks no longer became visible when the "Ar parbat" was interposed. At the foot of the *Aśwagrāntā* hill there is a small and ruined temple. There

is very little left in the way of architecture, but it was here that I found the Garurasan, or stone throne shown in Plate I. At each corner of the throne are kneeling figures, all of which have the heads of birds. These strange figures are said to represent the 'Garuda,' or sacred bird of Vishṇu.

To see the Ananta Sajya entails a stiff climb up stone steps which since the great earthquake of 1897 have become all on the slant. The temple of Vishṇu has been ruined by the earthquake, but the wonderful carving which is shown in Plate II remains intact. This carving is on a black stone and is of exquisite workmanship. The subject of the carving is the sleep of Vishṇu whilst resting on the snake Ananta. In the fifth book, chapter xxv, of the Srimat Bhagavat, the following description of the Ananta Sajya (literally the Ananta bed) is found:—"The Great God who is the Creator of the universe and the first cause, by an incarnation (partial), became the snake god, Ananta, with one thousand heads, and rules over the nether regions (Patal) and supports himself on the water below. The Great God, when wishing to destroy the Universe for the purpose of recreation, eventually rested on the Ananta, and there he slept. Ages rolled on in this way." Then the Purāṇas relate how a frog, a tortoise, a piece of water weed respectively support the Ananta upon which the Great God slept.

Here it may be remarked that the name of the God Nārāyan is popularly (and wrongly) derived from this legend, as if it meant *nārā* 'water' and *ayan* 'orbit.' Whilst Nārāyan slept upon the Ananta his will was done, i.e. the Universe was destroyed and the work of recreation commenced. The will of Vishṇu was manifested in Brahma as Creator, and it is the God Brahma who is depicted as sitting on the lotus which has sprung from the navel of Vishṇu. Brahma, bewildered at seeing nothing but water, dived down into the depths for 100 years. When he rose to the surface he heard a voice from heaven say *Tapas tapa* ("Do penance"). He did so, and he beheld Mahāmāyā on the one hand and Śiva on the other.



PLATE I.

70. 1911
1911. 1911



PLATE II.

TO THE
ABORIGINAL

Mahāmāyā gave him 'Sakti,' or energy to create, and Śiva destroyed the surplus population. The stone carving depicted in the photograph depicts this Hindu theory of the creation.

The priest of the temple still keeps up some semblance of worship before this wonderful carving; but the carving has been exposed to wind and weather since the earthquake, and it will soon crumble away unless some shelter is put up over it. This would be well worth doing. The female kneeling figures of Plate II are the Nāgkanyā, or the daughters of the Snake. Some of them have already lost their heads.

ART. III.—*Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna*. By Professor SATIS
CHANDRA ACHĀRYA VIDYĀBHŪṢANA, M.A.

As there is still much uncertainty as to use of these terms, found exclusively, of course, in Mahāyāna texts, I have brought together a series of passages in which the expressions occur, and would venture to draw one or two conclusions from the manner in which they are used.

In the *Lalitavistara*, page 38 (Bengal Asiatic Society's edition), we find the word Hīnayāna used in contrast to the glorious religion of Buddha :

Āśayo dharmālokamukhaṃ Hīnayānāsprhaṇatāyai sam-
vartate |

Adhyāsayogo dharmālokamukhaṃ udārabuddha-dharmā-
valambanatāyai samvartate |

“Reflection is an initiatory light of religion which makes people feel aversion against the Hīnayāna. Concentration is an initiatory light of religion which makes people lean on the glorious religion of Buddha.”

Again :

Asmin Mahāyāne sa tām mahatīm bodhisattvadeva-
parśadam etad avocat.¹

“In this great vehicle he said to the large assembly of Bodhisattvas and Devas as follows.”²

¹ *Lalitavistara*, p. 25.

² [This passage is manifestly corrupt. And it makes no better sense if the words ‘in this Mahāyāna’ are taken to the preceding clause. Professor Bendall has been kind enough to compare the Tibetan version, and informs me that an adjective meaning ‘firm in’ seems to have been omitted. The right translation would then be simply ‘He, firm in this great vehicle, said,’ etc.—R.H. D.]

On page 142 the word *agrayāna* is used as a synonym for that Mahāyāna to which the peoples of the world were to be converted by Gautama :

Kintū janasya anuvartanatām karoti
Lipi-sālām āgatum suśikṣita-sikṣaṇārtham |
Paripācanārtham bahudāraka agrayāne
Anyāms ca sattvaniyutān amṛte vinētum || ¹

“He (Gautama), following the practice of ordinary men, comes to attend school in order that he might impart instructions to the good, and might convert many boys to the excellent vehicle (*agra-yāna*), and might lead innumerable people to ambrosia.”

Ārya-deva, who, as a disciple of Nāgārjuna, probably belongs to the second century A.D., describes the distinctive characteristics of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in the following verses :

Hīnayānābhirūḍhānām mṛtyu-śaṅkā pade pade |
Saṃgrāma-jayas tu teṣāṃ dūra eva vyavasthitāḥ || 52 ||

Mahāyānābhirūḍhas tu karuṇā-dharma-varmitāḥ |
Kṛpā-naya-dhanur-vāṇo jagaduddharaṇāśayaḥ || 53 ||

Mahāsattvo mahopāyaḥ sthira-buddhir atandritaḥ |
Jitvā dustara-saṃgrāmaṃ tārayaty aparān api || 54 ||

Paśavo 'pi hi kliśyante svārthamātra-parāyaṇāḥ |
Jagadartha-vidhātāro dhanyās te viralāḥ janāḥ || 55 ||

Śīta-vātādi-duḥkhāni sahante svārtha-lampatāḥ |
Jagadartha-pravṛttās te na sahante katham nu te || 56 ||

Nārakāṇyahi duḥkhāni soḍhavyāni kṛpālubhiḥ |
Śīta-vātādi-duḥkhāni kas tāny api vicārayet || 57 ||

Nāniṣṭa-kalpanām kuryāt nopavāsam na ca kriyām |
Snāna-śaucam na caivātra grāma-dharmaṃ vivarjayet || 58 ||

Nakha-dantāsthi-majjānaḥ pituḥ śukra-vikārajāḥ |
Māmsa-sonita-keśādi mātṛ-sonita-sambhavaṃ || 59 ||

¹ Lalitavistara, p. 142.

Ittham āsuci-sambhūtaḥ piṇḍo' hy āsuci-pūritaḥ |
Kathaṃ san tādṛśaḥ kāyo Gaṅgā-snānena śudhyati || 60 ||

Na hy āsuci-ghatastoyaiḥ kṣālito' pi punaḥ punaḥ |
Tadvad āsuci-sampūrṇaḥ piṇḍo 'pi na viśudhyati || 61 ||

Pratarann api Gaṅgāyāṃ naiva śvā śuddhim arhati |
Tasmād dharma-dhiyāṃ pumsāṃ tīrtha-snānaṃ tu niṣpha-
lam || 62 ||

Dharmo yadi bhavet snānāt kaivartānāṃ kṛtārthatā |
Naktaṃ divaṃ praviṣṭānāṃ matsyādīnāṃ tu kā kathā || 63 ||

Pāpa-kṣayo 'pi snānena naiva syād iti niscayaḥ |
Yato rāgādi buddhis tu dṛśyate tīrtha-sevināṃ || 64 ||¹

- “ 52. The people of the little vehicle (Hīnayāna) are afraid of death at every step; their achievement of victory in war lies indeed very far off.
53. The man of the great vehicle (Mahāyāna) is clad with the armour of mercy; he, intent on saving the world, is fully equipped with the bow and arrows of sympathy and morality.
54. Great in force, efficient in means, firm in purpose, freed from slothfulness, he comes out victorious from the terrible war and brings about the emancipation of others.
55. For the sake of selfish interest even the beasts undergo pains, but it is only those few people who suffer pains for the sake of the world that deserve our thanks.
56. In securing their selfish ends people submit to suffering from cold and wind: why, then, do they not desire to undergo sufferings for the sake of the world ?

¹ H. P. Shastri's Discovery of a work by Arya-deva, Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. lxxvii, pt. 1, No. 2, 1898.

57. Even the miseries of hell should be borne by the kind-hearted ; who cares for the sufferings arising from cold and wind ?
58. No one should meditate injury to others, none should observe fasting or ceremonies, none should care for the purity of bathing ; all pagan observances should be avoided.
59. The nails, teeth, bones, and nerves grow up from the semen of the father ; while the flesh, blood, and hair, etc., grow up from the blood of the mother.
60. Thus this lump of flesh (this body) is produced by impure substances and remains full of them. Being of that nature, how can it be purified by bathing in the Ganges ?
61. An impure water-pot, though washed again and again by water, cannot be rendered pure ; so the lump full of impurities (the body) can never be rendered pure.
62. A dog, though he cross the Ganges by swimming, does not deserve to be considered pure ; much more is bathing in holy places absolutely useless to the good.
63. If bathing can confer merit, fishermen are very meritorious ; not to speak of the fishes and others who are immersed in water day and night.
64. It is certain that from bathing sin is not even dissipated, because lust, hatred, etc., are found existing in people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages."

In the above verses the followers of the Mahāyāna are characterized as being merciful and liberal, and always determined to save the people of the world ; while it is the followers of the Hīnayāna who are apparently spoken of as being selfish, and as observing ritualistic ceremonies, such as bathing in the Ganges, making pilgrimages, etc. Now, it may be asked, was it not the Brahmins and other

Tirthikas that preached the efficacy of bathing in the Ganges, making pilgrimages, etc. Can it be possible that to Ārya-deva the term Hīnayāna included the followers of Brahmanism? On this compare Śānti-deva, who, in his Bodhi-caryāvatāra, says :

Nanv asiddham Mahāyānam katham siddhas tvad āgamaḥ |
Yasmād ubhaya-siddho 'sau na siddho 'sau tavāditaḥ ||42||

Yat-pratyayā ca tatrāsthā Mahāyāne 'pi tām kuru |
Anyobhayeṣṭa-satyatve vedāder api satyatā || 43 ||

Savivādam Mahāyānam iti ced āgamaṁ tyaja |
Tīrthikāḥ savivādatvāt svaiḥ paraiś cāgamāntaram || 44 ||¹

- “42. If the great vehicle (Mahāyāna) is not inadmissible, how is your tradition admissible? For the reason for which you rely on your books, treat the Mahāyāna in the same manner. Authorities must be acknowledged as authorities, and it is not yours alone that should be regarded as being so.
43. The grounds which have led you to cherish faith in your Śāstras should lead you to cherish the same in the Mahāyāna too. It is on account of the very infallibility vested in both these doctrines that your Vedas also derive their authority.
44. If the Mahāyāna Śāstra is to be rejected as being full of contradictions and inconsistencies, then the Śāstra of the Tirthikas is also to be rejected on the very same ground of contradictions and inconsistencies being contained therein.”

The Mahāyāna was also called Cira-yāna, Bodhisattva-yāna, Eka-yāna, Buddha-yāna, Prathama-yāna, agra-yāna, uttama-yāna, śreṣṭha-yāna, and so forth. So the Aṣṭa-sāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā says :

¹ Bodhi-caryāvatāra, published in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, vol. ii, pts. 1 and 2.

Evam ukte āyusmān Subhūtir Bhagavantam etad avocat :
 Mahāyānaṃ Mahāyānam iti Bhagavan ucyate. Sa-
 devāsūramanuṣyalokam abhibhavan niryāsyati ākāśa-
 samatayā atimahattayā tan Mahāyānam. Yathā ākāśe
 aprameyāṇām asaṃkhyeyāṇām sattvānām avakāśaḥ,
 evam eva Bhagavan asmin yāne aprameyāṇām asaṃ-
 khyeyāṇām sattvānām avakāśaḥ. Anena Bhagavan
 paryāyeṇa : Mahāyānam idam Bodhisattvānām Mahā-
 sattvānām, Naivāsyā āgamo dṛśyate naivāsyā nirgamo
 dṛśyate nāpyasya sthānaṃ saṃvidyate. Evam asya
 Bhagavan Mahāyānasya naiva pūrvānta upalabhyate
 nāpi madhya upalabhyate, atha samaṃ Bhagavaṃs
 tad yānam. Tasmāt Mahāyānaṃ Mahāyānam ity
 ucyate.¹

“After this had been said the long-lived Subhūti spoke
 thus to the Lord : ‘O Lord, Mahāyāna is called the
Mahā-yāna (great vehicle). It is called Mahāyāna
 because it will lead gods, men, and demons, being
 as spacious as the sky. Just as the sky may be
 a receptacle for immeasurable and innumerable
 objects, so also, O Lord, this vehicle (yāna) is
 a receptacle for immense and innumerable sentient
 beings (sattva). In this book, O Lord, the Mahā-
 yāna is to be understood to be a receptacle for the
 Bodhisattvas alone. It is not seen whence it comes,
 whither it goes, and where it stops. Thus, O Lord,
 neither the beginning, nor end, nor middle of the
 Mahāyāna is perceptible. This vehicle (yāna),
 O Lord, is of equal dimensions throughout. It is
 for these reasons that the Mahāyāna is called *Mahā-
 yāna, great vehicle.*’”

Again :

Ye ca khalu punar ime āyusman Subhūte trayo Bodhi-
 sattvayānikāḥ pudgalāḥ Tathāgatena ākhyātāḥ, eṣāṃ

¹ *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition, Prathama
 vivarta, p. 24.

trayāṇaṃ vyavasthānaṃ na bhavati | Ekam eva hi
yānaṃ bhavati yaduta Buddha-yānaṃ Bodhisattva-
yānaṃ | ¹

“O long-lived Subhūti, as to the three classes of passengers
on the Buddha vehicle, described by the Tathāgata,
there is no room for three. In fact there is only one
vehicle called Buddha-yāna or Bodhisattva-yāna.”

Katham ca Ānanda Bodhisattvena Mahāsattvena apareṣāṃ
Bodhisattvayānikānāṃ antike sthātavyam | Tadya-
thāpi nāma Ānanda śāstari | Ete mama Bodhisattvā
Mahāsattvāḥ śāstāra ity evaṃ sthātavyam | Eka-yāna-
samārūḍhā vata ime Bodhisattvā Mahāsattvā eka-
mārga-samārūḍhā vata ime mama Bodhisattvā Mahā-
sattvāḥ samānābhiprāyā vata ime mama Bodhisattvā
Mahāsattvāḥ | ²

“O Ānanda, how should a Bodhisattva behave himself
towards other people on the same vehicle? Just as,
O Ānanda, towards the Lord. He should regard
them as his Lords. He should remember also that
they too are passengers on the same vehicle (eka-
yāna), travellers on the same road (eka-mārga),
and their ends are also the same as his.”

A detailed account of the Mahāyāna is to be found in
chapter xi of the Śata-sahasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, manu-
scripts of which are contained in the Library of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal.

Aśvaghoṣa in his Buddhacarita-kāvya writes :

Prabhāsan kṣepayet kalpaṃ natu Buddha-guṇa-kṣayam |
Evaṃ mayātra Sambuddha-sadguṇo 'bhyanuvarṇyate || 84 ||
Śrutvānumodanāṃ kṛtvā saṃcaradhvaṃ sadā śubhe |
Idaṃ mārsā Mahāyānaṃ Sambuddha-dharma-sādhanaṃ |
Sarva-sattva-hitādhānaṃ sarvabuddhaiḥ pracāritam || 85 || ³

¹ Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, p. 319.

² Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, p. 422, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition.

³ Buddhacarita Kāvya, chap. xvi.

Professor E. B. Cowell translates the ślokas as follows :

“84. A narrator might spend a kalpa, but the virtues of the Buddha would not come to an end,—thus by me has the multitude of the virtues of the Buddha been described.

85. Having heard this and welcomed it with joy, go on ever in happiness; this, sirs, is the Mahāyāna, the instrument of the Law of the perfect Buddha [saṃbuddha, fully enlightened one], which is the establisher of the welfare of all beings, set forth by all the Buddhas.”¹

In the Samādhi-rāja-sūtra, which is a Gatha-Sanskrit work of considerable antiquity, we find that the term Mahāyāna was used as being the source of all Buddhist knowledge, and as denoting the religion professed by the Buddhists :

Anirodham anutpannam anāvilam anakṣaram |
Mahāyānam ahaṃ stoṣye Buddha-jñānābhivāñchayā ||

Aprapañcam nirālambam Bodhisattvair namaskṛtam |
Namāmi śirasājasraṃ Mahāyānam asaṃskṛtam ||²

“With the object of attaining a Buddha’s knowledge, I adore the Mahāyāna (great vehicle), which is neither destroyed nor made, which is devoid of stains, and which cannot be described by words. I repeatedly bow down to the Mahāyāna, which is devoid of any contingency, non-conditional, uncreate, and revered by the Buddhists.”

In the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra, which was perhaps translated into Chinese in the first century A.D., we come across the following passage :—

¹ Buddhacarita, p. 184, S.B.E. Series.

² Samādhirāja Sūtra, p. 1, Buddhist Text Society’s edition.

“O my son in the Law, thou hast practised the Mahāyāna doctrine; thou hast understood and believed the highest truth; therefore I now come to meet and welcome thee.”¹

In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (chap. ii, verse 101, S.B.E. Series, xxi, 53) we find the mention of eka-yāna, the single vehicle for the conveyance of the Buddhists of all sections.

In the Dharma-saṅgraha, section ii, three yānas (vehicles) are mentioned.

Triṇi yānāni ||
Śrāvakayānaṃ Pratyeka-buddha-yānaṃ Mahāyānaṃ ceti |²

In the Pāli work Buddha-vaṃsa, the same three yānas are mentioned :

Kassa vacanaṃ ti? Sāvaka-Pacceka-buddhānāṃ asādhāraṇaṃ Sammāsambuddhassa eva vacanaṃ |³

“Whose word is it? It is the word of the Saṃbuddha (the perfectly enlightened one), which is not to be compared with that of Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas.”

H. A. Jäschke, in his Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 235, writes :

“Tég-pa—2, for attaining to salvation; tég-pa ysum, *three conveyances*, are generally mentioned, but in most cases only two are specified, viz., tég-pa dman-pa, Hīnayāna, and tég-pa čen-po, Mahāyāna, generally called the little and the great conveyance or vehicle, by means of which the distant shore of salvation may be reached. Yet mention is also made of a snāgs-kyi tég-pa, Mantra-yāna, e.g. Tar. 18°, 13.”

¹ Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra, translated into English by J. Takakusu, S.B.E. Series, vol. xlix, pt. 3, p. 190.

² Dharmasaṅgraha, sect. ii, Aryan Series, vol. i, pt. 5.

³ Pāli Text Society's Buddhavaṃsa, pp. x, xi. [Commentary, not text.—Ed.]

With this compare the following from the Lalitavistara :

Yo ānamista sadā gurūṇām Buddha-śrāvaka-Pratyekajinānām | ¹

“He who always bowed down to the respected Śrāvakas, Pratyeka-buddhas, and Buddhas.”

In the Bṛhat Svayambhū Purāṇa the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas are mentioned without any feeling of disrespect to them :

Śrāvakāṇām api nātha Pratyekānām tathaiva ca |
Mahāyānānām sarveṣām vidyānām guruḥ siddhakaḥ || ²

“He is the Lord over the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas ; he is the successful teacher of the branches of Mahāyāna learning.”

In the Ākāśa-garbha Sūtra, quoted in the Śikṣā-samuccaya, we find that Śrāvaka-ship is considered as lower than the Mahāyāna :

Ākāśa-garbha-sūtre tu āha | Śrāvakayānam evāśya na bhavati prāgeva Mahāyānamiti | ³

“He has not acquired the Śrāvakayāna, much less the Mahāyāna.”

Śrāvaka-yānists and Pratyeka-buddha-yānists are ridiculed in some texts. In Śikṣā-samuccaya, p. 7, we find one who did not pay respect to the Mahāyāna (Buddha-yāna), but followed the Śrāvaka-yāna, designated as Paśu-rathagatika, a passenger of the beasts' carriage.

The Śrāvakas were listeners, learners, exercising their energies in acquiring Buddhist knowledge for themselves, but not necessarily trying to teach their fellow-men to achieve the same. The Pratyeka-buddhas, themselves enlightened, were not of any service in spreading enlightenment to others. It was the Buddhas alone that worked hard to deliver their fellow-men.

¹ Lalitavistara, chap. xx, p. 368, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition.

² Bṛhat Svayambhū Purāṇa, fasc. iv, p. 322, Bibliotheca Indica Series.

³ Śikṣāsamuccaya, Prathama-pariccheda, p. 11.

In the Vajra-chedikā we find that a man of the Buddha vehicle should make it a point to save his fellow-men by preaching among them the religion of Buddha.

Atha khalu Āyusmān Subhūtir Bhagavantam etad avocat |
Katham Bhagavan Bodhisattva-yāna-samprasthitena
sthātavyam katham pratihattavyam katham cittam
pragrahitavyam | Bhagavānāha | iha Subhūte Bodhi-
sattva-yāna-samprasthitena evam cittam utpādayi-
tavyam sarve sattvā mayā anupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇa-
dhātau parinirvāpayitavyāḥ | ¹

“Then the long-lived Subhūti said thus to the Lord :
‘How, O Lord, should the passenger of the Buddhist
vehicle conduct himself, how train himself, how
should he discipline his heart?’ The Lord replied :
‘The passenger of the Buddhist vehicle should here
cherish such desire that he may bring about the
salvation of all sentient beings by enabling them
to enter into the unconditional element of Nirvāṇa.’”

In the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka we find the distinction between
the Śrāvaka- and Pratyeka-buddha-yānas on the one hand,
and the Mahāyāna on the other, stated as follows :

Yat tvaṃ Brāhmaṇa svapnam adrākṣiḥ apare manuṣyā
mahīṣa - rathābhirūḍhāḥ sumanomālā - laṅkṛtaśirasah
apathena dakṣiṇābhīmukhaṃ gacchanti te api tvayā
Brāhmaṇa kulaputrāḥ triṣu puṇya - kriyā - vastuṣu
pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ kevalam ātma - damanārtham ātma-
śamanārtham śrāvakayāna - samprasthitāḥ teṣāṃ
śrāvakayāna-samprasthitānāṃ Brāhmaṇa-pudgalānāṃ
idaṃ pūrvanimittam | ²

“O Brāhmaṇ, you saw in a dream that some men,
ornamented on the head by garlands of flowers,
were going astray towards the south by riding
buffaloes. Those men, too, were made by you to

¹ Vajracchedikā, pp. 35, 36, Oxford edition.

² Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka, Buddhist Text Society's edition, p. 24.

accept articles of virtue ; they, for the sake of controlling themselves and for setting themselves in repose, took up the vehicle of the Śrāvakas. O Brāhman, your dream was a forecast of the people of Śrāvakayāna."

On page 67 of the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka the following passage occurs :

Na ca punaḥ Śrāvaka - Pratyeka - buddha - yānā - bhilāṣī
anuttarayānam ākāṅkṣāmi |

"I am not a candidate for the Śrāvaka-yāna nor for the Pratyeka-buddha-yāna, but I desire the attainment of the anuttarayāna (excellent vehicle)."

On pages 65 and 66 of the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka (Buddhist Text Society's edition), the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas are described as being those who did not forsake the world, and whose thirst was not totally quenched. The Mahāyānist were, on the other hand, described as being those whose longings for the world were completely extinct, and whose exertions were wholly devoted to the deliverance of their fellow-men.

From the above we may perhaps draw the conclusion that in the earliest Mahāyāna books the authors looked upon every view of life, different from their own, as Hīnayāna, the meaner, lower, lesser vehicle. They did not confine it exclusively to designate other Buddhists. But from the fourth century downwards, in the period of Hindu revival, when Buddhism, waning in India, was spreading rapidly in adjoining and other countries, and the demand for missionaries became great, the word Mahāyānist meant especially those who were willing to go forth as preachers to save the world ; and Hīnayānist meant especially a Buddhist who would not, or did not, do this. It never meant the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

NOTE BY PROFESSOR C. BENDALL.

As the foregoing paper was submitted to me by the Council for opinion, I subjoin at the request of the acting editor of the Journal some notes upon it.

The collection of passages from books mainly untranslated is in itself interesting; but with the chief conclusion, as to the meaning of 'Hīnayāna,' few serious students will, I think, agree.

The key to one of the chief difficulties is to be found in a passage, clearly from an early Mahāyāna-sūtra, presented in the Mahāvvyutpatti (§ 10. 32), the most authoritative of the old glossaries of Buddhist Sanskrit, where we read: "*viṣiṣṭaparinirvāṇārthaṃ satvā hīnayānaṃ prārthayante yad idam śrāvaka-pratyekabuddhayānaṃ*, 'creatures seek after the Hīnayāna, to wit, the yāna of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas.'"

This explanation brings several of the above passages well into line with the usually received view as to the two main divisions of Buddhist thought. The extract from Āryadeva¹ is both interesting and humorous, but I cannot see that in stanzas 60-64 the Hīnayānists are still spoken of.

It is not clear to me what the author means to prove by his quotation from Bodhic., IX. 42-44. I may mention, however, that the commentary printed in de la Vallée Poussin's "Bouddhisme," pp. 282 seqq., understands the disputants to be Buddhists, as the point is, what is 'approved' (*siddham*) as being the 'word' of Buddha (*Bhagavad-vacanam* . . . *Buddhavadacanam*). In the next verses non-Buddhists are introduced by way of illustration; *Vedādi* is explained as meaning "the Vedas, the Sāṅkhya writings, and so on," while the *tīrthikas* are "Mīmāṃsakas and others."

¹ The poem is called, as I have recently discovered from a Buddhist anthology, *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa*.—C. B.

But we have fortunately other means for determining the question as to the real meaning of the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

The testimony of the Chinese Pilgrims seems quite clear. I-tsing's notes (at pp. 14, 15 of Takakusu's translation of his "Record") on the local distribution, the points of union (e.g. the Vinaya, the five *skandhas*, the four *āryasatyas*) and disunion (worship of Bodhisattvas) leave hardly a doubt as to what he thought. Other passages may be found through Takakusu's index, s.v. Hīnayāna. As for Hiuen Tsang, he goes through the Buddhist world classifying countries and monasteries, according to the 'Great' or 'Little' Vehicle.

From monuments the testimony is less conclusive, but no intelligent traveller has much difficulty in recognizing the Mahāyāna caves with their images of Avalokiteśvara and Padmapāṇi. It would be interesting to work out this latter line in detail, with inscriptions.

As to the writer's concluding sentence, it is too much to expect topographical information on distant countries from authors like the Indian Mahāyāna doctors, but as to Ceylon it may be worth while to note here that recent discoveries, archaeological and literary, have disclosed the real existence of worshippers of Avalokiteśvara in the island, so that the rather confused tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, though questioned by Beal ("Buddhist Records," ii, p. 247, n. 18), may still have an element of truth. However the facts may have been, the important point for us now is that Hiuen Tsang *does* (if he be correctly translated) describe some of the 'Buddhists of Ceylon' as of 'the Little Vehicle.'

ART. IV.—*Translation of the Japji.* By M. MACAULIFFE,
M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (retired).

THE Japji is the prayer which must be repeated every morning by all true Sikhs. It was composed by Baba Nanak in advanced years, and gives a brief summary of his idea of God, religion, ethics, and cosmogony. His views on these subjects are found much further expanded in his other compositions incorporated in the Ad Granth. The Sikhs regard the Japji as the key to the teaching of the early Gurus.

Last year I printed and privately circulated among learned Sikhs a rough translation of the Japji for the favour of correction and return. The translation was returned to me with corrections and suggestions by very many learned and distinguished Sikhs, among whom I may mention His Highness Prince Ripdaman Singh (Tikka Sahib of Nabha), Baba Sumer Singh (Mahant, Patna Sahib), Sirdar Lilaram Watanmal (Subordinate Judge, Sind), Sirdar Kahn Singh of Nabha, Sirdar Aya Singh (District Judge, Punjab), Bhais Bhagwan Singh and Hazara Singh of Amritsar, Bhai Avatar Singh, Bhai Lachhman Singh, and others whom I beg to thank for the assistance rendered me. The corrections and suggestions received I have now placed before several gyanis or professional interpreters of the Granth Sahib, at the head of whom is Bhai Sardul Singh Gyani, Amritsar; and the result is the following amended translation. My gyanis have not been able to accept all the corrections and suggestions received, because some very obviously did not suit the context; but all of them have been carefully considered, and none rejected, it is believed, without sufficient reason.

The Japji is perhaps one of the most difficult of human compositions. The notes appended to the translation may give some, but only a very inadequate, idea of the struggle the gyanis and myself have had with the text. The Ad Granth, also called the Granth Sahib, is now unintelligible to the great mass of the Sikhs, and in a generation or two there will be hardly any gyanis left, and the Sikh religion will be lost, or have become absorbed, in Hinduism if there be no translation now made in some literary language.

THE JAPJI.

There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator,¹ devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent²; by the favour of the Guru.³

Repeat His name.

The True One was in the beginning; the True One was in the primal age.

The True One is⁴ now also, O Nanak,⁵ the True One also shall be.

¹ *Karta purukh*. It is perhaps not necessary to translate the word *purukh*. It means male or creative agency. The all-pervading spirit in union with a female element uttered a word from which sprang creation. In the Granth Sahib the Gurus speak of God as a male and themselves as females.

² *Saibhan* is derived from the Sanskrit *swayambhu*, which I have found in this passage in a very ancient Sikh MS.

³ *Gur Parsad*. I have translated these words in deference to the opinions of the majority of the Sikhs; but with several learned gyanis I have no doubt that they were intended as epithets of God, the great and bountiful. Vide Capeller's Sanskrit Dictionary under the words *gur* and *prasadowit*. Guru Nanak had no human guru; his guru was God. It was during the spiritual supremacy of his successors the favour of the Guru was invoked, and deemed indispensable for deliverance.

⁴ *Bhi*, 'also.' There are two *bhi* in this line which some say are idiomatic. I have very little doubt that the first *bhi* is an obsolete past tense of the defective verb *bhu*, and that the verse ought to be translated—The True One is, was, and also shall be.

⁵ In Oriental poetical works it is usual for the poet to insert his real or assumed name in the end of a composition or section of a composition. This

I.

By thinking I cannot obtain a conception of Him, even though I think hundreds of thousands of times.

Even though I be silent and keep my attention¹ firmly fixed on Him, I cannot preserve silence.

Hungry for God, my hunger ceaseth not though I obtain the load of the worlds.

If man should have thousands and hundreds of thousands of devices, even one would not assist him in obtaining God.

How shall man become true before God? How shall the veil of falsehood be rent?²

By walking, O Nanak, according to the will³ of the Commander as preordained.

II.

By His order bodies are produced; His order cannot be described.

By His order souls⁴ are infused into them; by His order greatness is obtained.

By His order men are high or low; by His order they obtain preordained pain or pleasure.

By His order some obtain their reward;⁵ by His order others must ever wander in transmigration.

All are subject to His order; none is exempt from it.

He who understandeth God's order, O Nanak, is never guilty of egoism.⁶

practice is unknown to European poets except in the case of professed imitators of Oriental poetry. Were I therefore to omit the word 'Nanak' wherever it occurs, I should be consulting the taste of European readers, but the Sikhs do not desire such an omission.

¹ *Līṇ*, the Sanskrit *līpsa*, 'longing.' It sometimes appears to correspond to the English word 'love.'

² Also translated—How shall the line of falsehood be broken?

³ *Rajai*, *raja*, the Arabic *raza*, the divine pleasure.

⁴ In these two lines some suppose *akar* to refer to the non-sentient, *jiv* to the sentient world.

⁵ That is, to be blended with God.

⁶ Literally, would not be guilty of saying *haun main*, i.e., I exist by myself independently of God. This is the sin of spiritual pride.

III.

Who can sing His power? Who has power to *sing it*?¹
 Who can sing His gifts or know His signs?²
 Who can sing His attributes, His greatness, and His deeds?³
 Who can sing His knowledge whose study is arduous?
 Who can sing Him, who fashioneth the body and *again*
 destroyeth it?
 Who can sing Him, who taketh away life and again re-
 storeth it?
 Who can sing Him, who appeareth to be far, *but* is known
 to be near?
 Who can sing Him, who is *all-seeing* and omnipresent?⁴
 In describing Him there would never be an end.
 Millions of men give millions upon millions of descriptions
 of Him, *but they fail to describe Him.*
 The Giver giveth; the receiver groweth weary of receiving.
 In every age man subsisteth by *His bounty.*
 The Commander by His order hath laid out the way of *the*
 world.
 Nanak, God, who is free from care, is happy.

IV.

True is the Lord, true is His name; it is uttered with endless
 love.⁵
 People pray and beg, "Give me, give me"; the Giver giveth
 His gifts,

¹ Also translated—Whoever has the power.

² Also translated—He who knows his signs.

³ *Char* is understood to be a contracted form of *achar*. Some translate the word 'excellent,' and make it an epithet of *wadiai*.

⁴ The preceding lines of this pauni are also translated:—

Some sing His power according to their abilities;
 Some sing His gifts according to their knowledge of His signs;
 Some sing His attributes, His greatness, and His deeds;
 Some sing His knowledge whose study is arduous;
 Some sing that He fashioneth the body and again destroyeth it;
 Some that He taketh away the soul and again restoreth it;
 Some that He appeareth far from mortal gaze;
 Some that He is all-seeing and omnipresent.

⁵ Also translated—His attributes are described in endless languages.

Then what can we offer Him whereby His court may be seen?
 What words shall we utter with our lips, on hearing which
 He may love us?

At the ambrosial hour of *morning* meditate on the true name
 and *God's* greatness.

The Kind One will give us a robe of honour, and by His
 favour we shall reach the gate of salvation.¹

Nanak, we shall thus know that God is altogether true.²

V.

He is not established, nor is He created.

The pure one existeth by Himself.

They who worshipped Him have obtained honour.

Nanak, sing *the praises* of Him, who is the Treasury of
 excellencies.

Sing and hear and put His love in your hearts.

Thus shall your sorrows be removed, and you shall be
 absorbed in Him who is the abode of happiness.³

Under the Guru's instruction God's word *is heard*; under
 the Guru's instruction its knowledge is acquired;
 under the Guru's instruction man *learns that God* is
 everywhere contained.⁴

The Guru is Shiva; the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma; the
 Guru is Parbati, Lakhshmi, and Saraswati.⁵

¹ This verse is also translated—By our former acts we acquire this *human*
 vesture, and by God's favour reach the gate of salvation.

² This verse is commonly translated—We shall then *know* that God is all in all
 Himself—but this translation does not appear to harmonize with the preceding
 part of the *pauri*.

³ Also translated—And you shall take happiness to your homes.

⁴ This very difficult verse is also translated—

(1) The voice of God is found as well in other compositions as in the Vedas;
 the voice of God is all-pervading.

(2) The pious know the Guru's instruction, *that* God is everywhere con-
 tained.

(3) The voice of the Guru is as the Vedas for the holy; they are absorbed
 in it.

⁵ This verse is also translated—

(1) He is greater than Shiva; greater than Vishnu and Brahma; greater
 than Parbati, Lakhshmi, and Saraswati.

(2) For the holy the Guru is Shiva; the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma; the
 Guru is Parbati, Lakhshmi, and Saraswati.

The tenth Guru says: "Khanda prithme saj ke Jin sab sansar upaiya." (God

If I knew Him, should I not describe Him? He cannot be described by words.

My Guru hath explained one thing to me—

That there is *but* one Bestower on all living beings; may I not forget Him!

VI.

If I please Him, that is my place of pilgrimage to bathe in;
if I please Him not, what ablutions shall I make?

What can all the created creatures I behold obtain without *previous* good acts?

Precious stones, jewels, and gems *shall be treasured up* in thy heart if thou hearken to even one word of the Guru.

The Guru hath explained one thing to me—

That there is *but* one Bestower on all living beings; may I not forget Him!

VII.

Were man to live through the four ages, *yea* ten times longer,

Were he to be known on the nine continents, and were everybody to follow in his train,¹

Were he to obtain a great name and praise and renown² in the world,

If God's look of favour fell not on him, no one would notice him.

He would be accounted a worm among worms, and even sinners would impute sin to him.

first created the sword, the emblem of Death, and then the world.) So here Shiva obtains precedence as the agent of destruction. The word uttered by God became the source of knowledge of Him through the Guru in the three forms of Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma.

¹ That is, to show him respect.

² *Jas* is praise in one's presence, *kirat* praise in one's absence.

Nanak, God may bestow virtue on those who are devoid of
it, as well as on those who *already* possess it;
But no such person is seen as can bestow virtue upon Him.

VIII.

By hearing *the name of* God men become Sidhs, Pirs, Surs,
and Naths.¹

By hearing *the name* man understandeth the real nature of the
earth, its supporting bull,² and Heaven.

By hearing *the name* man obtaineth a knowledge of the
continents, the worlds, and the nether regions.

By hearing *the name* death doth not affect one.³

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing *the name* sorrow and sin are no more.

IX.

By hearing *the name* man becometh as Shiva, Brahma, and
Indra.

By hearing the name *even* the low become highly lauded.⁴

By hearing the name the way of the jogi and the secrets
of the body *are obtained*.

By hearing the name man *understandeth the real nature of*
the Shastras, the Simritis, and the Vedas.⁵

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing the name sorrow and sin are no more.

¹ Sidhs are men who have acquired supernatural powers by asceticism; Pirs are Muhammadan saints; Surs are demigods; Naths are superiors among jogis.

² The bull which the Hindus believe supports the earth. This is not believed in by the Sikhs. See below, pauri XVI.

³ Man shall not die again, but obtain deliverance.

⁴ Also translated—By hearing the name one is praised by high and low.

⁵ There are six Shastras, twenty-seven Simritis, and four Vedas.

X.

By hearing the name truth, contentment, and divine knowledge *are obtained.*

Hearing the name is equal to bathing at the sixty-eight *places of pilgrimage.*¹

By hearing the name and reading it man obtaineth honour.²

By hearing the name the mind is composed and fixed on God.³

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing the name sorrow and sin are no more.

XI.

By hearing the name, the depth of the sea of virtue is sounded.⁴

By hearing the name *men become* shekhs,⁵ pirs, and emperors.

By hearing the name a blind man findeth his way.

By hearing the name the unfathomable becometh fathomable.

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing the name sorrow and sin are no more.

XII.

The condition of him who obeyeth God cannot be described.

Whoever tryeth to describe it, shall afterward repent.

There is no paper, or pen, or writer

To describe *the condition* of him who obeyeth God.

So pure is God's name,

Whoever obeyeth God knoweth *the pleasure of it* in his own heart.⁶

¹ Sixty-eight is the number of holy places in the opinion of the Hindus.

² Also translated—On hearing the name man obtaineth honour by the knowledge acquired.

³ Or—By hearing the name man easily meditateth upon God.

⁴ Also translated—Man acquireth the best virtues.

⁵ Shekhs are really superiors of Muhammadan monks.

⁶ Literally, he knows it in his own mind, that is, he obtains a pleasure which is incommunicable.

XIII.

By obeying Him wisdom and understanding *enter* the mind.
 By obeying Him man knoweth all worlds.¹
 By obeying Him man suffereth not punishment.²
 By obeying Him man shall not depart with Jam.³
 So pure is God's name,
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart.

XIV.

By obeying Him man's path is not obstructed.
 By obeying Him man departeth with honour and distinction.
 By obeying Him man proceedeth in ecstasy⁴ on his way.
 By obeying Him man formeth an alliance with virtue.
 So pure is God's name,
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart.

XV.

By obeying Him man obtaineth the gate of salvation.
 By obeying Him man is saved with his family.
 By obeying Him the Guru is saved, and saveth his disciples.
 By obeying Him, O Nanak, man wandereth not *in quest*
 of alms.⁵
 So pure is God's name,
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart.

¹ *Bhawan*. According to Hindus and Musalmans there are fourteen worlds all forming the universe.

² Literally, eateth not blows on his mouth.

³ *Jam*, the God of Death, known as Yama in Sanskrit writings. This verse means that man shall not die again, but be absorbed in God.

⁴ *Magun*. This word is understood to be for *magan*. Those who read *magu* na translate—

(1) By obeying Him man proceedeth not by the path of destruction.

(2) Man proceedeth by the broad, not the narrow way.

⁵ This is explained to mean—Does not wander in transmigration.

XVI.

The elect¹ are acceptable, the elect are distinguished.
 The elect obtain honour in God's court.
 The elect shed lustre² on the courts of kings.
 The attention of the elect is bestowed on the one Guru.³
 If anyone say he can form an idea of God, *he may say so,*
But the Creator's works cannot be numbered.
 The bull *that is spoken of* is righteousness, the offspring of
 mercy,
 Which supported by patience maintaineth the order of nature.⁴
 Whoever understandeth this is a true man.
 What a load there is upon the bull!⁵
 Beyond this earth there are more worlds, more and more.
 What power can support their weight?
 The names of living things, their species, and colours,
 Have all been written with a flowing pen.
 Does anyone know how to write an account of them?
 If the account were written, how great it would be!
 What power and beautiful form are thine, O God.
 Who hath power⁶ to know how great Thy gifts are?
 By one word⁷ Thou didst effect the expansion of the world,
 Whereby hundreds of thousands of rivers were produced.
 What power have I to describe Thee?
 I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.
 Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.
 Thou, O Formless One, art ever secure.

¹ *Panch*, literally 'five.' The number conveys the idea of selection. There is a Hindustani proverb, "*Panchon men Parameshwar hai*" (Where five are assembled, God is in the midst of them). Others say that *panch* refers to the five classes of persons previously mentioned—those who walk according to God's will, who know Him to be true, who praise Him, who hear His name, and who obey Him.

² This is the interpretation of *sohahi* given by Bhai Chanda Singh in his commentary on the Granth Sahib.

³ The elect have one God as their Guru or spiritual guide, and meditate on Him.

⁴ *Sut*, the thread on which the world is strung. The Guru means by patience the adjusted balance of the world, everything being in equipoise.

⁵ Here Guru Nanak obviously rejects the Hindu story of the bull.

⁶ I understand *kut* as the Arabic *kuwwat*. If *kut* be held to mean 'food,' a meaning which the word so pronounced also bears in Arabic, the verse will be translated—Who knoweth the extent of Thy gifts of sustenance?

⁷ The Hindus believe this is "*Eko aham, bahu syam*"—I am one, let me become many.

XVII.

Numberless Thy worshippers,¹ and numberless Thy lovers ;
 Numberless Thine adorers, and numberless those who perform
 austerities for Thee ;
 Numberless the reciters of *sacred* books and Vedas ;
 Numberless Thy jogis whose hearts are indifferent *to the*
 world ;
 Numberless the saints who ponder on Thine attributes and
 divine knowledge ;
 Numberless Thy true men ; numberless Thine almsgivers ;
 Numberless Thy heroes who face the steel of their enemies ;²
 Numberless Thy silent *worshippers* who lovingly fix their
 thoughts upon Thee.
 What power have I to describe Thee ?
 I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.
 Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.
 O Formless One, Thou art ever secure.

XVIII.

Numberless are the fools appallingly blind ;
 Numberless are the thieves and devourers of others' property ;³
 Numberless those who establish their sovereignty by force ;⁴
 Numberless the cut-throats and murderers ;
 Numberless the sinners *who pride themselves on* committing sin ;
 Numberless the liars who roam about lying ;
 Numberless the filthy⁵ who enjoy filthy gain ;
 Numberless the slanderers who carry loads *of calumny* on
 their heads ;
 Nanak thus describeth the degraded.
 I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.

¹ Literally, repetitions of God's name. Here the word is used by metonymy for those who repeat God's name.

² Literally, who eat iron with their mouths.

³ *Haramkhor*. This word literally means 'eaters of forbidden food.'

⁴ Also translated—Numberless are those who issue oppressive orders.

⁵ *Malesh*—Whose desires are filthy, and who are deemed the lowest of the low, complete outcasts.

Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.
O Formless One, Thou art ever secure.

XIX.

Numberless *Thy* names, and numberless *Thy* places.
Completely beyond reach¹ are *Thy* numberless worlds.
Numberless those who repeat *Thy name* with *all* the strength
of their intellects.²
By letters³ *we repeat* *Thy name*, by letters we praise Thee ;
By letters *we acquire* divine knowledge, and sing *Thy praises*
and *Thine attributes* ;
By letters we write and utter the word⁴ of God ;
By the letters *recorded* on man's head his destiny is declared.⁵
He who inscribeth them on others, beareth not them on *His*
own head.
As He ordaineth, so shall man obtain.
As great *Thy creation*, O God, so great *Thy fame* !
There is no place without *Thy name*.
What power have I to describe Thee ?
I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.
Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.
O Formless One, Thou art ever secure.

XX.

When the hands, feet, and *other members* of the body are
covered with filth,
It is removed by washing with water.

¹ *Agam*, from a meaning 'not' and *gam* 'to go.'

² Also translated—

(1) With their bodies reversed, that is, standing on their heads, a form of religious austerity practised in India.

(2) Those who try to describe Thee shall have to carry loads of *sin* on their heads.

³ Letters here appear to mean sacred literature.

⁴ *Ban* generally means 'custom.' Here it is understood to be used for *bani*.

⁵ Also translated—His union with God is determined.

When thy clothes are polluted,
 Apply soap, and the impurity shall be washed away.
 So when the mind is defiled by sin,
 It is cleansed by the colour¹ of the name.
 Men do not become saints or sinners by merely calling
 themselves so.
 The recording angels take with them a record of *man's* acts.
 It is he himself soweth, and he himself eateth.
 Nanak, man suffereth transmigration by God's order.

XXI.

Pilgrimage, austerities, mercy, and almsgiving on general
 and special occasions²
 Whoever performeth, *may obtain* some little honour.
 But he who heareth and obeyeth and loveth *God* in his heart,
 Shall wash off his *impurity* in the place of pilgrimage
 within him.
 All virtues are thine, O Lord; none are mine.
 There is no devotion without virtue.
 From the self-existent *proceeded* Maya (athi), whence issued
 a word which produced Brahma and the rest³—
 "Thou art true, Thou art beautiful, there is ever pleasure
 in Thy heart!"
 What the time, what the epoch, what the lunar day, and
 what the week-day,
 What the season, and what the month, when the world was
 created,
 The pandits did not discover; had they done so, they would
 have recorded it in the Puranas.
 Nor did the kazis⁴ discover it; had they done so, they would
 have recorded it in the Kuran.

¹ *Rang*. Literally, a dye, a colour, water in which the washing powder of the name has been dissolved. Laundrymen in India use indigo in washing.

² *Dat* means general almsgiving; *dan*, gifts at religious festivals.

³ The verse is also translated—"Blessing on Thee!" is said to have been the first salutation that Brahma addressed Thee.

⁴ Baba Nanak means the scribes who reduced the Kuran to writing.

Neither the jogi nor any other *mortal* knows the lunar day,
or the week-day, or the season, or the month.

When the Creator fashioned the world *only* he Himself
knoweth.

How shall I address Thee, O God? how shall I praise Thee?
how shall I describe Thee? and how shall I know
Thee?

Saith Nanak, everybody speaketh of Thee, one wiser than
the other.

Great is the Lord, great is His name; *it is only* what He
doeth that cometh to pass.¹

Nanak, he who is spiritually proud shall not be honoured
on his arrival in the next world.

XXII.

There are hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions.
Men have grown weary at last of searching *for God's* limits;
the Vedas say one thing, *that God has no limit.*²

The thousands of Puranas³ and Muhammadan books⁴ tell
that in reality there is but one principle.⁵

If God can be described by writing, then describe Him; *but*
such description is impossible.

O Nanak, call Him great; only He Himself knoweth how
great He is.

¹ That is, man can do nothing of himself. Whatever he does proceeds from God.

² "Satyan jnanam anantan Brahm"—God is true, the source of knowledge, without end. The verse is also translated—The Vedas have at last grown weary of searching for God's limits, but they cannot give the slightest description of Him.

³ There are only eighteen Puranas. The expression in the text means a thousand times eighteen or an indefinite number. The word *sahas* is also understood by the gyanis to refer to rishis and learned men of indefinite numbers.

⁴ *Kitaba* is understood to mean the four books accepted by learned Muham-madans—the Old Testament, the Psalms of David, the New Testament, and the Kuran.

⁵ That is, that God is the root or principle of all things. "Eko Brahm, dutiyo nastiye."

XXIII.

Praisers praise God, but have not acquired a knowledge
of Him,
As rivers and streams fall into the sea, but know not *its*
extent.
Kings and emperors who possess oceans and mountains of
property and wealth ¹
Are not equal to the worm which forgetteth not God in its
heart.

XXIV.

There is no limit to God's praises; ² to those who repeat
them there is no limit.
There is no limit to His mercy, and to His gifts there is no
limit.
There is no limit to what God seeth, no limit to what He
heareth.
The limit of the secret of His heart cannot be known.
The limit of His creation cannot be known; neither His
limit nor His end can be ascertained. ³
To know His limits how many vex their hearts. ⁴
His limits cannot be ascertained;
Nobody knoweth His limits.
The more we say, the more *that remains* to be said.
Great is the Lord, and exalted is His seat.
His exalted name is higher than the *most* exalted.
Were anyone else ever so exalted,
Then he would know that exalted Being.
How great He is He knoweth Himself.
Nanak, God bestoweth gifts *on those on whom He looks* with
favour and mercy.

¹ Also translated—As the sea is the king of streams, so is God the monarch of men. Those who possess mountainous wealth, etc.

² Also translated—There is no limit to the Praised One.

³ Literally, "neither His near nor His further side can be known," a metaphor taken from the banks of a river.

⁴ *Billaā*, literally 'cry in pain.'

XXV.

His many bounties¹ cannot be recorded.
 He is a great giver and hath not a particle of covetousness.
 How many, *yea*, countless heroes beg of Him !
 How many *others* whose number cannot be conceived !
 How many pine away in sin !
 How many persons receive yet deny God's gifts !
 How many fools there are who merely eat !
 How many are ever dying in distress and want !
 O giver, these things also come from Thee.
 Whether we *shall again* be enclosed in a body or *obtain*
 deliverance dependeth on Thy will :
 Nobody can interfere with it.
 If any fool² try to interfere with it,
 He shall know himself the punishment he shall suffer.
 God himself knoweth to whom He should give, and He
 Himself giveth.
 Only very few acknowledge this.³
 He to whom God hath given the *boon* of praising and
 lauding Him,
 O Nanak, is the King of kings.⁴

XXVI.

Priceless are Thine attributes, O God, and priceless Thy
 dealings ;⁵
 Priceless Thy dealers,⁶ priceless Thy storehouses ;
 Priceless is what cometh from Thee, and priceless what is
 taken away ;

¹ *Karm* in Sanskrit is 'work,' in Persian 'kindness, favour, or bounty.' The context seems to show that the last mentioned is intended.

² *Khaik*. This word is also found in the "Sri Rag ki war—thao nahin khaika."

³ The majority of people suppose that God's favours are obtained through a mediator.

⁴ Also translated—*To those few, O Nanak, the King of kings*
 Giveth the boon of praising and lauding Him.

⁵ In the True name.

⁶ That is, religious men who deal in the True name.

Priceless Thy rate and priceless the time *for dealing*;¹
 Priceless Thy justice and priceless Thy court;
 Priceless Thy weights and priceless Thy measures;²
 Priceless Thy gifts and priceless Thy marks;
 Priceless Thy mercy and priceless Thy ordinances.
 How beyond all price *Thou art* cannot be stated.
 Ever speaking of Thee men continue to fix their thoughts
 on Thee.³

Those who read the Vedas and Puranas speak of Thee;
 Learned men speak of Thee and deliver discourses on Thee;
 Brahmas speak of Thee, and Indras speak of Thee;
 The milkmaids and Krishna speak of Thee;
 Shivas speak of Thee, the Sidhs speak of Thee;
 All the Budhas Thou hast created speak of Thee;
 The demons speak of Thee, the gods speak of Thee;
 Thy demigods, men, munis, and servants speak of Thee;
 How many speak of Thee or attempt to speak of Thee!
 How many depart while speaking of Thee!
 If thou wert to create as many more as Thou hast created,
 Even then few of them would be able to speak *adequately*
 of Thee.

Thou mayest be as great as Thou pleasest.
 Nanak, only the True one Himself knoweth how great He is.
 If anyone were to speak improperly of God,
 Write him down as the most ignorant of all men.

XXVII.

What is that gate, what is that mansion, where Thou, *O God*,
 sittest and watchest over all things?
 How many musicians sing various and countless songs to
 Thee!

¹ Also translated—Priceless is thy love, and priceless those who are absorbed in it.

² I read *graman* for *parwan*. If the latter be read, the translation will be—Priceless Thy weights and priceless Thine acceptance of mortals. A third translation is—Priceless Thy scale and priceless Thy weights.

³ Also translated—Repeating that *Thou art priceless* men continue to fix their attention on Thee.

How many musical measures with their consorts, and how many singers sing Thee !¹

Wind, water, and fire sing Thee; Dharmraj sings at Thy gate. The recording angels,² who know how to write and on whose record Dharmraj³ judgeth, sing Thee.

Ishar,⁴ Brahma, and Devi,⁵ ever beautiful as adorned by Thee, sing Thee.

Indar, seated on His throne, with the gods at Thy gate sing Thee.

Sidhs⁶ in meditation sing Thee; holy men in contemplation sing Thee.

The continent, the true, and the patient sing Thee; unyielding heroes sing Thee.

The pandits and the supreme Rikhis,⁷ reading their Vedas, sing Thee in every age.

The lovely *celestial maids* who beguile the heart in the upper, middle,⁸ and nether regions sing Thee.

The jewels⁹ created by Thee with the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage sing Thee.

Mighty warriors and divine heroes sing Thee; the four sources of life¹⁰ sing Thee.

The continents, the worlds, and the universe made and supported by Thy hands sing Thee.

¹ There are six ragas or musical measures, which have each five raginis as their consorts, and eight minor ragas as their offspring.

² Chitr and Gupt. *Chitr* means 'visible,' *Gupt* 'invisible.' According to the Sikhs, *Chitr* records man's overt acts, *Gupt* the designs of his heart. In Sanskrit literature Chitr-gupt is one person, the Recorder of Yama.

³ The Pluto of the Greeks.

⁴ A title of Shiva.

⁵ The female energy of nature. She has numerous names in Sanskrit literature.

⁶ Men who have acquired supernatural power by the practice of *yog*.

⁷ There are said to be seven supreme Rikhis, sons of Brahma. The Vedas were written by Rikhis.

⁸ *Mach*, literally 'fish.' It is here understood to be the earth.

⁹ According to the Hindus, Vishnu in his Karmavatara assumed the shape of a tortoise which supported the earth while the gods churned the ocean. From the ocean were produced the fourteen gems or jewels here referred to. They are Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu, the moon, a white horse with seven heads, a holy sage, a prodigious elephant, the tree of plenty, the all-yielding cow, etc.

¹⁰ The Hindus enumerate four sources of life, and say that animals are born from eggs, wombs, the earth, and perspiration.

The saints who please Thee, and who are imbued with Thy
love¹ sing Thee.

The many others who sing Thee I cannot remember; how
could Nanak recount them?²

That God is ever true, He is the true Lord, and the true
name.

He who made this world is and shall be; he shall neither
depart nor be made to depart.³

He who through Maya created things of different colours,
descriptions, and species,

Beholdeth His handiwork which attesteth His greatness.

¹ *Rasale* is literally an abode of pleasure. The reading *ras nale*, which would remove all difficulty, has been suggested.

² The following is offered as a free blank verse paraphrase of this *pauri* :—

What is that gate, that mansion what, where thou
Dost sit and watch o'er all Thy wondrous works?
Many the harps and songs which time Thy praise,
Yea, countless; Thy musicians who can tell?
How many measures sung with high delight,
And voices which exalt Thy peerless name!
To Thee sing water, wind, and breathing fire;
To Thee sings Dharamraj in regions drear;
To Thee sing th' angels who men's deeds record
For judgment final by that king of death.
To Thee sing Shiva, Brahma, and the Queen
Of Heav'n with radiant beauty ever crown'd;
To Thee sing Indra and th' attendant gods
Around Thy throne and seraphs at Thy gate.
To Thee sing Sidhs in meditation deep,
And holy men who ponder but on Thee.
To Thee sing chaste and patient of mankind,
Unyielding heroes of true faith approved.
To Thee sing pandits and the chiefs of saints;
The ages four and Veds to them assigned.
To Thee sing maidens who delight the sense,
This world of ours, high heaven, and hell below.
To Thee sing gems from Vishnu's sea that rose,
And eight and sixty spots of pilgrims' haunt.
To Thee sing heroes and the men of might;
The sources four from which all life doth spring.
To Thee sing regions, orbs, and universe,
Created, cherished, and upheld by Thee!
To Thee sing those whose deeds delight Thine eye,
The hosts that wear the colours of Thy faith.
All things beside which sing Thy glorious name,
Could ne'er be told by Nanak's lowly song.

³ Also translated—

- (1) Creation shall depart, but not He who made it.
- (2) He who made creation shall not be born or die.

He will do what pleaseth Himself ; no order may be issued to Him.

He is king, the king of kings, O Nanak ; all remain subject to His will.

XXVIII.

Make contentment thine earrings, modesty and self-respect thy wallet, meditation the ashes to *smear on thy body*.

Make thy body, which is only a morsel for death, thy beggar's coat, and faith thy rule of life and thy staff.¹

Make association with all thine Ai Panth,² and the conquest of thy heart the conquest of the world.

HAIL !³ HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure,⁴ without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age !

XXIX.

Make divine knowledge thy food, compassion thy store-keeper, and the voice which is in every heart the pipe to call to meals.

Make Him who hath strung the whole world on *His string* thy spiritual Lord ; let wealth and supernatural power be relishes for others.

Union and separation is the law which regulateth the world.⁵ By destiny we receive our portion.

HAIL ! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age !

¹ Jogis wear earrings, patched coats, rub ashes on their bodies, and carry a wallet and a staff. The verse is also translated—Make the chastening of thy body, not yet wedded to death, thy patched coat, and faith thy beggar's staff.

² A sect of jogis.

³ *Adesh* ! the ordinary salutation of jogis. Baba Nanak means that this salutation should only be offered to God.

⁴ *Anil*, literally, not of a blue colour, as Krishna is represented.

⁵ Also translated—Favourable and unfavourable destinies shape men's actions.

XXX.

One Maya in union *with* God gave birth to three acceptable children.¹

One of them is the creator, the second the provider, the third performeth the function of destroyer.²

As it pleaseth God, He directeth them by His orders.

He beholdeth them, but is not seen by them. This is very marvellous.

HAIL ! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible,
the same in every age !

XXXI.

His seat and his storehouses³ are in every world.

What was to be put into them was put in at one time.⁴

The Creator beholdeth His creation.

Nanak, true is the work of the True One.

HAIL ! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible,
the same in every age !

XXXII.

Were one tongue to become a hundred thousand, and a
hundred thousand to become twentyfold more,

I would utter the name of the one Lord of the world
hundreds of thousands of times *with all my tongues*.

¹ *Chela*, literally 'disciples.'

² *Lei* may either mean absorption or reaper (*lave*). Both meanings convey the idea of destruction.

³ To supply human necessities.

⁴ That is, before man is born, his portion is fully allotted him.

In this way I should ascend the stairs of the Lord, and become one with Him.¹

On hearing of the exaltation of the religious the vile become jealous.²

Nanak, *the former* have found God, while false is the boasting of the false.

XXXIII.

I have no strength to speak and no strength to be silent.³

I have no strength to ask and no strength to give;

I have no strength to live and no strength to die;

I have no strength to acquire empire or wealth, which produce a commotion in the heart.

I have no strength to meditate on Thee or ponder on divine knowledge;

I have no strength *to find* the way to escape from the world.

He in whose arm there is strength may see what he can do.

Nanak, no one is of superior or inferior *strength* before God.

XXXIV.

God created nights, seasons, lunar days, and week-days,

Wind, water, fire, and the nether regions.

In the midst of these He established the earth as a temple.⁴

In it *He placed* living beings of different habits and descriptions.

¹ Some gyanis translate—In this way I should ascend the stairs of honour by the twenty-one chambers of the vertebral column. That is, I should conduct my breath to the brain where God reposes, and where I should find him. The jogis enumerate five lumbar, seven dorsal, and nine cervical vertebrae through which the breath passes to the brain.

² Literally, on hearing matters connected with heaven worms grow jealous.

³ This hyperbole means that man has no strength to do anything without God's assistance.

⁴ *Dharmsal*. This word generally means a large building in which divine worship is held, where travellers obtain free accommodation, and children receive religious instruction.

Their names are various and endless,
 And they are judged according to their acts.
 True is God, and true is His court.
 There the elect are accepted and honoured.
 The Merciful One marketh them according to their acts.¹
 The bad and the good shall there be distinguished.
 Nanak, on arrival there, this shall be seen.

XXXV.

Such is the practice in the realm of righteousness.
 I now describe the condition of the realm of knowledge.
 How many winds, waters, and fires! how many Krishnas
 and Shivas!
 How many Brahmas² who fashioned worlds! *how many*
 forms, colours, and garbs!
 How many lands of grace *like this*!³ how many mountains!
 how many Dhrus⁴ and instructors⁵ such as his!
 How many Indras, how many moons and suns, how many
 regions and countries!
 How many Sidhs, Budhs, and Naths! how many goddesses
 and representations of them!
 How many demigods and demons! how many saints, how
 many jewels and seas!
 How many sources of life! how many languages! and how
 many lines of kings!
 How many possessors of divine knowledge! how many
 worshippers! Nanak, there is no end of them.

¹ Or—God marketh those on whom He looketh with favour.

² The Hindus believe it was through the agency of Brahma God created the world.

³ Where men reap the results of their acts.

⁴ Dhrus, a man who, owing to his virtues, is said to have been raised to the skies as the polar star.

⁵ Narad, who instructed him to obtain such dignity.

XXXVI.

In the realm of knowledge the light of divine knowledge is resplendent.

There are heard songs from which millions of joys and pleasures *proceed*.

Beauty is the characteristic of the realm of happiness.¹

There things are fashioned in an incomparable manner.

What is done there cannot be described.

Whoever endeavoureth to describe it shall afterwards repent.

There are fashioned knowledge, wisdom, intellect, and understanding;

And there too is fashioned the skill of demigods and men of supernatural power.

XXXVII.

Force is the characteristic of the realm of action.²

Incomparable are those who dwell therein.

There are very powerful warriors and heroes.

They are filled with the *might* of Rama.

There are many Sitas³ in the midst of greatness.

Their beauty cannot be described.

They die not, neither are they led astray,⁴

In whose hearts God dwelleth.

There dwell congregations of saints;

They rejoice; the True One is in their hearts.

God dwelleth in the realm of truth.

He looketh on its denizens with an eye of favour, and rendereth them happy.

There are continents, worlds, and universes.

¹ *Sharm khand*. *Sharm* is here not the Persian *sharm* 'shame,' nor the Sanskrit *shram* 'toil.' It is the Sanskrit *sharman*, 'happiness.' *Bani* is understood to be for *bdn*. The verse is also translated—Beautiful are the words of those who have obtained the realm of the happy.

² That is, the world.

³ Sita's name is apparently introduced here as she was the wife of Rama mentioned in the preceding line.

⁴ *Na thage jah*, literally 'are not deceived.'

Whoever trieth to describe them shall never arrive at an end.
 There are worlds upon worlds and forms *upon forms*.
 They *perform* their functions according to God's orders.
 God beholding and contemplating them is pleased.
 Nanak, to describe *them* were as hard as iron.

XXXVIII.

Make continence Thy furnace, forbearance Thy goldsmith,
 Understanding Thine anvil, divine knowledge Thy tools,
 The fear of *God* Thy bellows, austerities Thy fire,
 Divine love Thy crucible, and melt God's name therein.
 In such a true mint the Word shall be coined.
 This is the practice of those on whom God looketh with an
 eye of favour.
 Nanak, the Kind One, by a glance maketh them happy.

SLOK.

The air is the Guru, water our father, and the great earth
 our mother;
 Day and night are our two nurses, male and female, who set
 the whole world a-playing.¹
 Merits and demerits shall be read out in the presence of the
 judge.
 According to men's acts, some shall be near and others
 distant *from God*.
 Those who have pondered on the name and departed after
 the completion of their toil,
 Shall have their countenances made bright, O Nanak; how
 many shall be emancipated in company with them!

¹ Here the denizens of the world are likened to children. Their father is said to be water, the human sperm; the earth like a mother affords them nutriment; day supplies them with occupation; the night lulls them to rest; and the breath of the Guru imparts divine instruction. In the East it is usual for the rich to have two nurses for a child—a female nurse by night and a male nurse to accompany and play with it by day.

ART. V.—*An Autograph of the Mogul Emperor Jahángír*
(A.D. 1617). By A. N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E.

At p. 115 of Mr. William Foster's admirable edition of Sir Thomas Roe's Journal of his Embassy to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619, recently published by the Hakluyt Society, there is an engraving representing (amongst others) the Emperor Jahángír.

At the foot of the picture in question is the following inscription, which appears to be of sufficient interest to merit a few words as to its probable meaning, and the inferences which may be drawn therefrom.

شاه جهان در روزی منوچهر در سن ۵۰ سالگی و در

It may be well to quote the first paragraph of the editor's remarks concerning the engraving. He says (p. 562):—

"This plate has been copied from 'Purchas His Pilgrimes,' vol. ii, p. 1474, where it appears as an illustration to Terry's short sketch of his Indian experiences. As indicated in the superscription, it is taken from the work of a native artist. The Persian inscription at the bottom of the picture has suffered at the hands of the English engraver, and is consequently difficult to read; but Professor Denison Ross renders it as: 'In the year [illegible], in the town of Bándhú, I, the writer of this, Minuchehr (?), was fifty years of age.'"

It is not my intention to criticize this rendering, taking the Persian text as it stands. I am tempted, however, to

hazard a conjecture that the inscription might be amended so as to allow of a translation as follows: "The year 1026, in the city Mándú, I am the writer; also I was in the fiftieth year of my age." The matter is not without importance, because if my conjecture be accurate there can be little doubt that the writing is an autograph of the Emperor Jahángír himself.

It may be well, therefore, to adduce reasons for the translation which I have suggested. Obviously, as Professor Denison Ross points out, the date as it stands is illegible. The first figure, which is 1, is clear, and may be dismissed without criticism. Then comes, I fancy, a hiatus. In this direction two conjectures may be made: (1) That a dot has accidentally disappeared; or (2) that the mark which was originally a dot has at some time or another, owing either to carelessness or ignorance on the part of a copyist or engraver, been written as a dash, and as such has been joined to the upright stroke of the figure on its right. I am tempted to choose the latter alternative, as otherwise there is no *raison d'être* for a dash at all; and it simplifies matters materially if this unmeaning surplusage be eliminated. On this supposition the hiatus should be rectified by the insertion of a dot, equivalent in English to a 0, and the first two figures would then be (in English) 10. As regards the third figure, since the mark drawn towards the left of the upright stroke has been expunged, there remains a distinct 2. These surmises point to the probability that the first three figures are 102. The last figure presents but little difficulty, it being manifestly intended for a 6. The date is therefore 1026, of course of the Muhammadan Hijrah era, equivalent to A.D. 1617, at which time Roe was at the Court of Jahángír.

Instead of *Bándhú* I should read *Mándú*; because (a) there is no *h* in the original text, and (b) less modification of the first letter would be required to turn it into *m* than to make it *b*. In the former case it is merely necessary to make the stroke at the base more bulbous, whereas Professor Ross' rendering necessitates the addition of a diacritical point.

The next word on the list is evidently intended for *râqim*, 'writer,' the tail of the concluding letter *m* being accidentally written in an horizontal instead of an upright position.

The next three letters Professor Ross joins on to the following two, and renders the whole as 'Minuchehr.' This version appears to be so hopelessly obscure that I am tempted to suggest with the fullest confidence that the reading should be not one word but two, of which the first is *nan-am* (a compound word), the equivalent in English being 'I am.' The sentence thus far would, therefore, read: "The year 1026, in the city Mándú, I am the writer."

The remainder of the inscription is comparatively easy. The two letters supposed by Professor Ross to be equivalent to *chehr* are without doubt merely the word *ham* (= 'also'); if, therefore, as regards the remaining words in the inscription, the necessary dots be supplied—and there is no room for doubt on the subject—the rest of the translation would read: "also I was in the fiftieth year of my age."

Thus much as regards the writing from a purely scholarly point of view; but there are other considerations which tend to confirm the surmise that the rendering now given is likely to be accurate. In the first place, an inscription of this kind must either be (a) the artist's signature of his work; (b) a description of the person portrayed; or (c) an addition made by some person in presenting the portrait to someone else. As regards supposition (a), if, taking Professor Ross' translation, a person named 'Minuchehr' painted the picture, it might fairly be supposed that some allusion would be made to him in Roe's Journal, or elsewhere; but such is not the case so far as I am aware. Again, the handwriting is of the schoolboy type, and in the very improbable circumstances that the Court painter would venture to write anything on a picture of an Emperor whose very nod was death, it is pretty certain that he would have employed a *Khush-Nivis* (professional writer) to pen the words in the most approved fashion, and in all probability would have contented himself with adding thereto his own personal signature or seal. Supposition

(b) is evidently in any case out of the question. But if supposition (c) be adopted, and it be conceded that the writing is an autograph of Jahángír, the difficulties disappear. In the first place, such a scrawl is just what might have been expected on the part of a great monarch, whose handwriting was probably not of the most elegant description. Still more important is the fact that the two dates given in the inscription would apply accurately to the Emperor. Having been born on 17 Rabí-'u'l-avval, A.H. 977, His Majesty's fiftieth year would run from his birthday in A.H. 1026 to the same day in A.H. 1027, that is, from 26th March, A.D. 1617, to 15th March, A.D. 1618. Further, the Emperor was at Mándú from 3rd March to 24th October, 1617 (see Roe's Journal, pp. 391 and 437), a period which embraces seven months of his fiftieth year.

In the absence of any evidence on the subject, the history of the picture must remain a matter of hypothesis. All things considered, perhaps the most probable conjecture is that it was presented to Roe by Jahángír, and that at the request of the former the Emperor condescended to scribble a few words on it with his own royal hand. It is known from Roe's Journal (p. 227) that on one occasion (6th August, 1616) the monarch offered the ambassador his portrait, either for himself or for King James. Roe accepted the offer on behalf of his master, and added that "since His Majesty had embouldned mee, I would desier one for myselfe, which I would keepe and leaue to my posterity as an ensigne of His Majestie's favour. Hee replied: 'Your King doth not desire one, but you doe: therefore you shall haue it'; and soe gave present order for the Making." His Majesty's promise was fulfilled (on the 17th August, 1616) by the presentation of a miniature, as recorded at p. 244; that this, however, could not have been the portrait under discussion is proved not only by the dates but by the circumstance that the Emperor did not leave Ajmere till some months after the last-mentioned day, and could not therefore have been either at Mándú or Bándhú at that period. It is not unreasonable, however, to surmise

that another portrait may have been given to Roe in the following year, possibly at his own request, for presentation to King James. The omission on the part of the ambassador of any mention of the second gift is not surprising, since that portion of his Journal is only known in Purchas' much abbreviated version. But in any case it is not within the province of the present article to enter upon a discussion *relative* to this point. All that devolves upon me is to show *the* reasonableness of the theory which I have propounded that the writing on the picture is the autograph of the Emperor Jahángír.

ART. VI.—*Sumerian or Cryptography.* By T. G. PINCHES,
M.R.A.S.

FIFTEEN years ago I read before this Society a paper treating of "the languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia," in which I expressed my conviction that the non-Semitic dialects (for there are at least two closely-allied idioms) spoken in that district, revealed to us by the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, were really languages, and not cryptographies or "allographic systems of writing," as they were called by those who favoured the theory of the artificial nature of the script employed.

At that time, as nearly as I can recollect, there were but two Assyriologists who held the theory to which I have referred, namely, Halévy, who first put it forth, and Guyard, who was, I believe, one of his pupils. Later on, Fried. Delitzsch joined the band, but afterwards recanted his heresy on seeing how many difficulties attended the acceptance of the explanations offered. Of late years, however, in the increasing ranks of the Assyriologists, M. Halévy has found several supporters, and the time has come to turn attention to this theory that has been advanced, and which has gained in importance with those who do not know, and who naturally think that, as the hypothesis put forward has now many adherents, there is at least great probability that those who hold the older opinion are wrong.

At this point, however, I should like clearly to define the ground that I shall cover in the present paper. What I should like to do would be, to go over all the arguments that have been advanced in favour of the theory that those ancient idioms of the Mesopotamian plains were not languages, but 'allographies,' and examine dispassionately and carefully each one, quoting all the points for and

against, and drawing a conclusion from an examination of the whole. This, unfortunately, I am unable to do for want of time; the examination of the many papers that have been written by M. Halévy alone would have bespoken my leisure hours for many weeks, and rendered the writing of this paper impossible.

A few words upon the arguments advanced are necessary, however, to make the reader understand the nature of the question at issue, and this is probably best done by describing what the documents are with which students of Assyrian have to deal.

The most important of the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria for the language in general are the bilingual texts, which give mainly hymns to the gods, incantations, psalms of a penitential nature, etc., with a few historical texts. These inscriptions are generally interlinear, but are sometimes written in parallel columns, *the non-Semitic version being always first*. As in the case of the Assyrian inscriptions in general, however, these documents would of themselves be of but little value without the syllabaries, which give us the various pronunciations of the syllables of which the words and groups are composed.

These syllabaries are of various kinds. The simplest are those giving the pronunciation, the character, and the name of the character. A second class gives the pronunciation, the character, and its meaning when so pronounced in the non-Semitic idiom. A third class gives the pronunciation, the character or group, the name or names of the character or group, and the meaning in Assyrian. Yet another class gives a list of non-Semitic words pronounced (or written) in the same way when phonetically rendered, the characters by which they are expressed when ideographically written, and their meanings. In addition to these important documents bearing on the pronunciation of the non-Semitic idiom (the so-called system of rebuses), there is a large number of bilingual lists with non-Semitic (Sumerian) glosses, and at least one fragment exists of a narrative text written in three lines (not columns), giving (first) the non-Semitic words

of the inscription, (second) the pronunciation of the words in the first line, and (third) the meaning in Assyrian.

If we take a portion of a syllabary of the first series, that with the values of the character and its name or names, we shall find that the names of the characters are formed from the values. Thus the value of the character meaning 'great' is *gal*, a syllable which, in the non-Semitic idiom, has the same meaning. By attaching to the syllable *gal* the Assyrian nominative ending *u*, and doubling the *l*, we get the form *gallu*, the name of the character, which is sometimes used (and then it is not, naturally, the name of the character) in Assyrian as a synonym of the Semitic word *rabû*, meaning 'great.'¹ Other examples of this are *hullu*, from *hul*, 'evil'; *mahhu*, from *mah*, 'supreme'; *mášu*, from *máš*, 'double'; *dimmu*, from *dim*, 'cord'; *enu*, from *en*, 'lord'; *tappu*, from *tab*, 'companion'; *edinu*, from *edin*, 'plain' ('Eden'); *temennu*, from *temena*, 'memorial-cylinder'; *dû*, from *dû*, 'seat, mound'; with many others.

Besides these, however, a number of words, evidently borrowed, are common to both idioms, both Assyrian and non-Semitic. Thus we have *é-gala* and *ékallu*, 'great house' or 'palace'; *dup-sara* and *dupšarru*, 'scribe'; *gala* and *gallu*, 'demon, devil'; *namtara* and *namtaru*, 'fate'; *sa-bara* and *saparu*, 'net'; *ušbar* and *ušparu*, 'loom'; *guza* and *kussû*, 'throne'; *mada* and *mātu*, 'land, country'; *harran* and *harranu*, 'road'; *absu* and *apsû*, 'abyss'; *ibila* and *ablu*, 'son'; *duba* and *duppu*, 'tablet'; *saga* and *saku*, 'head, end' (of a piece of ground); *bala* and *palû*, 'regnal year'; *lamma* and *lamassu*, 'colossus'; *banšur* and *paššuru*, 'dish'; *saḥ* and *saḫ*, 'pig'; *adama* and *adamatu*, 'gore, blood'; *isaga* (*nisaga*) and *iššaku* (*nisakku*), 'prince, chief'; *umbin* and *ubanu*, 'finger'; *nun* and *nûnu*, 'fish'; *urudu* and *êru*, 'copper'; *illat* or *ellat*, 'army'; *urugala*, *arali*, and

¹ It is to be noted that this is only in compound words, borrowed from Sumerian. Thus $\text{E}|\text{-} \text{𒂗}$, *gallu*^m, quoted by Brünnow (8842), is in reality the second part of the word $\text{E}|\text{A} \text{E}|\text{-} \text{𒂗}$ *gugallu*^m, 'great bull,' from the Sum. $\text{E}|\text{A} \text{E}|\text{-}$ *gugala*.

arallu, 'hades'; *sangu* and *šangū*, 'priest' (both from *sag*, 'head'!); *sukkal* and *sukkalu*, 'messenger'; *agarin* and *agarinnu*, 'mother'; *kisal* and *kisallu*, 'platform'; *ušumgal* and *ušumgallu*, "peerless one, demon"; *bara* and *parakku*, 'shrine'; *silim* and *salimu* or *šulmu*, 'peace'; *nēr*, the *neros* (600); *damgar* and *tamkaru*, 'agent'; *ingar* and *igaru*, 'enclosure'; *gidim* and *édimmu*, *utug* and *utukku*, names of evil spirits; *egá* and *agú*, 'inundation,' with many others.

Some of my readers will probably have recognized, in this list of similar words in the two idioms, a few roots that are common Semitic property. *Ékallu* is, of course, the common word *hēkāl*, 'temple'; *dupšarru* is the Hebrew *tipsar*, used in Jeremiah and Nahum for 'governor'; *kussū* is the well-known word for 'throne,' in Heb. *kissē* and in Arabic *kurst*; *nunu*, 'fish'; *silim*, *šulmu*, and *salimu*, 'peace'; and others which are not so easy to identify on account of the transformations they have undergone, but whose derivations have been worked out, and are known, may also be noted. Among these are *harranu*, 'road,' from *hararu*, 'to make a furrow'; *ibila* and *āblu*, 'son,' from *ābālu*, 'to produce'; *adama* and *adamatu*, 'blood' or 'gore,' from the same root as Adam, Edom, etc.; *illat* or *ellat*, 'army,' the Heb. *heyil* or *hēl*, 'army, fortification,' whilst *damgar* and *tamkaru*, 'agent,' are connected with the word *makkuru*, 'property.'

When two nationalities come together, or have close communications with each other, it is the usual thing for an interchange of words to take place, for it is certain that they will both possess expressions or meanings of synonymous words wanting to one or the other, and this being the case, they will be under the necessity of borrowing unless the needful synonym can be coined easily. This, however, seldom happens, and they borrow, often (as in the case of our own language) when there is little or no need for it, for after a time words become commonplace, 'worn out,' so to say, and foreign words take their place even though good words expressing the same ideas already exist. This is the true explanation of the fact that the

Semitic and non-Semitic idioms of ancient Mesopotamia have so much in common.

The anti-Akkadists, or those who contend that there is no non-Semitic idiom, but only a kind of cryptography, which they call 'allography,' or 'hieroglyphic system' of writing, make use of the above-mentioned facts to support their theory. Their method is well seen in Halévy's *Aperçu Grammatical de l'allographie Assyro-Babylonienne* (Leyden Orientalist Congress, 1884). Thus, on p. 10 of the *Aperçu Grammatical*, the names of the characters of the syllabary giving the phonetic values, the characters, and their names, are taken, and treated as if they were words actually used by the ancient Babylonian scribes. Beginning with the word *gal*, 'great,' the author sets beside it what he calls the 'type dém.' (which is apparently an abbreviation of the words 'type démotique') *gallu*, with the word 'idem' to indicate that it has the same meaning as the Akkadian word, instead of this being the name of the character. A whole row of Akkadian roots are treated in the same way, thus:—

<i>bur</i> , to dissolve,		'demotic type' <i>burru</i> .
<i>iš</i> , ¹ <i>iz</i> , wood,	„	<i>išu</i> .
<i>giš</i> , wood,	„	<i>giššu</i> , <i>gašišu</i> , wood, perch.
<i>el</i> , pure,	„	<i>ellu</i> .
<i>sub</i> , <i>sub</i> , to melt,	„	<i>sub</i> .
<i>nag</i> , to pour out, to drink,	„	<i>naqu</i> .
<i>maḥ</i> , great, superior,	„	<i>maḥḥu</i> .
<i>gir</i> , dagger, sword,	„	<i>giru</i> .
<i>gir</i> , foot,	„	<i>girru</i> , expedition.
<i>tab</i> , companion,	„	<i>tabbu</i> .
<i>sal</i> , slave, woman,	„	<i>salatu</i> .
<i>kar</i> , enclosure, city,	„	<i>karu</i> .
<i>ab</i> , deep valley,	„	<i>apu</i> , cavity.
etc., etc.		

¹ It is to be noted that *iš* is regarded by Assyriologists as a Semitic value, not taken from the Sumerian, but from the common Semitic word *iṣu* or *ēṣu*, 'wood.' The Sum. word is given in the next line.

But *bur*, 'to dissolve,' is practically an unknown root as a verb in Assyrian, as is also *sub*, 'to melt.' For the purposes of his comparison, too, the ingenious anti-Akkadist ignores the long *u* of *naqû*, and the fact that, in Assyrian, this purely Semitic root does not mean 'to drink,' but only 'to pour out, as a libation,' and that the purely Akkadian *nag* does not mean 'to pour out,' but only 'to drink.' *Mahhu*, 'supreme,' generally appears (like *gallu*, 'great') in compounds, and is then used as a word borrowed from the Sumerian, in which language compounds were common, whilst they were exceedingly rare in Assyrian. *Giru*, 'dagger,' is not used in Assyrian, that word being replaced by the purely Semitic *paṭru*, whilst as to *girru*, 'expedition,' that also is Semitic, the word for 'foot' in Sumerian never being used for it. Then, again, if *salatu* have anything to do with *sal*, this must be entirely as a borrowed word, to which the feminine ending *-tu* has been added. With regard to the last two words I have quoted, *karu* is apparently borrowed from the Sumerian, and *apu* may be regarded as being in the same case, though the word in the one case and the meaning in both are probably not altogether correctly stated.

Let us take one of the above-quoted words, and examine it in the light of the inscriptions. Say *gir*, 'dagger,' for instance.

In the first place, it is to be noted that Brünnow does not quote *giru* in his "Classified List" as being used in Assyrian with any of the meanings of this Sumerian word.


Fuller, however, than Brünnow's most valuable work, is the British Museum syllabary 80-11-12, 11, which gives us the following instructive list of meanings of the root in question:



<i>Gir</i> ➤ $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>paṭrum</i> , <i>naglabu</i> ,	Dagger, knife (razor).
	<i>parādu</i> , <i>magzasu</i> ,	to flee, shearing.
	<i>gallatum</i> , <i>namṣaru</i> ,	separation (P), sword.
	<i>padanu</i> , <i>urḫu</i> ,	path, road.
	<i>ḫarranu</i> , <i>eṣimtu</i> ,	high-road, division.
	' <i>amtum</i> , <i>sakbanni</i> (P),	? ?
	<i>šummudu</i> , <i>aḫuru</i> ,	to cut off (or sim.), ?
	<i>šibbu</i> , <i>zuqakipu</i> ,	girdle, scorpion.

Ara ➤¹ *paṭrum*,¹ *lišan sinništi*, Dagger, (in the) women's tongue.

The writer of this very full syllabary, therefore, gives no hint of the existence of an Assyrian word *giru*, meaning 'dagger' or 'sword,' nor does it seem to occur with any of the meanings that I have quoted above.

Let us take the root *nag*, 'to drink,' that being one of the words compared by Halévy. In this instance we will do best if we go to Brünnow, who puts together all the places where the word occurs.

The character expressing the sound of *nag* (*nak*, *naq*) is ➤, and besides these values, we find that it was also pronounced *gu* and *immedi*, and that it has a very doubtful value, *lan*, attributed to it. Turning to Brünnow's list, we see that the usual word for 'to drink' in Assyrian is *šatû* (the common Semitic root), but the syllabaries and bilingual inscriptions do not indicate any Akkadian pronunciation for the character when used with this meaning. We cannot, therefore, tell from the quotations given, whether *nag* be the word for 'to drink' in Sumerian or not. The same is the case with regard to *šaqû*, 'to give to drink,' which meaning the character also has.

On looking further at the list of meanings, we find that it is also translated by the Semitic *lašû*, having a meaning certainly akin to that of 'to drink.' To all appearance, some such rendering as 'to take in small quantities,' 'to sup,' 'to sip,' is the meaning of this word (see Brünnow). If this be the case, the character ➤, with the meaning of 'to drink,' certainly has the same pronunciation as when it is translated in Assyrian by *lašû*, namely, *gu*, and this hypothesis is confirmed by the phrases containing ➤ with the meaning of *šatû*, for the terminations attached to the word are those that one would expect to find used with a root ending in a vowel. To all appearance, therefore,

¹ The word seems really to be *paṭ-ri*, but a close examination suggests that the character *rum* is written over *ri*, correcting the word to *paṭrum*.

the Sumerian for 'to drink' is not *nag*, but *gu*. A Semitic Babylonian word *lê'u*, cited by Brünnow, seems to be doubtful as to the meaning given to it. *Immeli*, one of the Sumerian values of the character that are certain, is translated by *šikru*, 'intoxicating drink.'

Though the word *nag* does not seem to occur in the inscriptions, it is nevertheless certain that it did exist, and that in connection with drink, or with drinking. This is shown by the compound *a-nag*, Semiticized *anagqu*, a kind of vase for holding liquor, of which a larger form existed called *a-nag-maha*, Semiticized *anagmahhu*. Its real meaning, however, is doubtful.

It will thus be seen that nothing certain is known with regard to the meaning of the 'allographic' root *nag*, and that its identity with *naqu*, 'to pour out a libation,' is at least very improbable.

But the proof, if proof be needed, that what is regarded by all clear-headed Assyriologists as a language is really so, is to be found in the fact that this so-called 'allography' has a dialect! Halévy's opinion that the dialectic differences are really due to variant writings will not for a moment hold water. That *m*, *n*, and *b* should be written as variants for *g*; *l* for *n*; *s* for *š* and *d*; *r* for *l*; and the vowels should be changed, all according to fixed rules, is to the mind of most Assyriologists incomprehensible.

The nature of these so-called variant spellings (*diversités d'orthographe*) will be easily understood from the text that I am about to describe.¹ We have first the character meaning 'to go,' *alaku*, and 'to bring,' *tabalu*, its dialectic forms being *ir* and *ga*, the first seemingly for *ara* and the other for *du*.² An example of another root *du* (written with the character), changed into *ga*, occurs in line 16. After this comes the root *du*, short for *duga*, with its dialectic form *šib* (*d* becoming *š*, and *g* changing to *b*). Another change, that of *mar* instead of *gar*, is shown in line 25.

¹ W.A.I., v, pl. 10. This text has been treated very fully by Haupt and other scholars.

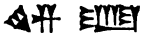











² Lines 1-7.

After the break, the end of the column shows *aga* for *ig*, 'that which, what,' and also *mal* for *gal*, indicating the change from *g* to *m* shown in *gar* and *mar*. The second column continues the examples of the change from *ig* to *aga*, followed by the prefix denoting an abstract noun (lines 8 ff.), which here really *seems* rather to be indicated in the dialect by *diversité d'orthographe* than by any real difference in the pronunciation. The next paragraph (lines 15-19) has examples of the weakening of 𒀭 , *giš*, to 𒀭 , *mu* (*g* to *m*, and loss of the final *š*).

Further changes are shown in the next column similar to those already illustrated— 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *adia*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *agarra*, showing change of *g* to *d*, and loss of the *r*. Then we have 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *a-gaga*, changed dialectically into 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *a-mama*, and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *a-duga*, into 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *a-šibba*. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *adar*, for 𒀭 𒀭 , *agar*; 𒀭 𒀭 , *aba*, for 𒀭 𒀭 , *aga*; 𒀭 𒀭 , *ašer*, for 𒀭 𒀭 , *aner*; and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *ir-banšim*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *ir-bandu*, follow this. The next line, the first of a fresh paragraph, has 𒀭 𒀭 , *šim*, again as dialectic form of 𒀭 , *dim*, 'to make'; 𒀭 𒀭 , *mama*, for 𒀭 𒀭 , *gaga*; and 𒀭 𒀭 , *mal*, for 𒀭 𒀭 , *gal*. The last line of the next paragraph shows a new root, 𒀭 𒀭 , *marša*, for 𒀭 𒀭 , *garša*, 'command,' in Assyrian *paršu*.

The first line of the next paragraph has 𒀭 𒀭 , *ad-mar*, as dialectic form of 𒀭 𒀭 , *ad-gal*, translated by *ṭudu*, perhaps the word for 'path.' The other words of the paragraph show the root 𒀭 , *mar*, for 𒀭 , *gar*. With regard to the two paragraphs which follow, these are principally occupied with the root 𒀭 , and 𒀭 (=Bab. 𒀭), *gir*, dialectically 𒀭 , *mer*, or 𒀭 , *meri*, in its various meanings of 'angry,' 'the wind,' 'dagger,'¹ etc.

¹ See p. 80.

Some of the words are compounds, namely,  *girgira*, dial.   *mermer*, 'storm';  *girsig*, dial.  *mersig*, a word of doubtful meaning, rendered by the Assyrian *šarbīllu* (? 'a garment'),  *giri-lal*, dial.  *meri-lal*, 'swordbearer,' followed by  *mu-sir*, dial.  *me-sir*, likewise, seemingly, a garment. The last line, which has a section all to itself, is  *ingar* (so the glosses given by other tablets tell us to read it), dial.  *amar*, in Assyrian *lānu*, 'enclosure, wall,' from the root , 'to lodge,' apparently.

One of the most interesting arguments against the theory that the non-Semitic idiom of Babylonia is an allography or something of the sort, however, is its difference grammatically from the Semitic idiom spoken in the country. Many of the phrases that we find in the bilingual texts are, of course, straightforward enough, and present no difficulty. Take, for instance, the following:—

Sumerian:	<i>Ene</i>	<i>gae</i>	<i>munšin-gen</i>
Assyro-Bab.:	<i>Bēlum</i>	<i>yāti</i>	<i>išpuranni</i> ¹
	"The lord, as for me, he sent to me."		

Here the word-order is the same in both the non-Semitic and the Semitic idioms, but even in this case it is to be noted that the root of *munšingen* is *gen*, and that the rest of the word consists wholly of particles added to the root to make the meaning more precise, and repeating, practically, the pronouns. Thus the first component, *mun*, means 'me,' *ši* means 'to,' and *in* means 'he,' the full signification of the verb being 'me to he sent,' whilst the Semitic Babylonian verbal form with the pronoun *išpuranni*, is to be analyzed *išpur*, 'he sent,' and (*a*)*nni*, 'me' or 'to me.' The non-Semitic idiom is, therefore, the more precise of the two, and shows, even in this simple phrase, a noteworthy departure from the Semitic idiom.

¹ W.A.I., iv, 17, 40 ff.

But much more striking differences than this are to be found.

So strong was the tendency in the non-Semitic idiom to throw particles to the end of a clause, that we even find them placed after the verb at the conclusion of the phrase instead of being at the beginning, as in Semitic Babylonian, where, according to the rules of grammar, they ought to be.

Sumerian :	<i>Kurkurra</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>banda</i>	<i>bada-</i>
	In the mountains	wild bull	mighty	in it
	<i>nd-</i>	<i>qime</i> . ¹		
	lying down	like.		

According to the Semitic translation, however, this is to be rendered as follows:—

Ina šadāni kima rēmi iqdī rabšu, "He lies down in the mountains like a mighty wild bull," from which it may be gathered that the word *qime* in the non-Semitic line ought to come either after *ama*, 'wild bull,' or after *banda*, 'mighty.' In all probability this word-order is due to poetical form, especially as it is found in three successive lines, but as it is against all the rules of Assyrian grammar, and unusual even in the non-Semitic idiom, this is surely an argument against the theory that the latter is a mere invention of the Semitic population of the country.

In like manner, also, we meet with such phrases as *Anna-gi*, 'Anu of,' instead of 'of Anu,' the Semitic *ša Anu*; *šu-asayāni-ta*, 'hand glorious (or pure) his in,' instead of 'in his glorious hands,' the Semitic *ina qatā-šu elli*; *ana-ki-bi-da*, 'heaven the earth with,' the Semitic *šamē ū eršitim*, 'heaven and earth,' together with many other differences of idiom that stamp the non-Semitic dialect as originating with a people of a different race and mode of thought.²

But quite apart from the question of the probability or otherwise of the existence of a non-Semitic language in

¹ W.A.I., iv, 27, 19.

² A learned and important paper upon the linguistic side of the question by Dr. F. H. Weisbach unfortunately came into my hands too late to make use of in the present article.

Babylonia, is that of a distinct nationality who may have spoken that language. In other words, what evidence is there that there were other nationalities than the Semitic Babylonian on the plain of Shinar? It is an important point in the consideration of this question, and, happily, we have not far to go to find what we seek in this direction.

The document to which an Oriental scholar instinctively turns in such a case of doubt is the Book of Genesis. There, in the oft-quoted tenth chapter we find the evidence that we want. It reads thus:—

“And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth.

“He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord.

“And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.

“Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth [or, the streets of the city], and Calah,

“And Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city.”

It is needless to say that, in view of the comparative modernness of the civilization of Assyria beside that of Babylonia, I prefer the rendering of the Authorized Version, “out of that land went forth Asshur,” rather than “he (Nimrod) went out into Assyria,” for it is hardly likely that Nimrod or Merodach was the founder of the great cities of Assyria as well as those of Babylonia. If this had been the case, we should in all likelihood have found reference to the fact somewhere, probably in the literature of Assyria; for if their great cities had been, like those of Babylonia, founded by Merodach, they would not have hesitated to boast of the fact. Besides this “the land of Nimrod” is one of the specific names of Babylonia in the old Testament.

This, however, is but remotely connected with the question in hand. The important thing in the above-quoted verses from the Book of Genesis is, that Nimrod, otherwise Merodach, who is referred to later as the representative of

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the whole Babylonian nation, is here called a son of Cush, showing that the Hebrews at the time Genesis was written did not regard Nimrod as being of the same race as themselves. For them he was a Cushite, but the predominant race in Babylonia in later times was certainly Semitic, as their language shows.

It is only right, however, that some independent evidence of the existence of this non-Semitic race should be demanded; and, in view of the fact that inaccuracies have been attributed to the "ethnographical table" in Genesis, it is even *necessary* that evidence of a confirmatory nature should be produced, especially as there is no clear statement that the inhabitants of Babylon were Semites, for Arphaxad would not strike the reader at first glance as being practically the same as Babel, for which identification Professor Hommel has shown fairly good reasons.

What strikes the student of this period is the fact that the racial types of the earliest monuments differ greatly from those of the later, as far as we know them. Even at a comparatively late date, the difference of type seems to have been fairly well marked, as the two well-known heads from Lagaš show (Figs. 1 and 2). On the cylinder-seals of a still later period (say about 2300 B.C.) the thick-brimmed hat, which the non-Semitic head wears, is frequent, and the human figures shown are in general well-formed and slim. Of course, this was in all probability owing to the style of engraving prevalent at the time, but it may reasonably be supposed that this style of engraving is due to the fact that the earlier artists upon stone copied the forms of the people that they saw around them, and even chose what they considered the best types (Figs. 3 and 4). The slim type is less marked in the case of the slab with the musician (Fig. 5), but reappears in the exceedingly interesting bas-relief with figures of warriors, which is apparently of a much earlier date (Fig. 6). Other types of the early period are the men with the bird-like faces, such as are often met with on some of the more roughly-engraved cylinder-seals, and which appear in a less-pronounced form

in the case of the burial-scene (Fig. 7) and in the warriors depicted on the *stèle des vautours* (Fig. 8), and most-pronounced in the case of the personages which ornament a shallow vessel found at Tel-loh or Lagaš (Fig. 9). These are probably due to the rough and ready workmanship of the earlier stone-cutters, which became crystallized into the forms depicted on these plates. These forms, in all probability, originated in the type of face exhibited by a head (which once had inlaid eyes) from a small statuette from the same place as the other examples (Fig. 10). There is just the possibility that the intermediate type between this and the head with the thick-brimmed hat is the next picture (Fig. 11), a male head from a large statuette, also from the French excavations. Though there is every possibility that, as thought by the late G. Bertin, the type with the prominent nose formed the "ground race," and, therefore, the bulk of the population, it is nevertheless to be noted that the sculptor of those remote days has represented the well-known king Ur-Nina and his family in the same way (Fig. 12).

The late Terrien de Lacouperie, as many will probably remember, had an idea that the early Akkadians (Sumerians) were closely connected with the early Chinese, and he made many comparisons, both linguistic, paleographical, and historical, tending to support the theory that he then held. In this theory he was followed closely and, I believe, independently, by the Rev. C. J. Ball, who, analyzing the Sumerian language and script, succeeded in showing many similarities between them and the Chinese—similarities which all unprejudiced scholars could not but regard as exceedingly striking and noteworthy. Being totally unacquainted with Chinese, I cannot myself venture to speak of Mr. Ball's comparisons, otherwise than as one knowing only one side of the question, the Sumerian side, but thus much I can say, namely, that if only a quarter of the Rev. C. J. Ball's comparisons be correct, then he has certainly made out his case.

All Assyriologists took up a neutral position on the



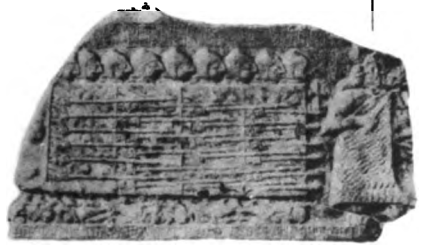
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subject, awaiting developments, and this was also my position, though I was greatly struck by Mr. Ball's researches. In the meantime, however, the publication of the discoveries of M. de Sarzec came to my knowledge, and I could not help noting that one of the heads reproduced in the great French publication had a decidedly Chinese look, the eyes, though fairly large, being almond-shaped and oblique (Fig. 13). Though I recognized the importance of this little work of art, and spoke of it in various papers, I felt bound to admit that "one swallow did not make a Spring," and that the artist may have sought merely to reproduce an unusual and striking type of countenance that he had by chance come across. Anyone that looks over the well-known *Découvertes en Chaldée*, however, soon becomes aware that this specimen of the section of the inhabitants having oblique eyes is not an isolated one, and that a fragment of a bas-relief showing unmistakably the same peculiarity exists (Fig. 14).

Now this cannot be by any means accidental, for the obliqueness of the eye is much too pronounced for that. Whether the slight obliqueness of the eye observable in the case of king Naram-Sin be due to Mongolian blood or not, is uncertain — probably it is accidental, as it is certainly not more pronounced than one sees sometimes in France, and it may, therefore, be due rather to straightness of the eyebrow than to real obliqueness. It will be seen, from these two specimens of ancient Babylonian art, that there is much more than a suggestion of Mongolian blood in the ancient Sumerians, and that the researches of De Lacouperie and Ball stand a very good chance of being confirmed. Indeed, the philological comparisons made by the latter would of themselves tend to show that the cause of the anti-Akkadists is already lost.

Having seen something of what seems to be the Sumerian type, it is necessary to glance a little at that which seems to be the Semitic type. For this the most important monument is probably the cylinder-seal of Sargon of Agadé, now in the possession of M. de Clercq (Fig. 15). On this object is shown

the figure generally regarded as Gilgameš, twice repeated, giving drink from a vase to a long-horned bull. The date of this is, according to Nabonidus, that which corresponds with the year 3800 B.C., or thereabouts. In all probability, the inscription bears witness to the Semitic type of the figure shown, for it is in the Semitic Babylonian language, and, unlike the inscriptions found in the Akkadian states, the names of the king Šargani (as he is called) and his scribe or secretary, Ibnî-šarru, are pure Semitic,—the same Babylonian language that was in use in the days of the Biblical Nebuchadnezzar. The figure with the long ringlets like a woman (Ea-banî, the friend and counsellor of the hero Gilgameš, is said to have had hair like this) appears also on engraved stones evidently of later date (Fig. 16), and in these cases he is generally accompanied by a satyr-like being, half man and half bull, both of them struggling with bulls, or with a lion and a bull. The style is less florid, but it is easy to see that it is essentially the same as that of the cylinder of Sargani of Agadé. What is apparently a late modification of the same thing is exhibited by a cylinder in the British Museum, but the face being damaged, it is doubtful whether it is of the Semitic Babylonian or the Sumerian type, though as it is certainly of late date (the inscription shows that) there is every possibility that it is the former. The superiority of the work is noteworthy, and the vigorous action of the naked man, as well as of the animal figures, shows a great contrast with the similiar cylinders of earlier date which have been noticed. Whilst upon the subject of the Semitic Babylonian type, we may as well follow it down as late as I am able to go in the matter of examples. The next picture (Fig. 17) is a reproduction of the well-known portrait of Hammurabi, the Amraphel of the O.T. He is dressed seemingly in Sumerian style, but it is not difficult to see, notwithstanding the weathered condition of the stone, that his face is of the Semitic type, with a short but aquiline nose, such as is generally shown on the monuments, not only of Babylonia, but of Assyria also. This



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ABSTRACT

fact leads one, naturally, to the conclusion that, although long-nosed men must have been fairly common among the nations of whom I am speaking, a short nose was considered preferable to a long one. On the cylinder-seals that have been shown, it will be remembered that deities with thick-brimmed hats appear, and this leads one to ask whether this may not be the conventional costume of the divinities at that time. If this be the case, then Amraphel was deified, as was certainly his opponent and contemporary, Rim-Sin or Rim-Aku, who is often identified with the Arioch of Genesis xiv. Coming down to a later date, we see again clearly the Semitic type in the bas-relief representing Marduk-nadin-âhi (about 1115 B.C.)—(Fig. 18). At this period the Semitic type seems to have displaced the slimmer Sumerian entirely, for the average Babylonian was not only to all appearance not tall, but also a trifle thick-set, and if we may follow the indications of the Sumerian sculptures, the Sumerians were certainly not the latter. The type of the Babylonians of the time of Nabonidus is shown (though somewhat faintly) by the impressions of the cylinder-seals on the edge of a tablet dated in his second year, and elsewhere, frequently. It is evidently that of Marduk-nadin-âhi, executed in a superior style.

Notwithstanding the small amount of material at my disposal, I trust that I have been able to show something of the Sumerian type from the early period when it existed side by side with the Semitic Babylonian to the time when it merged into the common racial type of the Mesopotamian plain.

The matter that we have now to decide is, Did the civilization of ancient Babylonia originate with the Semitic population, or with the Sumerian?

This also seems to be a question that must be answered in favour of the latter. In the first place, it is difficult to believe that the people with whom the cuneiform system of writing originated should not also have been first in the other arts. Is there not, also, in the very way in which the bilingual texts are written, testimony in favour of this?

Consider for a moment the tablet (obverse and reverse) containing a list of names of the early kings of Babylonia, in two languages (which we are justified in calling Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian), written in the Assyrian character, with the Sumerian on the left and the Semitic on the right—in other words, the non-Semitic idiom precedes the Semitic. All the tablets arranged in columns are written in this way, and when the translations are arranged interlinearly, the Sumerian line is above the Semitic translation of the same, except where it was written between the two halves to the Akkadian line, which was divided for that purpose—an arrangement that arose out of the fact that the Semitic translations were originally of the nature of glosses, written in smaller characters, and it is noteworthy that in some cases only a portion of the text is translated. For these and other reasons it is certain that the non-Semitic text is the original one.

Not only, however, is this the case, but there is hardly any doubt that all the tablets that suggest the existence of the arts and sciences are written in the same way. The texts referring to agriculture and country life have the Sumerian on the left and the Semitic translation on the right—that is (as the wedge-writing reads, like our own script, from left to right), following it. So also for the laws and legal phrases, which are given in Sumerian, and which actually occur on the tablets of a legal nature during the time of the earlier Babylonian empire, as has been frequently pointed out. It is also to be noted that there is every probability that the natural history lists and those referring to special subjects (that is to say, such things as wooden objects, clothing, etc.), were written for the Sumerian, and not for the Semitic population, for whom they were translated later, and proved to be very useful adjuncts in the study of Sumerian and the literature of the non-Semitic population, which the scribes of the Semitic period found it necessary to know. This probability is confirmed by the fact that there are fragments of lists in Sumerian only, from the Royal Library at Nineveh, and a long text of this nature, of the time of the

dynasty of Babylon or thereabouts, is preserved in the British Museum.¹

One has only to turn, also, to the early sculptures to see that everything, in the earliest period, has the Sumerian, or at least the non-Semitic stamp. The *undoubtedly non-Semitic types* that I have already shown are a sufficient proof of this, for, except rare examples, one of which I have shown, there are no instances of the occurrence of the pure Semitic type outside of the kingdom of Agadé before the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, which began to reign about 2300 B.C. Further examples are the cylinder of the physician, Ur-Lugal-edina, which shows a deity with a long, straight, and probably rather thin beard, reminding one of the small Chinese statuettes that one sees representing a venerable old man with just such another, but more flowing hirsute appendage. The little figures of the time of Gudea representing a deity holding what has been regarded as a firestick show the same feature, though it is more noticeable in the original than in the photograph. A very interesting head is that in the possession of M. de Clercq, which must have had a similar beard, though the lower part of it is broken away. In the case of this head it is noteworthy that the eyes are slightly oblique (one more so than the other), and that he wears a wig closely resembling that which the Assyrian king Aššur-našir-āpli (885 B.C.) is represented as wearing. At this early period it was evidently the custom for the Babylonian princes and nobles to shave their heads, and they sometimes (perhaps upon ceremonial occasions) wore wigs.

To clinch the matter of the existence of non-Semitic nationalities in Babylonia in ancient times, it may here be mentioned that the Sumerian and Akkadian languages are referred to more than once on the tablets. Thus a tablet-fragment in the British Museum refers to its contents as being "Two Sumerian incantations used" (seemingly) "for the

¹ It occupies four plates in part vi of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* (1898).

stilling of a weeping child,"¹ and another tablet seems to say that "the tongue of Šumer was like Ak-"²—a tantalizingly incomplete phrase, which suggests that a comparison of Sumerian with Akkadian was intended.³ (Lower down "the tongue of the chief" or 'prince' or 'leader' is referred to.) Another small fragment seems to tell us that "(below was) Akkad, above (was) Šu(mer),"⁴ a phrase in which the restoration of 'below' in the first part is suggested by the presence of 'above' in the second part, and naturally raises the question whether the position of the two districts is here referred to. (As the fragment is very small, it is to be noted that the disposition of the adverbs may, in reality, be the reverse one, namely, "Akkad is above, Šu(mer below)," and this would, perhaps, be better according to Assyrian syntax.) Yet another reference to the Sumerian language occurs in the interesting text published in W.A.I., iv, pl. 40 (the old 47), which gives the colophon "Tablet 22nd, Šumer (*eme-laḥa*) unchanged." The tablet which follows (begins) "In the month Nisan, day 4th," but how the first part of the colophon is to be understood is uncertain, as the expression 'unchanged' is in the plural. It probably formed part of the first line of the series. What is interesting about this series, however, is, that the non-Semitic phrases that it contains are written in the dialect.

To sum up:—

(1) There are numerous tablets written in a non-Semitic dialect, with and without translation into Semitic Babylonian, and in two cases at least these non-Semitic texts are expressly designated as Sumerian.

¹ Tablet S. 1190 (the lines are quoted in Bezold's Catalogue, vol. iv).

² Tablet 81-7-27, 130.

³ The text of the Assyrian translation reads: *lišan Šumeri tamš'il Ak[kadi]*, "the tongue of Šumer the likeness of (the tongue of) Ak[kad assumed?]." The Sumerian original has the character *eme*, 'tongue,' before the break, implying that the original, when complete, read *eme Ura*, "tongue of Akkad."

⁴ Tablet K. 1413 (cf. Bezold's Catalogue, vol. iii).

(2) That Sumerian (or Akkadian) was not an allography is proved by the fact that it possessed a dialect showing clear laws of sound-change. It is to be noted also that the grammar is entirely different from that of the Semitic idiom.

(3) The type of the earliest monuments is distinctly different from that of the later period, when the Semites gained the ascendancy; and also different from the type exhibited by the comparatively ancient kingdom of Agadé, where, notwithstanding, non-Semitic influence must, before the time of Sargon (Šargani) of Agadé, have been sufficiently strong to leave at least some impress.

(4) The language of the inscriptions which often accompany the type exhibited by the above-named earliest monuments is always non-Semitic, and must, as such, be regarded as the language of the people represented.

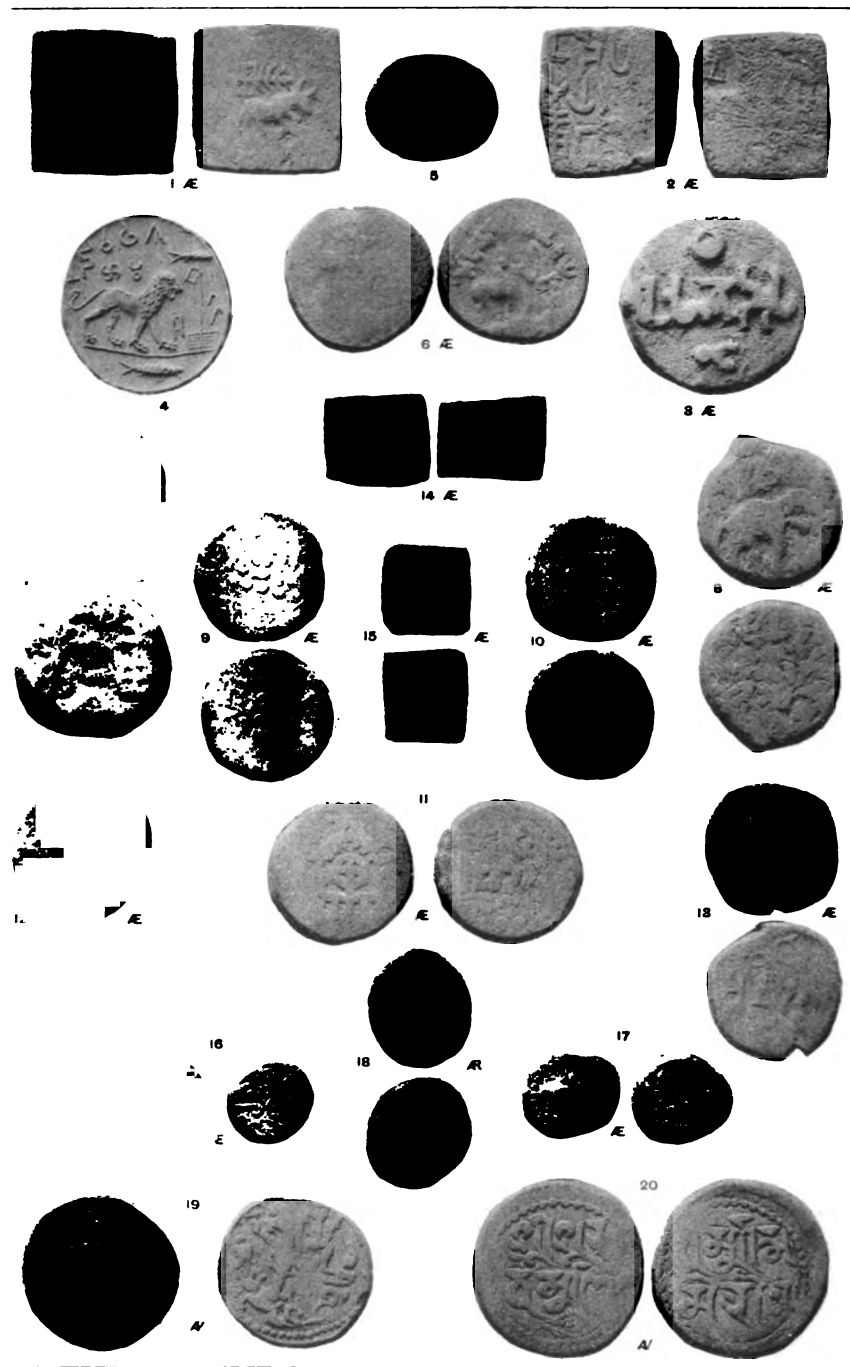
(5) Not only hymns, psalms, incantations, charms, and similar literary products were written in the non-Semitic language to which I have referred, but also royal inscriptions, legal precepts, and law documents, the latter classes of texts being such as no sane person would write in any so-called 'allography.' All these classes of documents were later, when Semitic civilization became general, composed in the Semitic Babylonian language, and this fact alone ought to do away with any doubt as to the nationality of the pioneers of civilization in the Euphrates Valley.

(6) The few sculptures which present more or less the type with oblique eyes confirm, as far as they go, the conclusions of De Lacouperie as to the connection of the early inhabitants with the Chinese, and the researches of the Rev. C. J. Ball with regard to the language. It must not be thought, however, that the Chinese are necessarily ancient Sumerians who emigrated from Babylonia, or that the ancient Sumerians must have emigrated into Babylonia from China. If there be, as it would seem there is, some connection between these two ancient nationalities, it must be on account of their having migrated to Babylonia and to China from a common centre, in all probability some district lying east or north-east of Babylonia and west of China. The oblique eyes of

the two sculptures on Plate II only imply that there was some Mongolian admixture at about the time when they were produced; whether this admixture was numerous enough and of sufficient influence to cause its language to become that of all the races contemporary with it in the Euphrates Valley will be a matter for study and research. Time alone can reveal to us further particulars as to the real state of the case, and complete the fragmentary records of these pioneers of the world's civilization.

NOTE.—In the above paper I have employed the term Sumerian instead of Akkadian almost throughout. I am by no means satisfied, however, that the word Akkadian is wrong, for the fragments quoted on p. 94 refer to it in close connection with Sumerian, that numbered 81-7-27, 130, being the most important.

[Fig. 17 is here reproduced, by the kind permission of Messrs. Wm. Collins, Sons, & Co., from the new edition of their Bible Readers' Manual, plate iv.]



INDIAN COINS AND SEALS. I.

ART. VII.—*Notes on Indian Coins and Seals.* Part I. By
E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

WITH the kind permission of the Council of the Society, I purpose from time to time to contribute a series of notes on such unpublished or noteworthy coins and seals of Ancient and Mediaeval India as come under my notice; and I shall be greatly obliged to collectors of these objects if they will submit to me at the British Museum any specimens about which they may desire information.

The object of these *Notes* will be partly to correct and bring up to date the account of *Indian Coins*, which I contributed to Bühler's *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*,¹ and partly to indicate to collectors of coins in India those classes of which further specimens are required for study.




Comparatively few of the very numerous series of Indian coins have yet been systematically collected. The attractions of the Graeco-Indian class have apparently diverted the attention of most collectors from a study of the purely native ancient and mediaeval coinages. But there can be no doubt of the great historical importance of these latter. Their evidence, joined to that of the stone and copper-plate inscriptions, furnishes practically the only *data* supplied by India herself for the reconstruction of her history. The extent to which this reconstruction has already been successfully made with the aid of such apparently inadequate and unpromising materials surely leaves no doubt of the extreme importance, from the historical point of view, of the study of Indian inscriptions and coins. The old gibe that Indian dates were merely so many pins set up to be

¹ *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, ii. Band, 3. Heft, B. (Trübner: Strassburg, 1898.)


bowled down again is now anything but true. The outline of Indian history is securely drawn, and many of the details are already filled in. The future progress which scholars will be able to make in this work depends principally on the amount of new material with which they are supplied by those who have opportunities of making discoveries and observations in India.

UDDEHIKA.

1. *Obv.* Humped bull to r.; above, tree within railing represented horizontally.




Rev.    (*Udehaki*). Above, three symbols, viz., the 'Ujjain' symbol, two fishes within oblong, and tree within railing.




B.M.; Bush, 65 : 8-2 : 2.

Æ  ·75; Pl. 1.

UDDEHIKA : SŪRYAMITRA.


2. *Obv.* (almost obliterated). Elephant to l.; beneath, five-hooded snake, and (?) tree within railing, both represented horizontally; at top l., counter-mark.

Rev.    [-] (*Udeha* [-]).

   [Λ-] (*Suyami*[ta-]).

Beneath, three symbols, probably as on No. 1, but in reversed order, viz., tree within railing, two fishes within oblong, and (?) the Ujjain symbol.

B.M.; Armstrong, 90 : 1-8 : 1.

Æ  ·75; Pl. 2.

The Uddehikas (*vv. ll.* Audehika, Auddehika) are mentioned in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* among the peoples who are placed in the central portion of his astrological chart¹; but, apparently, their name has not hitherto been read on coins.

¹ xiv, 3, *ed.* Kern, and *trans.*, p. 88 = J.R.A.S., 1871, p. 82.

The form *Udehaki* which occurs here is, no doubt, a *tad-rāja* formation denoting 'the prince of the Uddehikas,' though, in accordance with the rule of Pāṇini, iv, 1, 173,¹ we should rather have expected to find *Audehaki* (*Odehaki*). Another instance of this formation is afforded by the inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters on the silver coin of the Udumbaras, published by General Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67, pl. iv, 1). While we find in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* the forms *Udumbara* or *Audumbara* to denote the people or the kingdom, we have on this coin the genitive *Odumbarisa* (*Audumbareḥ*) standing in opposition to the king's name and his other titles, *Mahādevasa raño Dharaghoṣasa*. The same form probably occurs on the square bronze coin which follows (*id.*, p. 68, pl. iv, 2). We possess, unfortunately, only a drawing of this specimen, and it is, therefore, not possible to be quite certain as to the reading; but, even on the evidence of this drawing, the fourth *akṣara* certainly seems to be *-ri* rather than *-ra*, as read by Cunningham. A similar distinction is, no doubt, regularly observed between the forms *Mukhara* and *Maukhari*. Thus, for example, in *Mukharāṇām bhūbhujām* (*Fleet, Corpus Inscr. Indic.*, iii, p. 229) the first genitive is dependent on the second—"of the lords of Mukhara (or of the Mukhara people)"; while in *Bhūpāṇām Maukharinām* (*id.*, p. 222) the two genitives are in opposition—"of the lords, the Maukharis." It seems impossible to determine, from the two specimens in the British Museum, whether an inscription in Brāhmī characters, occurring on certain of the *negamā* coins or 'guild-tokens'² found in the neighbourhood of Taxila, should be read *Antarotakā* or *Antarotaki*.³ If the discovery of more complete specimens should prove the latter reading to be correct, we should probably be justified in regarding it as a *tad-rāja* formation, meaning 'the prince of Antarotaka,' and in supposing that

¹ Referred to in P.W., s.v. 'Audumbari.'

² For references, see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 6.

³ Figured in Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. iii, 11.

other forms found on these *negamā* coins, such as *Dajaka* and *Talimata* (or *Rālimata*), are also names or titles of rulers.


The king's name, *Sūryamitra*, may be recovered with almost absolute certainty from the portions of the inscription still remaining on the coin, No. 2, above described. The most probable restoration of this inscription is *Udeha[ki-]Suyam[itasa]*, and the letters which are certain leave scarcely a possibility of doubt as to the reading of both name and title. The style of the Brāhmī characters on these coins seems to justify us in assigning to them a date at least as early as the third century before Christ. We have at present no other evidence of the existence of a king named *Sūryamitra* at this period. The king of North Pañcāla (*Śuṅga*), who bears this name, probably belongs to a somewhat later date; perhaps to the second century B.C.¹ The same name has also been read on coins of Ayodhyā, possibly of the second or first century B.C.; but this may be due to a mistake. The inscription on these coins seems not to be *Suya-*, *Saya-*, or *Āyu-mitrāsa*, each of which readings has been suggested, but almost certainly *Āyyamitrāsa* (i.e. *Āryamitrāsyā*). The description of this coinage given in *Indian Coins* (pl. iv, 3), should probably be corrected accordingly; but it must be borne in mind that the letters *a* and *su* at this period are very easily confused. Much the same remarks apply to the name of one of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā, as represented on his coins; it is not possible from the available specimens to be quite certain whether it is *Āryamitra* or *Sūryamitra*.

These coins of Uddehika—like some of the coins of Eraṇ, which they resemble in other respects also—are examples of an interesting stage in the art of coin-making in India. Their types, struck from single dies, are simply made up of a collection of those symbols which, at an earlier period, were impressed one at a time by different punches.² As to the meaning of these symbols we can, at present, say

¹ Cunningham, *C.A.I.*, p. 82, pl. vii, 4; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 53.

² *Indian Coins*, § 46.

practically nothing. Some may have had a personal, others a local, and others a religious significance; but we require to know a great deal more than we do know about the history, the geography, and the religious condition of ancient India, before we can make any profitable enquiry into this subject. That the symbols placed on coins had a very real meaning we cannot doubt when we see, for instance, that on the coins of the Pañcāla (Śuṅga) king Bhānumitra—not on those of other members of this dynasty—one particular symbol is deliberately and regularly¹ defaced by the counter-mark of another. This must surely be the record of some event, at the nature of which we can only vaguely guess.

The counter-mark which occurs on the reverse of coin No. 2 is the curious symbol  which occurs so frequently on coins of all kinds—punch-marked, cast, and struck—and which no one seems to have explained.² Sometimes it stands within a railing, and, in this form, it appears counter-marked on many of the coins of Bahasatimita, (Cunn., *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, Kosāmbī, pl. v, 13), whose Pabhosā inscriptions³ show him to have belonged to the second or first century B.C.

The existence of the Uddehikas as a people is attested for the following periods:—(1) 3rd century B.C. (probably), by the evidence of these coins; and (2) 6th century A.D., by Varāhamihira. The passage in which they are mentioned by Alberuni (11th century A.D.) is quoted from the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*,⁴ and cannot be taken as evidence of their existence in his time. His remark (*trans.*, vol. i, p. 298) to the effect that “most of the names of countries under which

¹ In three out of the four coins of the largest size in the British Museum. This counter-mark seems to occur less frequently on the coins of medium size, and not at all on the small coins.

² It appears among other ornaments in a necklace (Fergusson, *Trees and Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed., 1873, pl. iii, 4), and a similar ornament, described by Mr. Vincent Smith as ‘a gold-leaf cross,’ was found among the relics from the Piprahvā Stūpa (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 586, pl. 10).


³ Führer, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, p. 240.

⁴ Alberuni's *India* (*trans.* Sachau), vol. i, p. 300.

they appear in this context are not those by which they are now generally known" applies, no doubt, to this as to the other passages from Hindu authors quoted by him.

With regard to the locality of Uddehika, very little can be added to what Mr. Fleet, in his excellent *Topographical List of the Br̥hat-saṃhitā*,¹ has already gathered from Varāhamihira and Alberuni. The gloss 'near Bazāna,' which is added after 'Uddehika' in Alberuni's quotation, might, perhaps, have afforded some useful information if the reading were certain; but this seems not to be the case. Probably the general similarity between the coins of Uddehika and Eraṇ may be held to be good evidence that these two places were not far apart.

UPAGODA.

3. *Obv.*  (*Upagodasa*). Above, circle with dot in centre; beneath, 'Taurine' symbol represented horizontally.

Rev. Blank.

B.M.; Lady Clive Bayley, 89 : 8-8 : 68.

Æ 1.; Pl 3.

This coin or seal is described, but not illustrated, by Thomas in his edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 216. It is quoted by him as an example of the early cast coinage in which one side was left blank. It seems quite probable that this variety of the cast coinage may be earlier than that which has both an obverse and a reverse, just as the 'single-die' coins of Taxila seem to be of an earlier date than the 'double-die' coins.² In any case, the art of casting coins must be very ancient in India. There is no question here of borrowing from a Greek source; and the forms of the Brāhmī

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, p. 192.

² *Cunn., Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 61: Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 56.

characters on this coin and on the cast coins of Kāṣā¹ seems to be as old as any others found in India. Bühler's opinion² was that coins and seals of this kind date from at least 350 or 400 B.C., that is to say, from some time before the Maurya Dynasty.

It must remain doubtful for the present whether *Upagoda* is the name of a person—like *Upagupta*, *Upendra*—or the name of a place—like *Upavaṅga*, *Upajyotiṣa*. The former is, perhaps, the more probable. This coin or seal is not unlike the Patna seals³ with the inscription *Nadaya* and *Agapalāṣa*. These are undoubtedly names of persons.

Seal of NANDIVARDHA or NANDIVERDDHA.

4. 𑀮 𑀭 𑀭 𑀭 𑀭 (*Nandivardha*), Lion walking r. towards staff standing within railing and surmounted by a fish and a banner (?); above, *svastika* and 'Taurine' symbol; to l. of staff, symbol 𑀭; to r. of staff, 𑀭 (probably the Kharoṣṭhī compound letter *śpa*); in exergue, a fish.

Mr. Robert Hammersley.

AR. 9; PL. 4.

The seal, from which the impression here described and illustrated was taken, is that of a silver signet-ring. Nothing is known of its *provenance*; but there seems to be no reason to doubt that it is really what the style of its inscription in Brāhmī characters and its other features would indicate—an Indian signet-ring of about 200 B.C.

Fortunately the evidence of numismatics, which is, generally, of all the available kinds of evidence, the best by which to determine the date of other antiquities, is very much to the point in this particular instance.

¹ *Cunn.*, *id.*, pl. ii, 21, 22.

² *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 8.

³ *Cunn.*, *Arch. Surv. Reports*, xv, pl. iii; v. also Bühler (*l.c.*).

This seal has several characteristics in common with the square bronze coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles,¹ two of the earliest Greek kings of India, whose date must be very near the beginning of the second century B.C., and with those coins of Taxila of similar shape and metal which seem to bear traces of Greek influence.²

In the first place, the lion of the seal is not unlike the same animal as represented on the coins. Secondly, the Brāhmī inscriptions on the seal and on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles are very similar in character; and thirdly, the symbols above the lion on the seal—the *svastika* and the 'Taurine' symbol—are of common occurrence on the coins of Taxila (v. Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. ii, 8; iii, 2, 13, etc.). If we are right in supposing that the character to the right of the staff on the seal is the Kharoṣṭhī compound letter *śpa*, this would be an additional point of resemblance, for Kharoṣṭhī as well as Brāhmī inscriptions are found both on the coins of Agathocles and on those of Taxila.³ The fish, which occurs twice on the seal, is found frequently enough as a symbol on coins of Ancient India—e.g., on the coins of Uddehika described above (p. 98)—but no other instance of the 'staff surmounted by a fish and a banner (?)' has yet been noticed. Dr. Burgess has made the suggestion, which is well worth bearing in mind in view of future discoveries, that the Matsyas might reasonably be expected to have adopted the fish (*matsya*) as their emblem. In southern India the fish was, of course, the emblem of the Pāṇdyas.

The inscription *Naṃdivaḍhaśa* is, no doubt, a Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *Nandivardhasya* or—as Professor Kielhorn has suggested as an alternative—*Nandivṛddhasya*. The only remarkable feature in this Prakrit form is the termination *-śa* (instead of *-sa* as would be expected) = Skt.

¹ Gardner : B.M. Cat., *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, pl. iii, 9; pl. iv, 9.

² Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. iii, 1-4; cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §§ 21, 56.

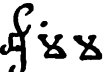
³ Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. iv, 10; Cun., *op. cit.*, pl. iii, 9, 13.

-*śya*. The parallel instances given in the subjoined note,¹ I owe entirely to the courtesy of Professor O. Franke, to whom I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments. Other curious interchanges of letters on coin-inscriptions will be noted below—*ca* for *cha* on a coin of the Kuṇḍas (p. 125, note 2), and *ṇa* for *na* on the coin of Vatsadāman (p. 124).

No adequate explanation of the Kharoṣṭhī *śpa*²—if such it be—can be given. Isolated *akṣaras* like this are of frequent occurrence on Indian coins. They must, no doubt, have had a meaning at one time, but that meaning has almost certainly, in the majority of cases, been irrecoverably lost.

We may conclude, with some confidence, that this seal came originally from some place in India not far from Taxila—the modern Shāhdheri or Dheri Shāhān, in the Rāwal Pindi district³; and that its date is not long after 200 B.C.

Seal of MAMMA.

5.  (Śrī-Mamma).

Mr. J. P. Rawlins.

Steatite; Pl. 5.

This seal is published here chiefly with the object of calling attention to a branch of Indian antiquities which

¹ "*śaśa*, Khālsi, xii, 31; *Agapalaśa*, Patna seal, Cunningham, A.S.R., xv, pl. iii, 2; Bühler, Ind. Pal., pp. 8, 9; *Haviṣkaśa*, on a coin, Cunningham, Coins of the Kuṣāns, Num. Chron., 1892, pl. viii, 15 (Cunn. reads differently); *Sakaśa*, in the second Nāsik Inscription of Private Individuals, A.S.W.I., iv, p. 114." Prof. Franke also refers me to an instance—*Gamini Tisasa*—occurring in an ancient inscription of Ceylon, published by Dr. Hoernlé in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i, pl. vii. On this form Dr. Hoernlé observes (p. 170): "The *śa* of the genitive of this word is most remarkable . . . ; it is not given by Prinsep, and has not, I think, been found in India, but I have since found it in many places in Ceylon, and there can be no doubt about the meaning of the sign."

² It may be noted incidentally that *śpa*—not *spa*—seems to be the regular equivalent to the Greek ΣΠΑ on the coins which bear the names of Spalagadama, Spalahora, Spalarises, Spalyris (the Śaka or Śaka-Parthian class), v. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, Taf. 1. Moreover, on the Audumbara coin published by Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. iv, 1 = Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. iii, 8, the reading *Viśamitra* should be corrected to *Viśpamitra*. The second *akṣara* is certainly not *śa*, but *śpa*, and the dialectical form *Viśpamitra* is not without interest.

³ Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 104.

no one seems to have yet systematically collected—ancient and mediaeval inscribed gems and seals. If one may judge from the numbers of these which have been brought from time to time to the British Museum by visitors, they would appear to be fairly common in certain parts of India. To collect them would be an interesting, and probably not an expensive, amusement; and the study of them would certainly add to our knowledge of Indian nomenclature and of Indian epigraphy, and might often be useful in adding to the testimony of coins and inscriptions. It is to be hoped that some one in India will turn his attention to this branch of antiquities.

Mamma is a well-known Indian name. It occurs, for example, as a surname of Harivarman in his Kudārkoṭ inscription;¹ and, in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, it is the name of one of the regents under Ajitāpīḍa.² In its feminine form it is found in one of the Nāsik inscriptions.³

ĀRJUNĀYANA (*Indian Coins*, § 42).

6. *Obv.* Camel (? or humped bull) to r., facing tree within railing.

Rev. ✽ 𑀕 𑀲 𑀭 𑀮 𑀭 𑀮 𑀭 𑀮 (Ārjunāyanāna - jaya).

Humped bull to r., facing sacrificial post within railing.

B.M., Cunningham.

Æ 75; Pl. 6.

The coins of the Ārjunāyanas hitherto published⁴ bear types which connect them with the series of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā. The importance of the present

¹ Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, i, pp. 180, 181: "Harivarmananāmā Śrī-Mamma ity aparanāmakṛtapratītiḥ."

² Stein, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 158.

³ Burgess: *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, *Buddhist Cave Temples*, pl. lv, p. 116; note 3, "Mammā is probably a corruption of Mahimā, just as Mammāṭa is of Mahimabhāṭṭa."

⁴ Cunn., *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 90, pl. viii, 20. Prinsep's *Essays* (ed. Thomas), vol. ii, pl. xlii, 224; p. 224 (wrongly read).

specimen lies in the fact that, both by its types and by its inscription, it shows a striking resemblance to certain coins of the Yaudheyas. This resemblance is very clearly seen when this specimen is compared with the Yaudheya coin illustrated in pl. vi, 3, of Cunningham's *Coins of Anc. Ind.*¹ The reverse type is the same in both cases, and it is struck in the same manner—slightly incuse; and the form of the inscription, *Ārjunāyanāna* (i.e. -*nānām*) *jaya*[*h*] is similar to that of other Yaudheya coins—*Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya*[*h*] (*op. cit.*, pl. vi, 6–8).

This connection between the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas thus indicated by the coins has long ago been inferred from other records. They are mentioned together in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (c. A.D. 380),² and in five passages in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (Varāhamihira, *obit* 587 A.D.).³ The Mālavas also are mentioned together with these two in the same inscription, and they are placed with them in the 'northern division' by Varāhamihira. It is worthy of notice that the Mālava coins have an inscription of the same character = Skt. *Mālavānām jaya*[*h*].⁴ These Mālava coins, which have been found literally in thousands,⁵ are still, unfortunately, not represented by a single specimen in the collection of the British Museum.

Mr. Vincent Smith, in his admirable account of the princes and peoples mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, places the Ārjunāyanas in "the region between the Mālava and Yaudheya territories, or, roughly speaking, the Bharatpur and Alwar States, west of Agra and Mathurā, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps."⁶

¹ The full inscription on these coins has not been read. I conjecture that, on certain specimens, the word of which traces can be seen beneath the type may have been *Bahudhāṇake*; but there seem to be several varieties.

² Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, iii, p. 1.

³ *Ed.* Kern, iv, 25; xi, 59; xiv, 26–28; xvi, 22; xvii, 19. It may be said that the Ārjunāyanas are *never* mentioned apart from the Yaudheyas in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (*v.* Fleet, *Topographical List*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1893, pp. 173, 194).

⁴ *Indian Coins*, § 51.

⁵ Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 884.

⁶ *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 886.

ANCIENT CAST COIN OF ERAN (*Indian Coins*, § 46).

7. *Obv.* Horse to l.; above, the 'Ujjain' symbol.

Rev. In r. and l. field, a tree within railing; between, written vertically in Brāhmī characters, $\triangleright \{ + [.]$ (*Eraka*[.]).

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 8; Pl. 7.

This coin, in fabric, most resembles the cast coins represented in Cunningham's *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. i, 26-30. Like them, and like the cast coins of India generally—e.g. Kāḍa (*id.*, pl. ii, 21), Kosāmbī (*id.*, pl. v, 7-10), and Upagoda (*v. sup.*, p. 102, pl. 3)—it shows the marks where it has been separated by cutting from the row of coins cast in the mould at the same time.

Specimens bearing a similar inscription are published in Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. x, p. 77, pl. xxiv, 16, 17; and one is described in his *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 102, but no illustration of it is given in the accompanying plate. General Cunningham read the last *akṣara* as *-nya*, or *-ña*. The reading cannot be verified from his autotype plate in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*; and the traces remaining on the specimen now published do not justify us in restoring either of these suggested readings here.

This coin is interesting as being, apparently, the only specimen of round form belonging to Eran yet discovered. The 'Ujjain' symbol, which occurs on the obverse, above the horse, is characteristic of many of the coins of Eran (*v. Cunn., op. cit.*, p. 100, pl. xi, 1, 6, 8, 9). It would, perhaps, be more correct to call this the 'Mālava' symbol, as, according to Cunningham (*l.c.*), it appears "on nearly all the coins of ancient Mālwa, wherever found—at Eran, Besnagar, and Ujjain."

UTTAMADATTA.

Rev. **ᠰᠡᠯᠠᠭ ᠠᠨ** (*Rājño Utamadatasa*).

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 75; Pl. 8.

One of the coins of Uttamadatta in the British Museum—**Lady Clive Bayley**, 89 : 8-8 : 21 — is counter-marked on the obverse with the curious symbol which appears on the obverse of the coin, No. 12, described below, and attributed doubtfully to either the Udumbaras or to Mathurā. It may be that the striker of this coin, who bears the title **Mahādeva**, reissued some of the coins of Uttamadatta, counter-marked with his own symbol. This counter-mark may quite possibly prove to be of some chronological importance; and it will be interesting to note whether it occurs or not on any other coins of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā which may be discovered in the future.

Some of these Mathurā coins are cast, some are struck, and in some cases it is not easy to determine whether a coin has been cast or struck. This uncertainty results from what seems to have been a peculiarly Indian method of stamping

the metal when it was almost in a molten state (*Indian Coins*, § 56). The coin of Uttamadatta here described seems undoubtedly to have been cast; while those of Śeṣadatta, Nos. 9–11, seem as certainly to have been struck.

With the name Uttamadatta—or Utamadatta as it appears on the coins—we may compare such forms as *Utaradatā* and *Utaramitā* found in the Sanchi Stūpa inscriptions (Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 386; Nos. 279, 280).

ŚEṢADATTA.

9. *Obv.* Probably a debased representation of the type: "Three elephants, one to front and the others facing to r. and l., each with a man mounted on his neck."¹

Rev. []² 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀭 (-Śeṣadātasa). Standing figure facing, with r. hand raised; in l. field, a tree.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ ·75; Pl. 9.

10. Similar, but *rev. inscription*, 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀭 (Rājño Śeṣadātasa).

Mr. L. White King.

Æ ·75; Pl. 10.

11. *Obv.* A wheel within a *caitya*.

Rev. Across centre [𑀘] 𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀭 [𑀓] ([Śe]ṣadātasa);
beneath, upper part of standing figure.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ ·75; Pl. 11.

These are the only three known specimens of Śeṣadatta, another recently discovered ruler of this dynasty. Mr. Vincent Smith at first proposed to read the name as *Goṣadatta*; but there can be little doubt that the first *akṣara* is *śe* and not *go*.

¹ Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 89.

² It is uncertain whether or not the word *Rājño* occupied this position on this coin.

Moreover, there is no such word as *goṣa*, and it is scarcely likely to be a mistake for *ghoṣa*.¹ The name Śeṣadatta is, of course, derived from Śeṣa, the serpent-lord, cf. Nāgadatta, etc.

It is interesting to notice on these coins the fluctuation between the two Prakrit forms, *-datasa* (i.e. *dattasa*) and *-dātasa*. The latter is sufficiently common, though not so frequently found on these coins as the former; cf. *Uṣara-dātana* = *Rṣabhadattena* (Arch. Surv. West. Ind.: *Buddhist Cave Temples*, pl. lii, No. 5, line 1).

Everything seems to indicate that great discoveries, both in numismatics and in epigraphy, await the future explorer of Mathurā. Although the coins, whether of the Śaka Satraps or of the Hindu Princes, can scarcely be said to have been collected except in a casual and accidental manner—the same remark, indeed, would apply to all the coinages of Ancient India except those of the Graeco-Indian Princes, the Kuṣanas, the Western Kṣatrapas, and the Imperial Guptas—yet the number of names already known is considerable; while the inscribed Lion-Capital, discovered and published by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī (ed. Bühler, J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 525), and the Jaina inscriptions discovered by Dr. Führer in the Kaṅkāli Tīla (published by Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, pp. 371, 393) are an earnest of the epigraphic treasures which may be expected.


Besides Uttamadatta and Śeṣadatta, the following names—all represented by coins in the British Museum—have to be added to the list of Princes of Mathurā given by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 85 ff., pl. viii)—*Kāmadatta* (first discovered by Mr. Vincent Smith, in the collection of Mr. L. White King), *Śivadatta*, *Sūryamitra* (? or *Āryamitra*),² and *Viṣnumitra*. I hope to give a more detailed description of these, together with illustrations, in a subsequent instalment of *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals* in this Journal.

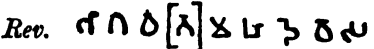
¹ See, however, what is apparently an instance of the substitution of non-aspirate for aspirate—*catra* for *chatra*—referred to *inf.*, p. 125, note 2.

² *v. sup.*, p. 100.

? UDUMBARA OR MATHURĀ (*Indian Coins*, §§ 43, 52).

Name or title, MAHĀDEVA.

12. *Obv.* Symbol, 

Rev.  (*Bhāgava[ta] Mahā-*
devasa). Standing figure, holding in r. hand a
trident and battle-axe combined.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ · 7; Pl. 12.

At the first glance, one is inclined to attribute this coinage—of which Mr. L. White King possesses two specimens—to one of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā; but, on a closer examination, it will be seen that, beyond a general resemblance in fabric and epigraphy, which denotes that it is not far removed either locally or chronologically, it has little in common with that series.

The symbol, which occurs as the obverse type, is quite peculiar. It may possibly be some form of the *lingam* or some other religious symbol. It seems not to be found, as a type, on any other Indian coins hitherto published; but, as has been noticed above (p. 109), it is counter-marked on a coin of Uttamadatta, one of the Princes of Mathurā, in the British Museum. Until further specimens are discovered, it cannot be determined whether this symbol is characteristic of a class of coins or merely of the coins of some particular ruler. In any case, the counter-mark probably denotes some connection, the nature of which we can only conjecture, between the dynasty to which these coins belong and the Hindu Princes of Mathurā.

The standing figure on the reverse is quite different from that which appears in the same position on the Mathurā coins. On the latter, the figure is most probably that of a woman (perhaps the goddess Lakṣmī) and it has the right hand raised. On these coins, the figure is undoubtedly that of a man holding the trident battle-axe in his right hand. This is the usual weapon of the god Śiva (Mahādeva), who

is probably represented here in allusion to the name or title of the prince.

The same inscription, *Bhāgavata-Mahādevasa*—with the addition of *Rājārāja*[?sa] (Brāhmī) and *Rajaraṇa* (Kharoṣṭhī)—occurs on a coin attributed by Cunningham to the Audumbaras (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 68, pl. iv, 5), on which the trident battle-axe also appears.

These facts, then, make it most probable that these coins should be attributed to the Audumbaras; and, if so, we may infer from considerations of the fabric of the coins and from the occurrence of the counter-mark discussed above that some sort of connection existed between the Audumbaras and the Hindu Princes of Mathurā. Cunningham has already shown (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 67) that some of the Audumbara coins are imitated from the hemidrachms of the Graeco-Indian Princes, Apollodotus and Zoilus. We have, therefore, some *data*—not of much weight, certainly—to enable us to make a tentative chronological arrangement of these series.

The title *Bhāgavata* denotes a worshipper of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. *Mahādeva* is probably, in this case, not a name but a title. It is almost certainly a title on the two Audumbara coins published by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 68, pl. iv, 1 and 5), although he regards it as a proper name in the case of the second of these. For the occurrence of *Mahādeva* as a proper name, see the references to vol. iii of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

DYNASTY UNCERTAIN.

? BHŪMIDATTA OR BHĪMADATTA.

13. *Obv.* Elephant to l.

Rev. Inscription in Brāhmī characters across the middle doubtful, perhaps intended either for
 [𑀧𑀸]𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀢 or [𑀧𑀸]𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀢 (*Bhūmidatasa*
 or *Bhīmadatasa*). Type obscure.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 75; PL. 13.

There is very little at present to be said about this coin, which is published and illustrated here chiefly in the hope that it may lead to the recognition of other similar specimens.

The obverse type of the elephant occurs so frequently on Indian coins that it affords a very slight clue to the identification of this particular one. Practically all that can be said of this coin is that, in fabric, it is not unlike some of the coins of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā, and that the Brāhmī characters of its inscription seem to belong to the same period. The formation of the name, ending in *-datta*, is also similar. It is quite possible that, when better specimens are found which will enable us to identify the reverse type—if any—and to read the inscription correctly, this coin may have to be placed in that series.

The first portion of the name is quite uncertain. The first consonant seems to be *bh*, and the second *m* (or possibly *v*); but the vowels which accompany these consonants are altogether doubtful. The readings *Bhūmi-* or *Bhīma-*, suggested above, are merely conjectural. There are traces on this specimen of something above this name—possibly of another line of inscription in Brāhmī characters, the word *Rājño* or something of the kind—but it is impossible to do more than guess what these traces may represent until better specimens are available.

? MATHURĀ.

(P) ŚISUCANDĒĀTA.

14. *Obv.* Elephant standing to r. with trunk upraised ;
above, 'Taurine' symbol represented horizontally.

Rev. In incuse [E 6 (*Rājāśa*


𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺 śucandātasa).

B.M. ; Lady Olive Bayley.

Æ 55 ; Pl. 14

No coin of this kind seems to have been hitherto published ; and almost all that can be said as to its attribution is that, in

its general character—fabric, shape, size, and epigraphy—it seems to be not far removed from the coins of Virasena, one specimen of which is described below. Cunningham, probably from considerations of *provenance*, assigned the coins of Virasena generally to the district of Mathurā (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 89, pl. viii, 18), and, on the assumption that this attribution is approximately correct, we may, provisionally, place the coins of (?) Śisucandrāta in the same class.

The reading of the inscription suggested above is by no means certain. The second *akṣara* is quite probably to be read as *jño*——as we should have expected; but it is not easy to see how the remaining traces fit in with this restoration. The vowel of the third *akṣara* is, again, quite uncertain. There is no room on the coin for a vowel-sign above the line, if such was ever intended; and the restoration *śi* is proposed rather than *śa*, merely because *śiśu* would seem to be a more probable form than *śaśu* as the first part of a name. The remainder of the name, *Caṃdāta* (i.e. *Candrātta*), is, of course, equivalent to the fuller Sanskrit form *Candradatta*.

VĪRASENA.

15. *Obv.* Debased representation of the type: "Standing figure, with r. hand upraised."

Rev. ; beneath, symbols.

B.M.; Lady Clive Bayley.

Æ□ 45; Pl. 15.

This type, which appears to be of no great rarity,¹ has been already published, both by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 89, pl. viii, 18) and by Rodgers (*Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, part 3, pp. 32, 33), but illustrated in the former case only from a drawing, and, in the latter case, without illustration. Cunningham tacitly places the

¹ Smith, J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 876.

coins among those of Mathurā, while Rodgers gives a quotation—very probably from some letter or statement of General Cunningham's—to the effect that "they are found at Mathurā." There seems to be no reason to doubt that they belong to this district generally. Future discoveries may, perhaps, enable us to assign them to some particular dynasty ruling in this neighbourhood; but, for the present, their attribution must remain somewhat vague.


As has been noticed above (p. 115), the coins of (?) Śīśucandrāta may perhaps belong to the same class, and so may other specimens in the British Museum having inscriptions too fragmentary and indistinct to be deciphered. The discovery of other rulers of the same dynasty may confidently be predicted when better specimens of this series of coins are available.

The 'symbols' under the inscription on the reverse are apparently a tree with the *trīśūla*¹ emblem on either side. In some cases, the *svastika* seems to take the place of the circle and surrounding dots which form the lower portion of the *trīśūla* emblem.

NĀGA DYNASTY OF PADMĀVATĪ (*Indian Coins*, § 101).

PRABHĀKARA.

16. *Obv.* Lion to l.; border of dots.

Rev.  (*Mahārāja-Śrī-Prabhākara*).

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 45; PL 16.

17. *Obv.* Humped bull to r.; border of dots.

Rev. Inscription as on No. 16.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 5; PL 17.

The inscription, *Mahārāja-Śrī-Prabhākara*, is not complete on any single specimen belonging to Mr. White King,

¹ For this emblem, see Burgess: *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, *Elura Caves Temples*, p. 12. It occurs very commonly on coins, e.g., *Cunn., Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. iv, 14; pt. v, 1, 2, etc.

but it can be read with absolute certainty by comparing the eight specimens in his collection. The fabric of these coins leaves no doubt that they belong to the series attributed to the Nāga Dynasty of Padmāvati (Narwar), one member of which, Gaṇapatināga, is mentioned in the list of princes conquered by Samudragupta (c. 350–380 A.D.).¹ The name Prabhākara is, of course, well known in Indian history, but it has not been hitherto found in connection with this dynasty. It appears in the nominative, and this would seem to be the most common form on the coins of this series. The genitive, however, is found on some coins of Gaṇapati—those reading -*Gaṇapatyu*[h] (sic)—some of Skandanāga, and, apparently, all those published of Devanāga (v. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pp. 23, 24). The name *Nāga* is omitted on the coins of Prabhākara, as on those of Gaṇapati; but it is given to Gaṇapati in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta.

Fragments of several names not yet read are to be seen on coins belonging to this series. It is to be hoped that further specimens will be discovered which will enable us to decipher the names of these princes at present unknown. It has been surmised² that, besides Gaṇapatināga, others of the tributary princes mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription belonged to this family. It is extremely probable, for instance, that the Nāgasena, whose name occurs twice in the inscription, is identical with the 'Nāgasena, heir to the house of Padmāvati,' mentioned in the *Harṣa-carita*.³ Some interesting identifications may reasonably be expected from further discoveries in this series.

¹ Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, p. 1.

² Fleet, *op. cit.*, Index, s.v. Nāga, p. 323.

³ p. 221 (*ed. Bomb.*, 1892); p. 192 (*trans.*, Cowell & Thomas); cf. Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 449.

ŚILĀHĀRAS OF THE NORTHERN KŌṆKAṆ.

CHITTARĀJA ('Gadhiya-kā paisā' class : *Indian Coins*,
§ 122 (2)).

18. *Obv.* Degraded representation of type: "King's head
to r."

Rev. श्रीहिता

राजस्य within border of dots.

Mr. W. Theobald.

Æ 6; Wt. 53 grs.; Pl 18.

The series which, since Prinsep's time,¹ has been conveniently, if not very scientifically, known by its native designation, *Gadhiya-kā paisā*, 'Donkey-money,'² cannot yet be arranged with any great accuracy, whether local or chronological. Cunningham classes these coins generally with "the Indian coins of Mediaeval Age, from A.D. 600 to 1200," and states that they are "found most plentifully in S.W. Rajputana, in Baroda and the neighbouring districts of Mewar, Mālwa, and Gujarāt"; and, in my *Indian Coins*, I have contented myself with stating these general facts, and leaving the coins, together with the two other classes dealt with by Cunningham in the passage above referred to, under the heading 'unattributed.'

A consideration of the fabric of the two unattributed classes of silver coins³—(1) the thin pieces of silver, and (2) the thick pieces of silver—and of the epigraphy of the rare inscribed specimens of the latter class, will, I think, reveal some tangible chronological facts.

In the first place, the Sassanian derivation of both classes can scarcely now be doubted.

General Cunningham doubted this in the case of the thick pieces, which he regards as "the direct descendants of the

¹ *Essays* (ed. Thomas), vol. i, p. 341.

² Cunningham (*Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 47) spells the word "*Gadiya*, derived from the fire-altar or throne (*gadi*) on the reverse."

³ With the other class of unattributed coins—the copper series, of which specimens are shown in Cunningham's *Coins of Med. Ind.*, pl. vi, 1-6—I shall hope to deal in a subsequent article.

hemidrachms of the Saka Satraps of Surashtra and Malwa, with the *gadi*, or 'throne,' in place of the original *chaitya*."¹ But we know that the coins derived from this source—e.g., the Gupta silver coinage and the silver coinage of Valabhi (*Indian Coins*, §§ 91, 98)—were very different both in form and weight. Moreover, the reverse type of these thick pieces—the *gadi* or whatever it may have been intended to represent in later times—was surely *derived* originally from the fire-altar of the Sassanian coins;² and no satisfactory reason can be given why their obverse type—king's head to r.—should not in like manner be copied from the same model. As will be seen, a comparison with the types as represented on the coins of the other class—the thin pieces of silver of undoubtedly Sassanian origin—makes this point almost absolutely certain.

Further, the two classes are not disconnected, but class (2)—the thick pieces of silver—is derived from class (1)—the thin pieces of silver.

It would have been unnecessary to labour this point, the truth of which was long ago recognized—for instance, by Dr. Codrington in his arrangement of the Cabinet of the Bengal Asiatic Society³—were it not for the fact that General Cunningham seems not to have regarded it as certain. This being the case, it may, perhaps, not be amiss to briefly state the facts of the case.

Sassanian coins were brought into India in great numbers by the Hūna invasions in the latter half of the fifth century A.D., and Dr. Hoernlé⁴ has shown that some of these thin

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 48. In the sentence following this, he says, "Even the *sun* and *moon* symbols of the Sassanian coins are retained with the fire-altar or throne." *Sassanian* is, no doubt, a misprint for *Surashtran*. The '*sun* and *moon* symbols' occur, of course, on both the Sassanian and the *Surashtran* coinages.

² General Cunningham seems to admit this (*op. cit.*, p. 47) in the passage quoted above.

³ Bhagvānlāl Indrājī, *Journ. of the Bombay Br. R.A.S.*, xii, p. 325: "Gadhia Coins of Gujarāt and Mālwa."

⁴ *v. ref.* in *Indian Coins*, § 105. Col. Biddulph informs me that the find described by Dr. Hoernlé took place not in Mārwar, but in Mhairwarra (Merwara), "the small mountainous district in the Aravalli range, forming the south-west portion of the Ajmere-Mhairwarra Commissionership." He says in a letter to me, "The coins, of which I have eight, were found in 1889, five months before I became Commissioner of Ajmere-Merwara."

pieces of silver are direct imitations of the Sassanian coins current during that period. Now, the Sassanian type of coin—large, thin, flat—was essentially un-Indian; and these imitations made in India gradually lose their Sassanian characteristics. They become by degrees smaller, thicker, and less flat. The process may be seen by comparing the coins illustrated by General Cunningham (*Coins of Med. Ind.*, pl. vi), e.g., No. 13, with Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 19; and it is seen still more clearly when the comparison extends to a great number of specimens. There can be no doubt that the relative date of specimens of these classes may be determined by their fabric, and that there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between the two classes. The transition from class (1)—the thin pieces of silver—to class (2)—the thick pieces of silver—is so gradual, that it is impossible to determine accurately where one class ends and the other begins.

Similar results follow from a consideration of the process of degeneration in the types. When a series is arranged, the gradual transformation from the Sassanian types as represented in the earliest Indian imitations (e.g., No. 13 of the plate already referred to) to those of the 'Gadhiya-kā paisā' class (e.g., Nos. 7 and 10) is evident.

Chronologically between these extremes—the date of the 'Gadhiya-kā paisā' class will be subsequently discussed—comes a series, which, thanks to Dr. Hultzsch's identification of *Śrīmad-Ādivarāha* with Bhojadeva of Kanauj¹ (c. 850–900 A.D.), we are able to date with some approach to accuracy. Specimens of this class are shown in the same plate of General Cunningham's *Coins of Med. Ind.*, Nos. 16, 17, 19, 20. The fabric of these coins is also midway between the extremes, but the encroachment on the Sassanian types of an Indian element in the way of inscriptions or designs can be seen until very slight traces of the Sassanian characteristics remain, as, for example, in the coins of *Śrīmad-Ādivarāha*, where the obverse type is purely Indian

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, p. 155.

—the god Viṣṇu in his *Varaha* or 'boar' avatar—and the greater portion of the reverse is occupied by an Indian inscription, the pillar-like objects beneath this inscription being probably the only vestiges left of the Sassanian fire-altar and its attendant priests.

The only means which we possess at present of dating the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class with any degree of accuracy is afforded by the inscribed specimens; and it is interesting to note that, in this case, the evidence of epigraphy confirms the presumption of a comparatively late date, to which we were led by general considerations of the history of fabric and type. These inscribed specimens are, unfortunately, of great rarity. Up to the present, only those bearing one name have been published. This name was read *Somaladeva* by Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 53); but there can be no doubt that the reading of his No. 10 is *Śrī-Somaladevi* (श्रीसोमलदेवि)—this reading is verified from other specimens—and that of his No. 11 is almost certainly *Śrī-Somaladevi* (श्रीसोमलदेवी). It seems, therefore, that we have here the coins of a queen. Who this queen was we cannot yet determine. We can only note that we know of a queen *Somalladevi*,¹ wife of *Jājalladeva* II, one of the *Kalacuris* of *Mahākośala* (*Haihayas* of *Ratnapura*), whose *Malhār* inscription² is dated [*Cedi*]-*samvat*, 919 = A.D. 1167–68. The arrangement of the inscription on these coins of *Somaladevi*, and the style of the *Nāgarī* characters are certainly those of the known coins of the *Kalacuris* of *Mahākośala*, which belong to a period extending from c. A.D. 1060 to c. A.D. 1140 (Cunn., *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 76; cf. pl. vi, 10, with pl. viii, 6–11); but it would be rash to make this suggested identification of the *Somaladevi* of the coins on this evidence alone. It is important, in this connection, to ascertain whether or not coins of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' type are ever found in *Chatisgarh* and *Raypur* districts of the *Central Provinces*—the site of the ancient kingdom of *Mahākośala*.

¹ *Kharōd* inscription of her son *Ratnadeva* III. *Cedi-samvat*, 933 = A.D. 1181; cf. Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 60, No. 423.

² Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, i, p. 40.

The coin of Chittarāja, now published for the first time, is the only other variety of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class bearing an inscription which has been read without doubt.

Considerations of epigraphy alone would again lead us to much the same conclusion as to the date of this class; for the Nāgarī letters of Chittarāja's coin are precisely those of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasimha of Dhārā, dated [Vikrama-]samvat, 1112 = A.D. 1055-56,¹ and, if the coin be approximately of this date, we can have no hesitation in identifying this Chittarāja with the Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, who is well known from inscriptions,² especially as this division of the Bombay Presidency certainly lies within the area over which coins of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class are found. Chittarāja's Bhāṇḍup grant is dated Śaka-samvat, 948 = A.D. 1026, and the next known date of this dynasty is Śaka-samvat, 982 = A.D. 1059-60, in the reign of his brother and next successor but one, Mummuṇi or Māmvaṇi.³ All that we can say at present about the period of Chittarāja's reign, therefore, is that it began at least as early as A.D. 1026, and ended some time—probably some years—before A.D. 1059-60.

If we consider the very extensive area throughout which coins of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class are found, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that coinages of this form were struck by a number of different dynasties, and we may confidently hope that future discoveries will enable us to identify some of these. In the meantime it is satisfactory to have been able to determine, with little room for doubt, the attribution, both local and chronological, of one of these coinages.

¹ Kielhorn, *id.*, iii, p. 46. Māndhātā is "an island in the Narmadā river, attached to the Nimār district of the Central Provinces."

² Bhāṇḍup Grant (*ed.* Bühler), *Ind. Ant.*, 1876, p. 276; Śilāhāra Copper-plate Grant (*ed.* Telang), *id.*, 1880, p. 39; Ambarnāth Inscription (*ed.* Bhagvānlāl), *Journ. Bomb. Br. R.A.S.*, xii, p. 332; *cf.* Mrs. Rickmers, *Chronology of India*, pp. 114, 303.

³ Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties* (Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 543).

DYNASTY UNCERTAIN.

VATSADĀMAN.

19. *Obv.* श्रीवत्सदाम[राय]ब[ह-] Cow to l. suckling calf; border of dots.

Rev. Viṣṇu striding to r., tramples on a demon with each foot; in his r. hand he holds a discus; in front of and behind him, other demons; border of dots.

Mr. Darrah.

N 8;¹ Pl. 19.

This is a most interesting coin in every respect, and is at present quite unique of its kind. Gold coins of the period to which it must belong—most probably from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.—are of extreme rarity. Indeed, it is doubtful whether another example is known; for the gold coin which General Sir A. Cunningham supposed to be the solitary specimen with ‘mediaeval’ letters,² and the coin of Śaravarman described below (p. 124) are more probably of the ninth or tenth century.

The style of the Nāgarī letters and the reverse type—a representation of Viṣṇu—alike connect this coin with those of Śrīmad-Ādivarāha (Bhojadeva of Kanauj, c. 850–900 A.D.)³; but it would be rash to conclude that the two classes of coins belong to the same dynasty. All that can be said with any confidence is that they were probably not widely divided by time or distance.

The inscription is, unfortunately, not fully legible, but the first part of the name Śrī-Vatsadāma is quite certain. The next letter is *ṇ* with, apparently, some vowel attached. The next two *akṣaras* are uncertain—all that can be said for the suggested restoration is that it seems not to be inconsistent with the remaining traces—and these are followed by *ṇa* and *ha*—the former certain and the latter doubtful. Probably the end of the inscription is lost. In

¹ The note taken of the weight of this coin has, unfortunately, been lost.

² *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 47, pl. vi, 18.

³ *Indian Coins*, § 110, pl. v, 6.

any case, the η following the certain portion *Śrī-Vatsadāma* constitutes a difficulty, whether we suppose it to be the termination of the name—*-dāmaṇaḥ* for *-dāmnaḥ*—or the initial of the following word—e.g., *Nārāyaṇa* for *Nā°*.

The obverse type—a cow suckling a calf—is, of course, a punning allusion to the name *Vatsadāman*, and the reverse type represents *Viṣṇu* in his *Vāmana*¹ or ‘dwarf’ avatar slaying the demons.

A *Vatsadāman* is known to us from an inscription of some princes of the *Śūrasena* family.² The inscription is of about “the eighth century A.D.”; and the *Nāgarī* letters of inscription and coin are not very dissimilar. But this is not sufficient evidence to justify us in identifying this *Vatsadāman* with the striker of the coin.

ŚARAVARMAN.

20. *Obv.* श्रीशर

वर्मणः[.] within border of dots.

Rev. चर्मोत्त

मेरोः ॥ within border of dots.

Mr. Spinner.

N 9; *Wt.* 123–5; **PL 20.**

This coin, which is noteworthy in many ways, was sent to the British Museum for examination by Mr. Daniel Howorth, of Ashton-under-Lyne, in February, 1899. There is, apparently, no other Indian gold coin known of the period to which it belongs—probably ninth or tenth century A.D.—of a similar weight. Like the small gold coin published by General Cunningham (*Coins of Med. Ind.*, pl. vi, 18; *v. sup.*, p. 123) it is characterized by having inscriptions on both sides without any type whatever.

The style of these inscriptions is precisely that of the *Pehoa Prasasti* of the reign of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj,

¹ Is it possible that this name can be restored in the obverse inscription—**[वाम]ण**—again with *ṇa* for *na*?

² Bhagvānlāl Indrājī, *Ind. Ant.*, x, p. 34; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Reports*, xx, pl. xii; v. Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 81, No. 589.

published by Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, i, p. 242. The known dates of Mahendrapāla are A.D. 903 and 907 (*id.*, p. 244), and the date of Śaravarman cannot be far removed from these. Bühler describes the characters of the *Prasasti* as "of the ordinary Nāgarī type, current in Northern and Western India during the ninth and tenth centuries."

The name Śaravarman seems not to be known; but it is, of course, a perfectly possible formation, the former part being, probably, merely the ordinary word *śara*, meaning 'a reed or arrow'; cf. the names of Kārtikeya, Śarabhū, Śarajanman, etc.

The title taken by Śaravarman on the reverse of this coin—*Dharmātma-Meru*—'the mount Meru of the pious'—is curious, but characteristically Indian. With it we may compare the title *Kopūta*, 'the very pure,' on a coin of the Audumbara king Virayaśasa, published by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. iv, 14),¹ and, perhaps, *Mahātman* 'the high-souled,' on certain coins of the Kuṇindas (*id.*, pl. v, 4).²

¹ The description of this coin, *id.*, p. 70, requires correction. The inscription is *Rājā[h] Kopūtasya Virayaśasya*. The name also should be given as *Virayaśasa*. This compound from *vira* + *śaśa* is, of course, quite regular.

² The reading of the inscription of this coin, *id.*, p. 72, should also be corrected. It should be *Bhāgavata - Cātresvara - Mahātmanah*. The form *cātresvara* for *chatresvara* appears to be quite beyond doubt. But it is certainly very remarkable, and a similar loss of aspiration in a Sanskrit form is not easy to find.

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20. Dynasty uncertain : Śaravarman	124

ART. VIII.—*The Niti-mañjari of Dyā Doiveda.* By A. B. KEITH, Boden Sanskrit Scholar and Scholar of Balliol.

HAVING procured three manuscripts of this work,¹ I at first proposed to edit the text. But in going through the work for that purpose I soon found that Professor Kielhorn was right in supposing it to be too dependent on Sāyaṇa to deserve publication in full. Under these circumstances Professor Macdonell suggested to me that I should collect all that was of interest in the work. This I have here attempted to do.

The manuscripts at my disposal for the task were the following:—(A) A copy presented by Professor Kielhorn to the University Library at Göttingen,² and containing all the eight *Aṣṭakas*, was copied in 1869 from a codex of 1778 A.D.; (B) India Office Library, No. 1,649, which Professor Eggeling tells me dates probably from about 1750 A.D. It contains only *Aṣṭakas* 1–4. The third MS., India Office Library, No. 966, dating from about 1650, consists of two parts—(C) containing *Aṣṭakas* 3–5; and (D) containing *Aṣṭakas* 2, 5, 6, 7 (2 and 6 being fragmentary). All these MSS., representing the same recension of the text, are very closely related; A and B, however, frequently agree in exhibiting errors from which C or D is exempt. The only other MS. in Europe belongs to Professor Max Müller, though at least nine or ten MSS. of the work are known in India.

¹ The *Niti-mañjari* has already been treated of by Professor Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, v, 116; by Professor Peterson in his *Second Report*, 1883–4, p. 8; and in correction of this account by Professor Kielhorn in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1891, p. 181 sq.

² See *Indian Antiquary*, v, 116.

All our information regarding the author is derived from the writer himself. He was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and Lakṣmī. His paternal grandfather was Atri, son of Mukunda Dviveda, and belonged to the house of Mukunda, according to the introductory verse of the sixth *Aṣṭaka*. Two of the MSS. (*C* and *D*) begin *Aṣṭaka* 5 with a verse in which the author styles himself *Mahodadarbhakulajaḥ*.¹ This family is not otherwise known, and in any case the genuineness of the verse may be suspected, as *A* has a quite different version. Under these circumstances little can be said for the attempt to bring the author of the *Nīti-mañjarī* into local connection with Ūṭa, the commentator on the Prātisākhya of the R̥g- and the White Yajur-veda. As to his exact name there is a slight divergency in the MSS. In the actual text he is named once Dyā Dvivedaḥ, once Dyā Dvivedakaḥ, and often simply Dyā. On the other hand, in the concluding notices of the MS. *C* to *Aṣṭakas* 3, 4, 5, and of *D* to *Aṣṭakas* 2, 5, 6, he is styled Dyā Dvivedi. These, however, differ from the corresponding notices in *A* and *B*, and we may fairly conclude from the analogy of Mukunda Dviveda that the correct form of the name was Dyā Dviveda. To what two Vedas his family devoted itself cannot be gathered from the *Nīti-mañjarī*. Nor is there any information as to what his position in life was. It is true that the MSS. do give us some choice of epithets like *yuvan*, *satrayajvan*; but as they are not in agreement upon the matter, they evidently are not following any tradition, but are merely guessing.

Dyā appears to apply the title *Nīti-mañjarī* to the commentary as well as the text of his work, for the MSS. offer us not only *Nītimañjarībhāṣyam* but also *Nītimañjaryākhyāṃ bhāṣyam*; but he seems to have meant to distinguish the commentary from the text by the title of *Vedārthaprakāśa*, as appears from the phrase *Nītimañjarībhāṣye vedārthaprakāśe nīticākhyāni vyākhyātāni*. He doubtless borrows the title from that of Sāyaṇa's commentaries on the Vedas.

¹ The preface to *Aṣṭaka* 4 in *A*, *B*, *C* calls him *Mahodakulajaḥ*, and in *Aṣṭaka* 5 *C* has only *darbhakulajaḥ*.

The work consists of some 170 ślokas, of which eight or nine are prefatory, distributed among eight *Aṣṭakas*. The first contains 50 verses, the second and third 16 apiece, the fourth has 22, the fifth, sixth, and eighth 19, while the seventh has but 9.

The plan of the work is simple. While the first half of each śloka contains a maxim of common-sense morality, the latter half adduces a parallel from the Ṛigveda. This reference is explained at length in the commentary, which, like the work itself, is the composition of Dyā. In this process the commentary proceeds on fixed lines. First come a few words of explanation of the actual text, which, however, are often omitted by one or more of the MSS.; then follows the Ṛigvedic verse, accompanied by a legend either in prose or verse; finally, a more or less complete comment on the *ṛic*. Each *Aṣṭaka* of course corresponds strictly to the like division of the Saṃhitā, and the verses follow the order of the Vedic text. This rule causes some complications in the not unfrequent cases when the poet tries to better his statement by quoting two examples. The commentary on one of these must then be looked for later on, but always in the same *Aṣṭaka*. For example, i, 34, reads:—

*Samṛddhiṃ sārthikīṃ kuryāt sūpakāreṇa satyavān
Vaimadyā, Jāhuṣāj jātaṃ Nāsatyāno hi sārthikam.*

The case of Vaimadī (Ṛigveda, I. 116, 1) is immediately disposed of, but Jāhuṣa (I. 116, 20) has to wait till after v. 46.

This transparent regularity of order cannot, however, be attributed to any artistic sense on Dyā's part. He simply adopted it as being the easiest way of writing. His only merit, if merit it be, is ingenuity; it is certainly surprising that he can manage to extract so many rules of conduct from the Ṛigveda. But the process of extraction is painful, and the resultant morality is worth so little that we may charitably hope it is not on a level with the theory

of the author's day. If, however, Dyā adds nothing to our knowledge of ethics, he adds little more to our knowledge of mythology. As we shall see, all in the work that is his own is represented by the ślokas and a few words of the commentary. These facts combine to make the work a very dull one, and to render its publication quite needless, especially as a specimen of it has already been given by Professor Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. v, p. 116).

The verses are written with sufficient care and correctness, but are stiff and, as was inevitable, lifeless. Dyā does not use a single rare word, though naturally his subject forces him to employ a few Vedic technical terms. Nor has he any *recherché* constructions, though he employs the aorist and the perfect more frequently than is usual in so late an author. One use, which is repeated six or seven times, and is confirmed by all the MSS. I have collated, is to write a sentence like *tam Indram iti matvā*. Such a practice, however, goes a good way in proving that the writer lived at a time when Sanskrit was merely a scholastic tradition. The attraction is indeed not very unnatural, but it seems to have been strictly avoided in classical Sanskrit. On the other hand, Dyā is usually very exact in Sandhi.

A misconception as to the date of the work has perhaps attracted to it more interest than it could otherwise have claimed. The late Professor Peterson, in his notice of an Ulwar MS.¹ of the work,² stated that this codex bore the date of 1st day of the light-half of the month Māgha, Samvat 1110, i.e. 1054 A.D. Had this been a possible date for the work, it would have been of great value, as giving a pre-Sāyaṇa commentary on 180 verses of the R̥gveda. Unhappily internal evidence proves conclusively that the manuscript is wrongly dated, and that Professor Kielhorn³ is correct in holding that the work is subsequent to Sāyaṇa. Though Dyā usually borrows in silence, and never mentions Sāyaṇa's name, he four times heads an extract from him

¹ No. 4,183 in his Catalogue.

² Report for 1883-4, p. 8.

³ *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1891, p. 181; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. v, p. 116.

with *Atha Bhāṣye*. The passages are (1) his comment on Ṛigveda I. 20, 6, where he quotes the Bhāṣya on I. 116, 1; (2) on Ṛigveda I. 53, 1; (3) on I. 116, 3; (4) on X. 28, 1. This direct proof, taken in conjunction with the fact that every comment on a Vedic verse is a direct copy from Sāyaṇa, can leave no possible doubt as to his date being later than that of Sāyaṇa. That 1054 A.D. could not stand, would also be proved by his references to the *Cārucaryā* and the *Anukramaṇībhāṣya*, which will be noted below. Thus we have got as his earliest date the end of the fourteenth century, Sāyaṇa having died in 1387 A.D.¹ But we may fairly suppose that it was some time before Sāyaṇa's commentary won such a position that an intending author should be contented with wholesale copying. Thus we may take 1450 A.D. as an upper terminus. On the other side we have no evidence save that of the probable date of our MSS. As already stated, Professor Eggeling is inclined to refer MS. D to about the middle of the seventeenth century. One or more of the Indian MSS. may be older; but with our present evidence we must be content to refer Dyā Dviveda to the period between 1450–1600 A.D.

So late a work can of course interest students of Sanskrit Literature and Mythology only in so far as it preserves ancient material which has not otherwise been handed down, or affords assistance in fixing the text of extant works. For the former purpose the *Nīti-mañjarī* is practically worthless. Its most considerable contribution is a variant of the difficult story of Saranyū and Vivasvat, alluded to in Ṛigveda X. 17, 1 sq.; but even this seems merely to be a prose version of the *Brhad-devatā* account, which he has quoted on Ṛigveda I. 116, 7, and here refers to. If this view be correct, and that it is so will, I think, be evident from a comparison of the two versions, which are given in full in Max Müller's Ṛigveda, vol. iv, p. 5, then all the legends quoted are directly derived from either Sāyaṇa's commentary or the *Brhad-devatā*. The comments on the Vedic verses come,

¹ Cf. Burnell, *Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Pref., p. viii.

with but few exceptions, straight from Sāyana, quotations from whom thus form a proportion of between two-thirds and three-fourths of the whole work.

It remains for us to give a list of quotations, together with some remarks on their value for textual criticism. The verses of the R̥gveda cited are the following:—I. 1. 1, 6, 9; 4. 6, 7; 10. 2; 11. 5; 18. 1; 20. 4, 6; 24. 1; 30. 16; 32. 11; 33. 5; 35. 9; 45. 3; 51. 1, 13; 53. 1; 54. 6; 58. 1; 61. 15; 62. 3; 84. 13, 14; 85. 10, 11; 97. 1; 101. 8; 103. 8; 104. 6; 105. 17; 110. 4, 8; 114. 6; 115. 1; 116. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25; 117. 6, 7, 8; 122. 5; 125. 7; 126. 6, 7; 147. 3; 158. 5, 6; 161. 6; 162. 9; 170. 1; 179. 1; 182. 3. II. 12. 1; 14. 6; 28. 9. III. 17. 4; 31. 6; 33. 1, 5, 10; 53. 4, 14. IV. 16. 10; 18. 13; 24. 9, 10; 25. 4, 7; 26. 1; 27. 1; 42. 8. V. 2. 9; 30. 15; 34. 3, 9; 61. 1, 6, 8, 17, 19; 78. 5. VI. 3. 2; 27. 4, 5, 8; 45. 31; 49. 20, 22; 52. 1; 53. 3, 5; 75. 1. VII. 1. 23; 6. 3; 11. 2; 32. 26; 33. 2; 55. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 72. 2; 95. 2; 103. 10; 104. 15, 16. VIII. 1. 34; 2. 19, 20; 14. 12; 18. 14; 19. 5, 6, 36, 37; 21. 18; 33. 19; 46. 12; 56. 3; 61. 11; 62. 12; 64. 2; 66. 16; 67. 5; 77. 10; 91. 7; 95. 7; 96. 13; 97. 2; 100. 12; 102. 19, 22. X. 8. 8; 10. 11, 12; 11. 3; 27. 1; 28. 1; 33. 7; 38. 5; 44. 4; 47. 1; 48. 1; 51. 8; 57. 1; 60. 12; 61. 8; 62. 1, 8; 95. 14, 15; 102. 9; 107. 8; 108. 9, 10, 11; 109. 6; 117. 6; 145. 2; 156. 1; 191. 1, 4; while V. 40. 9, VIII. 1. 6, 43. 16, IX. 85. 8, are quoted out of place. The most interesting point in this regard is the fact that MS. A substitutes a different ending for one verse (X. 102. 9: *pradhane jigāya*).

From the *Bṛhad-devatā* a good many legends are borrowed, in all some 180 ślokas, corresponding to I. 2; III. 141–9, 155 sq.; IV. 1, 2, 11–15, 21–5, 41–50, 62–6, 99, 111, 126; V. 13–22, 32–5, 49–77, 95–101, 110–126, 128–138; VI. 11–14, 28, 35–8, 51–62, 80, 100–111, 163 sq.; VII. 43–8, 63–75, 86, 94–6, 148–156, in Rājendra Lāla Mitra's edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The text presented by the MSS. of the *Nīti-mañjarī* is certainly superior in some points to that printed in the edition. Its absolute value will be better

understood after the appearance of Professor Macdonell's critical edition, which will make use of this material.

The borrowing from Sāyaṇa is done carelessly: alternative renderings are usually omitted; difficult grammatical remarks are left out, or merely alluded to so briefly as to be unintelligible without Sāyaṇa's text. Many of the passages quoted at length in Sāyaṇa are merely referred to by the first few words, or are reduced to simplicity by the easy process of omitting all that is difficult. All this renders it very hard to discover which of the three classes of MSS. distinguished by Max Müller¹ is his guide. The evidence on the whole points to his having adopted an eclectic method, usually with unfortunate results. At any rate, in difficult passages the printed text has almost invariably a much better reading.

When we subtract from the total of quotations in the *Nīti-manjari* those passages which are simply borrowed from Sāyaṇa's commentary, we have very little left, and that little is of no importance. Yāska's name is frequently mentioned, but usually reflects the 'Niruktam' of Sāyaṇa's Bhāṣya. Independent quotations are only for the meaning of a single word: Śakapūṇi is once quoted from Yāska. Of the supplementary Vedic works he cites Śaunaka's *Rīglakṣaṇa*, *Vaidikalakṣaṇa*, and *Anurākānukramaṇi* once each on Rīgveda I. 1. 1. The *Vāḷakhilya Anukramaṇi* is also once quoted on Rīgveda VIII. 56. 3. More important than these, as bearing on the date of the work, are the three quotations from the *Anukramaṇibhāṣyakāra*, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, who composed his work, according to the date he himself gives, in 1184.² They are on Rīgveda I. 24. 1, 147. 3; VIII. 1. 34.³ Further, the *Sarvānukramaṇi* itself is twice independently quoted.⁴ The only work of this class, however, with which Dyā was really well acquainted, is the

¹ Rīgveda, I. xviii sq.

² Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 82; Kielhorn, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1891, p. 182.

³ Cf. Macdonell's edition, pp. 84, 127, 134.

⁴ Preface, i, 14, and on Rīgveda I. 53. 1.

Rigvidhāna, which on the other hand Sāyaṇa very seldom quotes. The passages quoted¹ are all verifiable, with only slight variation of text, in R. Meyer's edition. The *Nighaṇṭuḥ* is referred to on ṚV. I. 161. 6.

The remaining quotations may conveniently be divided into two classes, the Vedic and the Classical. Of the former very few are left when we subtract those due to Sāyaṇa directly; some certainly, and possibly all, come from comments of Sāyaṇa on verses not referred to in the *Nīti-mañjarī*. All references to *sūtram* are to Āśvalāyana's Śrauta-Sūtra as given in Sāyaṇa. In commenting on ṚV. I. 126. 6, 7, a maxim from the *Karmapradīpa* is quoted. The *Tāṇḍya* or *Pañcarimśa Brāhmaṇa* is thrice alluded to, for the stories of Vṛśa (ṚV., V. 2. 9), Trisiras (X. 8. 1), and Kutsa (X. 48. 5). The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* is quoted as an authority for the story of Kavaṣa, the seer of Ṛigveda X. 30-34, who, rejected as a slave's son by the R̥ṣis, found comfort in Sarasvatī, and to explain the epithet 'Bhārata' used of Agni. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is referred to for the story of Dadhyañ Ātharvaṇaḥ (ṚV., I. 116. 12), for Trisiras (ṚV., X. 8. 1); from it, in illustration of ṚV. VI. 27. 8, X. 17. 1 respectively, are cited the maxims, *aparaṃ vai rājyaṃ paraṃ samrājyaṃ* and *ardho ha vai eṣa ātmano yaj jāyā*. A vague reference to Brāhmaṇa generally is made for the story of Dīrghatamas (ṚV., I. 158. 6), for the debt of sacrifice due to the Gods (ib., 162. 9), and for the phrase *somo vai palāśaḥ*. The Gṛhya Sūtra of Āśvalāyana is alluded to in the comments on ṚV. I. 115. 1, IV. 25. 7, VIII. 91. 7. From the Sāmaveda, that is, probably from a Sūtra of that Veda, comes the phrase, *yo vai dikṣitānāṃ pāpaṃ kīrtayati, tṛtīyaṃ eṣāṃ pāpmano harati*. The Upaniṣads are represented by a quotation anent Sūrya, *Sa yaścādyam āsarirāḥ prajñātmā, yaścāsāv Āditya ekam etad*, and a few words from the conversation of Prataṛdāna and

¹ On ṚV. I. 1. 1, 26. 1, 97. 1, 115. 1; II. 12. 1; III. 33. 1, 5, 53. 1, 14; IV. 26. 1; V. 2. 9, 78. 6; VI. 75. 1; VII. 1. 23, 55. 1 sq.; VIII. 21. 18, 91. 1, 95. 7; X. 9. 1, 155. 1.

Indra concerning Brahma.¹ The *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra* (III. 5. 3) is once cited.

If the Vedic knowledge of the author was sufficiently small in quantity and quality, no better account can be given of his knowledge of classical literature. He only cites seven works in all, and none with any frequency. Manu is cited twice to prove that a Brahman may take from whatever caste he please;² and for the tale of Bharadvāja and Bṛibu (10. 107 sq.) Yājñavalkya contributes the maxims *yatrānukūlyam dāṃpatyos trivargas tatra vardhate* and *na stenaḥ syān na vārdhuṣi*. A list of synonyms for Indra is cited from Amara : *Sutrāmā, Gotrabhid, Vajri, Vāsavo, Vṛtrahā, Vṛṣā*. From the '*Ātmavṛitti*' the fundamental doctrine of the Vedānta is enunciated : *Anātmabhūte dehādāv ātmabuddhis tu dehinām*.

Hari (i.e. Viṣṇu), according to MS. A in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, is cited as propounding an Indian parallel to the proverb "God helps those who help themselves," in this form :—

*Parihāya nijam karma, Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇeti vādinah
Maddrohiṇo 'pi te jñeyā, yataḥ karmamayo hy aham.
Varnāśramācāravatā puruṣena paraḥ pumān
Viṣṇur ārdhyate, panthā nānyas tattoṣakārakah.*

The *Bhagavat* (i.e. the *Bhagavadgītā*) is quoted for the following opinions :—

*Śreyān svadharmo viguṇo paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt.³
Iṣṭān bhogān hi vo devā dāsyante yajñabhāvitatā,
Tair dattān apradāyaibhyo yo bhuṅkte stena eva saḥ.⁴*

Four citations are made from a more modern work, the *Cārucaryā* :—

*Na svakīyastutipadair glāniṃ guṇam guṇam nayet,
Svaguṇastutivādena Yayātir apatad divaḥ.*

¹ The former reference is not in Jacob's Concordance; the latter is *Kauṣītaky Upaniṣad*, 3. 1.

² The passage is not in our text of Manu.

³ *Bhagavadgītā*, iii, 35.

⁴ *Ib.*, iii, 12.

Satyoktyā bahavo yātāḥ svargaṃ sarvajanārtāḥ.

*Asatām saṅgadoṣena sādhaso yānti vikriyām,
Duryodhanaprasaṅgena Bhīṣmo goharaṇam gataḥ.*

*Mithyāpatādabhaṅgeṣu yatnam kuryād vicakṣaṇaḥ
Kṛṣṇo 'pi ratnam ānīya yaduvarge sukhī bhavati.*

This is probably the *Cārucaryā* of Kṣemendra, the Kashmirian poet of the eleventh century, whose voluminous works have been made known to us by Bühler's and Peterson's Reports.

Finally, we may add that while the author is content to cite Pāṇini only where Sāyaṇa has already done so, he quotes with great freedom the *Rigveda-Prātiśākhya* for the simplest details of sandhi, such as the use of the lingual *ṇ* and *ṣ*; but as usual his quotations are inaccurate.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. MEANING OF THE WORD *nihilam*.

DEAR SIR,—In Leyden & Erskine's translation of Bābar's Memoirs (p. 28), there occurs the following passage, descriptive of Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā, a paternal uncle of Bābar: "In the earlier part of his life he was much devoted to falconry, and kept a number of hawks; and latterly was very fond of hunting the *nihilam*." To this one of the translators has appended a note—"I do not know what animal the *nihilam* is. From its name it may perhaps be the *nīlgau*. It is said to be *gawazin kohi*."

P. de Courteille (I. 54) thus renders the same passage: "Dans les premiers temps il était passionné pour la chasse au faucon; plus tard il chassa beaucoup le *behem* (espèce d'antilope)."

P. de Courteille used Ilminski's Turkī text (Kasan, 1857). Mirzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī's Persian text (Bombay) has *nihilam*, and so have the B.M. MSS.

The word *nihilam* occurs in the *Akbarnāma* (*Bib. Ind.*, I. 255), where it is said that Humāyūn amused himself after illness (A.D. 1546) with *shikār-i-tasqāwal* (تسقاؤل), of which, Abū'l-faẓl explains in a parenthesis, the Badakhshī equivalent is *shikār-i-nihilam*.

The account of the hunting and the explanation of *tasqāwal* are taken from the Memoirs of Bāyazīd *Biyāt*, who was with Humāyūn in Badakhshān in 1546.

Again, Abū'l-faẓl (I. 318) tells a story of Akbar's *tasqāwal*-hunting on the skirts of the Safid-sang, and he uses the

word in a manner which shows that it is not the name of an animal. Dogs were employed by Akbar, "*ba dast-i-har yakē az khidmatgarān-i-nasdiki, sagān-i-shikārī sipurda būdand, ki tasqāwal bāshand.*" Men drove the deer (*āhū*). When the deer reached the *tasqāwalān* (*chūn āhū batasqāwalān rasid*), the servants who had charge of the dogs were not at their stations, and the hunt was a failure.

I have searched many dictionaries for the meaning of *tasqāwal* and of *nihilam*, but without success until to-day (Aug. 2nd.), when I have found *tasqāwal*, with variant, *tashqāwal*, in a Turkī-Persian dictionary of the Mullā Fīrūz Library in this city (Bombay). It is explained as a shutter-up of a road (*rāh-band kunanda*). It would thus seem to be a sort of earth-stopper, and perhaps was applied to an obstacle placed in the path of the driven deer to turn them or to check them for the convenience of the sportsmen.

The dictionary which yielded this explanation is entered as No. 27 (p. 54) in Mr. Rehatsek's valuable catalogue of the Mullā Fīrūz Library and it is described by him as the work of Mirzā 'Alī Bakht, whose poetical name was *Az fāri*, and it is consequently known as the *Farhang-i-az fāri*.

What is the derivation of *tasqāwal* I am unable to say, but it seems clear from Bāyazīd and Abū'l-faḡl that it is not an animal's name but that of a form of sport. It may correspond to the English 'driving.'

HENRY BEVERIDGE.

Bombay, Aug. 2, 1899.

2. "OSPREYS."

102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,
London, S.W.

Saturday, Oct. 21, 1899.

SIR,—I am much obliged to Mr. F. W. Thomas for his courteous note upon my somewhat random suggestion about the '*kūṭājvara*.' He is only a little too modest in saying that he can throw no light upon it, because this note (in our October number, p. 906) pretty nearly settles the question.

The bird referred to by Sanskrit writers as 'kurara' cannot have been our modern naturalists' 'Osprey' (*Pandion haliaetus*), which is in all countries, and especially in India, where it rarely breeds, a shy and silent bird. The same remarks apply, though in decreasing degree, to our English Earn (*Haliaetus albicilla*); and, still with diminution, to the Indian Earn (*Haliaetus leucogaster*). We are left with only one common Indian sea-eagle, the Ringtailed Sea-eagle of Jerdon, "Pallas's Fishing-eagle" of Blanford (*Haliaetus leucoryphus*), as the others are shy and scarce.

This bird is common down to the Tropic of Cancer and rather south of it, and in Upper India. Its eyrie is usually in a tree near human habitations, to the noise of which it is quite indifferent, and adds its own, in chorus even with railway and steamboat whistles, distinguishable amongst these a mile away—the noisiest, probably, of all eagles.

Mr. Blanford gives "*Koral, Mach koral*" as two Bengali names for it; and, on the whole, I should think that any lexicographer will be pretty safe in writing "Kurará, a fishing-eagle, probably originally or principally *Haliaetus leucoryphus* (Pallas)."

It may be added that the word 'osprey' is a very unsafe one. The first 'ossifrage' seems to have been the 'Lammergeyer,' "*genus aquilae quam barbatam vocant, Tusci vero ossifragam*" (Pliny, N. H., x, 111). The Tuscan augurs were ornithologists.

The name, appropriate enough to this bird, which certainly does break bones, has since passed, in the form of 'orfraie' and 'osprey' to a fish-hawk, or fishing-owl, which does not; and now, by a freak of fashion, to egrets, or rather to their feathers in milliners' shops. I take it that the lexicographers will rather ally themselves with naturalists than with the milliners; and remain, your most obedient servant,

W. F. SINCLAIR (late I.C.S.).

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3. A POEM FROM THE DĪVĀN OF SHAMS I TABRĪZ.

SIR,—It is very well known that the greatest mystical poet of Persia, Jalal-al-Dīn Rūmī, owes much to his predecessors Sanāi and 'Aṭṭār.¹ They have been his avowed masters. In an often quoted place of his immortal *Maṭnavī* he recommends to the reader Sanāi's chief work, the *Hadiqah*, in terms of the highest praise.²

We may conjecture, says Nicholson in his excellent "Selected Poems from the *Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz*," that the first impulse in his mind towards Sufism arose from the perusal of their celebrated poems the *Mantiqutṭāir* and the *Hadiqa*. They were always his leaders, the soul and eyes of *Taṣawwuf*.³ "Aṭṭār was the soul itself and Sanāi its two eyes, but we have come after both Sanāi and 'Aṭṭār." The poem where this verse occurs Nicholson has been unable to find. "The poem from which this beyt is quoted does not occur in the Tabriz or Lakhnau editions of the *Dīvān*."

We have been lucky enough to discover this poem in the voluminous Lakhnau folio edition of the *Kulliyāt i Shams i Tabrīz*, 4to, pp. 1,036 (Lakhnau, 1302).

It runs as follows :—

"As lovers have we entered the tavern. Although we have come sick and as lean of stature as the new moon. The body is like a jar, and our soul in it takes the place of water. For your sake have we come in the shape of a jar from the sea. Incarnate glory are we, though we came as Disgrace. Do not think us simple, for we are like unto the sea and the fire.

"Take the light of beauty and elegance from us, for we appear like unto the sun, a source of splendours. Listen to our explanation of Truth and the secrets of poverty, because we have come in this world from the Universe of secrets.

¹ Browne is disposed to include in the list another mystic of great fame Nasir i Khusraw (*J.R.A.S.*, January, 1899, p. 156).

² *Maṭnavī* (Bulāq, 1268), iii, p. 143.

³ "Selected Poems from the *Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz*" (Cambridge, 1898), p. xxxviii.

"‘Aṭṭār was the soul itself and Sanāī its two eyes, but we have come after both Sanāī and ‘Aṭṭār. The men of the Path of Salvation are all but one soul and one heart. They assert it with certainty that we have come one time.

"Every one of us is full of the true God and void of himself. We have come as the heroes of the mighty, powerful Creator. If we are in our sleep unaware of the circumstances of this world. We came as vigilant warders of this trust. Our rank is higher than this, but we, fearing the envious, have come into this world veiled from the eyes of the crowd. What place has the foot and head in the regions where we belong? We have come as the mind and soul of the turning sphere. When it had become a curtain to us, the sun and the moon of the soul, running came we on the sphere of heart to offer ourselves. We are like a tall cypress on the brink of the river of love.

"We have become a thornless rose-bush in the garden of Union. May the inhabitants of the world devour thistles after camel fashion. We have the nature of the parrot; we have come hither sugar-chewing. We are like the ocean of the Euphrates to the fishes of love. We descended on the lovers as lightly as falling drops of water.

"Our bodies had become the foam on the clear waters of his sea. The waves compelled us to come hither. Make use of our dust, for it is doing verily the same benefits as water. Take it this year, and do not say that we have come a year ago. He is the drunken one doubtlessly, and from him have we got our boastfulness. He is also the cause of our coming and declaration. The lover, the love, and the beloved, all the three were but one. We have become forthwith a Sanāī-like leader."¹

¹ Kulliyāt i Shams i Tabriz (Lakhnau, 1302), p. 564.

مضارع اخرب مکفوف

ما عشقان بخانه خمار آمديم گر چون طال لاغر و بیمار آمديم
 تن هست چون سب و درو روخ ما چو آب بهر شما ز بحر سوار آمديم
 ما را مبین تو ساده که دریا و آتشم فخریم در حقیقت اگر عار آمديم
 از ما برید نور لطافت از آن که ما چون آفتاب چشمه انوار آمديم
 اسرار فقر و شرح حقیقت ز ما شنو کاند در جهان ز عالم اسرار آمديم
 عطار روح بود سنائی دو چشم او ما در پی سنائی و عطار آمديم
 مردان راه جمله یکی روح و یک دل اند کویند در یقین که یکبار آمديم
 از حق پریم جمله و از خود تهی تمام گردان بحکم خالق قهار آمديم
 هر چند خفته ایم از احوال این جهان در حفظ این امانت بیدار آمديم
 احوال ما برتر ازین لیکت مازر شک پنهان چنین ز دیده اغیار آمديم
 آنجا که جای ماست چه جای سرست و یا چون جان و رای گنبد دوران آمديم

استاره مان چو شد قمر و آفتاب جان بر چرخ دل دوانه بایثار آمديم
 بر جویبار عشق چو سرویم سرفراز در باغ وصل گلبن بیخار آمديم
 گر خار میخورند چو اشتر جهانیان باطبع طوطی ایم شکر خوار آمديم
 بر ماهیان عشق چو بحریم چون فرات بر عاشقان چو قطره سبکسار آمديم
 بر آب صاف بحرش کف گشت جسمما این سو چو آب آمد ناچار آمديم
 بس کار آب دارد بنشان تو گرد ما امسال را بگیر مگو پار آمديم
 مست و یست بیشک و این لاف ما ازوست هم زدست این یقین که باقرار آمديم

معشوق و عشق و عاشق هر سه یکی بود یکبار چو سنائی سردار آمديم

ALEXANDER DE KEGL.

4. WĀQI'ĀT-I-BĀBARĪ.

*Pitfold, Shottermill,
Haslemere R.S.O.*

December 12, 1899.

DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me to appeal through your pages for information as to the existence of Turkī MSS. of the *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī* other than the three of which I have knowledge, *i.e.* (1) the British Museum fragmentary MS.; (2) the fine copy of the India Office; (3) Ilminsky's source at Kāsan.

Any information would be gratefully received.—Yours faithfully,

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

5. THE REMOVAL OF LARGE IMAGES FROM SHRINE TO SHRINE.

Camp, Gorakhpur.

December 6, 1899.

SIR,—In my paper entitled "*Śrāvastī*" I have argued that the inscribed statue of the Bodhisatva at Sāhet-Māhet was probably moved about fifty miles from its original site, and in a postscript I have given an example of such a removal.

When reading the late Mr. Growse's excellent "*Mathurā, a District Memoir*," I have come across two passages which prove that similar removals of images from shrine to shrine are common. These passages are as follows:—

"When the temple was built by Mani Rām, he enshrined in it a figure of Chandra Prabhu, the second of the Tirthankaras; but a few years ago Seth Raghunāth Dās brought, *from a ruined temple at Guāliar, a large marble statue of Ajit Nāth, which now occupies the place of honour.*"¹ (p. 13, 3rd ed.)

¹ The italics are mine.

"This is the most highly venerated of all the statues of Krishna. There are seven others of great repute, which also deserve mention here, as a large proportion of them came from the neighbourhood of Mathurá, viz.: Nava-níta, which is also at Náth-dwára; Mathura-náth at Kota; Dwaraká-náth at Kankarauli, brought from Kanauj; Bál Kishan at Surat, from Mahában; Bitthal-náth or Pándurang at Kota, from Banáras; Madan Mohan from Brindában; and Gokul-náth and Gokul chandramá, both from Gokul. These two last were at Jaypur till a few years ago, when, in consequence of the Mahárája's dislike to all the votaries of Vishnu, they were removed to Kámban in Bharat-pur territory. In all probability, before long they will be brought back to their original homes." (p. 130.)

The facts stated in these extracts should dispose finally of the argument in favour of the identity of Sāheṭ-Māheṭ with Śrāvastī, which rests on the discovery of the inscribed statue of the Bodhisatva.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

GRAMMAIRE ÉLÉMENTAIRE DE LA LANGUE PERSANE, SUIVIE D'UN PETIT TRAITÉ DE PROSODIE, DE DIALOGUES, DE MODÈLES DE LETTRES, ET D'UN CHOIX DE PROVERBES, par M. CL. HUART, Consul de France, Secrétaire-Interprète du Gouvernement, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes. pp. 150. (Paris: Leroux, 1899.)

No worthier choice could have been made than that of M. Huart to fill the Chair formerly occupied in the school of living Oriental languages at Paris by that great and incomparable man M. Schefer, whose death is so deeply deplored by all students of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, but most of all by such as enjoyed his friendship, and knew by experience his unvarying kindness and readiness to help in the most material ways all who visited Paris in pursuit of those sciences which he so worthily represented.

In spite of the arduous duties of his office, M. Huart found time even at Constantinople to contribute occasional papers of exceptional interest and value to the *Journal Asiatique*, most notable amongst which are, besides his periodical accounts of the principal publications of the Constantinople presses (*Bibliographie ottomane*), the following: *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Damas* (1883); *Étude biographique sur trois musiciennes arabes* (1884); *Les quatrains de Bâbâ Tâhir 'Uryân* (1885); *Communication sur trois ouvrages bâbis* (1887); *Le livre de la Création et de l'Histoire* (1887); *Le prétendu Dêrt des Parsis de Yezd* (1888); *Notice*

d'un manuscrit Pehlevi-musulman [جاودان کبیر] *de la Bibliothèque de S. Sophie* (1889); *Review of the Kitábu'l-idrák li-lisání'l-atrák* (1893); *Le dialecte persan de Stwënd* (1893); *Review of the Kurdish-Arabic Dictionary of Yúsuf Páshá al-Khálidí* (1893); and *La prière canonique musulmane : poème didactique en langue Kurde* (1895). At the Paris Oriental Congress he also communicated two interesting papers, *Les Zindíqs en Droit musulman* and *Le Dialecte de Chírás dans Sa'dí*, in the second of which he criticizes, elucidates, and restores with great success the text of a remarkable poem in dialect ascribed to Sa'dí which was published by the writer in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1895, pp. 795–802. His larger works include the monograph entitled *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*; *La Religion de Báb, réformateur persan du xix^e siècle*; and the first volume of Abú Zeyd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhí's *Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire, publié et traduit d'après le manuscrit de Constantinople*, to the importance of which he drew attention, as has been already mentioned, in 1887.

It is, however, M. Huart's latest publication, the little Persian Grammar of which the full title stands at the head of this review, which at present chiefly claims our attention. Its nature is sufficiently indicated by that title. The grammatical portion occupies pp. 1–70; the Prosody, pp. 71–82; names of days, months, weights, measures, and moneys fill the next three pages; the Dialogues, pp. 86–117; the Epistolary Models, pp. 118–129; and the Proverbs, pp. 130–148; while a Table of Contents concludes the useful little volume, which, after a careful perusal, we have no hesitation in cordially recommending to students of the Persian language.

While uttering this recommendation, may we be permitted to express a hope that M. Huart, now released from the exacting obligations of the consular office, will find time to continue and extend his interesting and valuable researches into the Persian dialects, a branch of study in which he has already rendered great service to Persian philology, and in which many more laurels are to be won

than in the comparatively well-trodden paths of the classical language. And at Paris more particularly a rich field for studies of this sort is offered by certain manuscripts in the incomparable Schefer Collection, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be acquired for the Bibliothèque Nationale by the French Government, but now lies at the shop of M. Porquet on the Quai Voltaire, by whose kindness the writer was permitted to inspect it on his return from Rome last October. Most notable amongst these manuscripts, alike on account of its age (A.H. 635), its extreme rarity, and the large number of verses in dialect (فهلويات) which it contains, is that marked P. 11, a very fine old copy of the *Kitābu Rāḥatī's-Sudūr fī tawārikhi-Kay-Khusraw wa 'Al-i-Saljuq*, by Najmu'd-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Himmat ar-Rāwandī. This volume alone would unquestionably reward with a rich booty the investigation of so competent a Persian scholar as M. Huart.

E. G. B.

MAP OF CHINA. (Published by the China Inland Mission, London, Shanghai, Toronto, and Melbourne.)

This Map, dated in the current year, 1899, is a reproduction on an enlarged scale and with numerous additions of Dr. Bretschneider's Map of China, published in 1896. The present Map, issued by the China Inland Mission, is a beautifully got-up one, and the names of places are all printed clearly and distinctly. All who are interested in Mission work will be pleased to see the wide distribution of Missionaries, chiefly British and American, indicated by the red and blue lines under names of places, the former indicating stations of the China Inland Mission, and the blue lines indicating places at which Missionaries of other Protestant Societies are working.

On the inside of the cover we have a Table showing the Area and Population of China Proper, and a List of the Treaty Ports, with the Provinces in which they are situated

and the Population of each. This List, however, is not quite up to date, and the Population must be regarded as mere guesses or rough estimates.

In the transcription of Chinese names on this Map the short *i* or *ih* is written *ï*, but this is perhaps a printer's mistake. Although it is possible, however, that *Shi* became *Shï*, how are we to explain *P'u-rï* for *P'u-êrh* (or *-rh*), the name of a place well-known for its tea? In the List of Treaty Ports the printer has turned the new Treaty Port Sam-shui into Sam-shin. This Map seems to treat Formosa as still a part of China in so far as political divisions and names of places are concerned.

T. W.

NOTES AND COMMENTARIES ON CHINESE CRIMINAL LAW. By ERNEST ALABASTER, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law; and Christ's College, Cambridge, Advanced Student; Chinese Customs Service. (Luzac & Co., 1899.)

The nature of the contents of this book will be understood from the full title, which is—"Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law and cognate topics, with special relation to ruling cases, together with a brief Excursus on the Law of Property chiefly founded on the writings of the late Sir Chaloner Alabaster, K.C.M.G., etc., sometime H.B.M. Consul-General in China."

The Preface, which will be found a valuable introduction to the work, gives its history and a brief summary of its contents. We have next a Table of the principal decided cases cited in the book, and this is followed by an Introduction which gives, along with other matter, a clear account of the *Ta-ch'ing-lü-li*, or Penal Code of the present dynasty. It explains the difference between the *lû* and the *li*, the way in which new laws are made and new offences brought under existing laws.

Part I has to do with the Administration of Justice, Practice and Procedure. In the fourth chapter of this Part

the author treats of Prevention of Crime, the system of the Chinese Courts, Punishment, Commutation and Mitigation, and the Position and liabilities of officials and their employés.

Part II is devoted to the very important and difficult subject of Relationship, including "Artificial Relationships."

In Part III under the heading "Specific Offences," we find the writer treats of offences against the Person, against Property, against the Peace, against Justice, against Religion, against Commerce, and of miscellaneous offences against Public Morality and Health.

After this we have an Excursus which gives Notes and Decisions on Land tenure, on the Disposition of property *mortis causa*, Trusts, and Guardianship of Infants.

This is followed by three Appendices, on the Evolution of Law of Marriage, Analogy between the Chinese and other systems, and a List of works for study. There are also an Index and a List of Errata and Addenda.

In a short notice like this it is quite impossible to do justice to the great merits of this book. Its contents, whether the work of Sir Chaloner Alabaster or his nephew, are all derived from authoritative texts. Sir Chaloner was a good Chinese scholar; Mr. E. Alabaster is so also apparently, and, moreover, a student of Law; and Dr. Giles, the distinguished Professor of Chinese at Cambridge, has evidently given assistance in the composition of the treatise. Thus the Government official or private student consulting the work can quote its teachings with much confidence. From a study of this very useful and interesting work, the first of its kind, we learn the principles which underlie Chinese Law and its administration and the practical development of these principles. We also see some of the serious defects of the Chinese system judged by our European standards. But if the practice of the native Courts had agreed with the legal enactments made for their guidance, matters in China would not be in the sad condition in which they have been for some time.

It is an invidious task to point out blemishes in this treatise, which has evidently been composed with great care

and study and a constant aim at accuracy. But one small point may be noted as susceptible of improvement. The author uses the word 'Tartar' to denote both Manchu and Mongol, and it would be better to substitute 'Manchu' where the reference is to the Manchu people or laws. There are also one or two slips which have escaped the notice of the reviser. Thus, on p. xli of the Introduction we find the word 'T'ang' instead of 'Han.' Instead of the 'Indians' of Hainan (p.433) we should probably have 'aborigines.'

T. W.

ALT INDIEN, von A. HILLEBRANDT. 8vo. (Breslau, 1897.)

Under the title *Alt Indien*, Alfred Hillebrandt has republished a number of essays dealing with Indian subjects, contributed by him at various times during the last decade to different periodicals.

As a resumé of the latest developments of Indian learning in its various departments, these sketches have a distinct value. A century of research has not fully solved all the problems connected with Brahmanism, Buddhism, and kindred phenomena; and, though our fundamental conceptions of these may remain, on the whole, unchanged, they stand in need of continual modification, as theories based on wider knowledge replace those of an earlier day. The author's own researches in Vedic mythology make his remarks on the problems connected with the Rigveda particularly instructive. He touches on the habitat of the Vedic Hindus and on the more recent theories concerning the date of the hymns. He passes in review the various factors which have gone to the creation of the Vedic Pantheon, and enumerates the possible influences which have to be reckoned with in dealing with the problems presented by the hymns. Not the least interesting part is his criticism of the recent works, bearing on the Veda, of Professors Max Müller and Oldenberg. Between the anthropological and etymological schools of interpretation, Herr Hillebrandt holds the balance even. That he has no

great sympathy with either, save up to a certain point, he has shown in the preface to the second volume of his *Vedische Mythologie*, published last year.

In the chapter on *Brahmanism*, the author describes some of the religious rites and domestic customs of the Hindus, pointing out their parallels in other countries. He combats the view that the hold of this system on the Indian peoples is due to priestly tyranny and greed of gain. Brahmanism, as he shows, imposes no harsh creed on its votaries. It merely stamps its seal on existing religious rites and customs, and in this capacity for assimilation lies the explanation of its great and abiding influence.

The chapters on *Buddhism*, on King Asoka, and on the Drama, though containing little that is original, are interestingly written and give the latest information available.

The opening article, *Das heutige Indien*, is one of the most interesting in the book. It is an eminently fair criticism by a foreigner of British rule in India. For his materials the author has gone, as he tells us, to the works of Hunter, Lyall, and Crooke; and his object in writing was to combat the mistaken ideas about India prevalent among his countrymen. To the intelligent student of Indian history, there can scarcely be a more interesting problem than that of the future of India. Most of us have lost the cheerful faith of our fathers in the potency of English rule and English education to confer unbounded blessings on an alien people, professing an alien religion and governed by alien habits of thought and custom. The Aryan blood bond cannot bridge the gulf which three or four thousand years of subjection to different influences of climate, habitat, and culture have produced between the Hindu and the Saxon. It is with the full appreciation of this truth that Herr Hillebrandt sketches the difficulties which have beset the path of the British Government in India. His pages show clearly with what invincible prejudice any attempt at altering native customs has had to contend, and how even the prevention of such practices as widow-burning and

child-marriage has failed to effect the remedy intended. It is the intelligent student of India's past who can best judge of the difficulty of engrafting on an ancient civilization such as hers one so different in nature and aims as that of Western Europe, and we may be grateful to Herr Hillebrandt for what he has said on the subject. As he points out, India is in a transition state. What the final outcome may be it is difficult to foresee. One can only point, as does the author, to the prevailing influences and more important tendencies, and draw from them conclusions which may be useful towards determining her future.

C. M. DUFF.

THE CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEËL, OR THE HEBREW BIBLE HISTORIALE. Translated for the first time from an unique MS. of the Bodleian Library, by M. GASTER, Ph.D. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, IV.) 8vo ; pp. 341, five facsimiles. (London, 1899.)

The work under consideration has a literary importance far above that which it claims as a mere compilation of stories and legends. The very fact that the opinions of scholars on its composition, country, and date differ so widely, shows the widespread interest it has aroused. As there is only one single MS. of the original, the publication of this in its present form was extremely desirable, and students interested in apocryphical and agādic literature as well as folklore in general will be indebted to Dr. Gaster for having prepared the volume.

The translation is preceded by a lengthy introduction, in which the enormous difficulties involved in the text are tackled. A definition of the work is by no means an easy matter. In spite of the title "Chronicles" which it bears, it is not a historical work, the bulk of it being of legendary character. Neither is it a Midrāsh, because it is not a homiletic commentary on the Old Testament or any part of it, the narration flowing in a continuous stream from the creation of the world down to the destruction of the

second Temple, and even including some episodes of mediaeval history. The present volume, however, ends with the history of the Maccabees.

The composition of the book gives the reader hard problems to solve. Compiled by a certain Elāzar b. Ashēr hal Lēvi in the year 1325, it includes not only nearly the whole text of the Josippon, but chiefly the records made by a certain Jeraḥmeēl b. Solomon, who was also acquainted with Josippon. The preponderance of the portion which goes under the name of Jeraḥmeēl induced Dr. Gaster to name the whole book after him, although "Hebrew Bible Historiale" as the chief title would perhaps have been more appropriate.

In the course of his investigations Dr. Gaster calls attention to a Latin work of "Antiquities" attributed to Philo, but until recently almost entirely ignored. Strangely enough, the book proved upon close examination to be identical with the narrations of Jeraḥmeēl. Now one would think that this ingenious discovery ought to be of great help in proving the identity and date of Jeraḥmeēl, but as a matter of fact it makes things more complicated. Dr. Gaster is no doubt correct in his criticism of these "Antiquities," which he shows to be a Latin translation from a Greek version of an originally Hebrew text, the author of which lived in Palestine very near the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover, Jeraḥmeēl himself quotes (p. 165) "Philo, the friend of Joseph, the son of Gorion (author of the Josippon)." Now, although one cannot but observe—and Dr. Gaster has, of course, seen it too—that 'Jeraḥmeēl' is but the Hebrew of 'Philo,' the Jeraḥmeēl of our book cannot be identical with the Hebrew original of this Philo. In fact, Dr. Gaster, with all his clever and learned arguments, could hardly do more than place the material and all details before the reader, and leave it to him to adopt one of the many opinions already in existence on the matter. The late Dr. Perles gives the thirteenth century as Jeraḥmeēl's date and Germany as his country. Dr. Neubauer, in a recent article (J.Q.R., 1899, p. 367),

decides for Italy and the eleventh century ; whilst Dr. Gaster with good reason considers him to have been a Spaniard and to have lived at an earlier date. But I believe he places too much reliance in the pure Hebrew style of the book, because this is an argument for the skill of the author rather than the age in which he lived.

Dr. Gaster has not confined his investigations to the material offered by the work, but refers to the whole class of writings of similar character both in Hebrew and other languages. The knowledge he displays of the Jewish as well as non-Jewish literature on the subject is so extensive that it is evident that there are few, if any, other scholars who would have grappled with the work so successfully.

In the "Chronicles" themselves many details invite comparison with the legendary literature of the Mohammedans. From small beginnings, which can be traced back to the Qorān and some of Mohammed's contemporaries, an enormous literature of Biblical legends developed. A small but carefully selected instalment of the same was made accessible to European readers in Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (1845), compiled from various Arabic sources. Al-Tha'ālibi's large work *Kitāb alarāis* is very comprehensive, though little attention has been paid to it. Several portions of Firdausi's epos "Jusuf and Suleicha" have been published in German translation by Baron Schechta-Wssehrd in the Proceedings of the Congress of Orientalists held in Vienna in 1888 (Semitic Section, p. 48 sqq.).

Most akin to Jerahmeel as to matter and form is Mirkhond's *Rawdhat-as-Safā*, written in Persian, of which the late Professor E. Rehatsek gave an English translation (ed. F. F. Arbuthnot, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. i). The Mohammedan literature on sacred legends is, if one may so express it, second-hand. Its Jewish archetype had assumed imposing dimensions already, when this was only at its commencement. Jerahmeel's "Chronicles" give us, therefore, an excellent clue to the way in which this Mohammedan literature was evolved.

They not only draw upon the Apocrypha, the Talmud, and the various Midrāshim, but also on the "Chapters of Eliezer" and a host of other works. A closer investigation of the Mohammedan branch of this literature is therefore sure to yield most interesting results. There are legendary elements even in the Qorān the origin of which it is very difficult to trace. To mention only one instance, the journey of Moses with "his servant" told in Sūra xviii (v. 59 sqq.) has hitherto defied all attempts to discover its origin. In Moslim tradition (Al Bokhāri, ed. Krehl, iii, p. 276) this servant is *Joshua b. Nūn*, whilst the companion whom they meet and who advises them during their journey is Al-Khidhr (the prophet Elijah).

The form in which Jeraḥmeēl gives the legend differs considerably. It relates the meeting of R. *Joshua b. Levi*, a famous Talmudical authority, with the prophet Elijah, who journeys with them through paradise and hell. Now whilst the Rabbinic legend is focussed round the person of a Rabbi (who from a collector of legendary tradition became their hero), the Moslim counterpart of the same tale clung to the Biblical Joshua, "the servant of Moses," who thus becomes the chief person concerned in the legend. It must be mentioned, however, that there are great discrepancies in the single incidents of the journey in both versions.

It goes without saying that the Jews in Arabic-speaking countries have also developed a large legendary literature in Arabic. Much of this exists in print, and forms the chief sacred reading in the communities of the East and Maghreh. Although in the main borrowed and translated from Rabbinic writings, the translators allowed their own imagination free vent. There exists, e.g., an Arabic version of Hāmān's letter which is not identical with that reproduced by Jeraḥmeēl. This Arabic letter, which is said to have been translated from a Syriac original, has long existed in print (see "Semitic Studies," in memory of the Rev. Dr. A. Kohut, p. 249 sqq.). For 'Syriac' we have evidently to place 'Rabbinic Aramaic,' but the source whence it is borrowed is unknown.

Dr. Gaster's introduction is followed by a synopsis of the contents of the "Chronicles," in which he gives much useful information as to the sources from which the compilers drew their material. It cannot but be commended that, instead of publishing the original text, he has first of all given his attention to the translation. The chief importance of works like Jeraḥme'el lies in the material they offer, while they hardly claim to be considered from a linguistic point of view. The purity of Jeraḥme'el's style is, of course, an additional attraction, but we can barely discriminate whether and how far the hand of the last compiler, Elāzar, has helped to purify and polish the diction. The book certainly deserves to be well received by all interested in Bible stories.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1899.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

November 14, 1899.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Miss Amy Yule,
Mr. Jwala Prasad,
Mr. Henry de R. Walker,
Mr. Ramchandra Misra,
Mr. James Scorgie Meston,
Mr. F. Legge,
Mr. J. D. Anderson,
Mr. L. R. M. Maxwell,
Mr. H. K. Basu, and
Mr. Lala Sitaram,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mrs. Rhys Davids read a paper on “The Theory of Sense-Perception in the third century B.C. in India compared with that in Greece.”

A short discussion followed, in which Professor Bendall and Dr. Gaster took part.

December 12, 1899.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Babu Sitaram and
Mr. Boris Brandhaendler

had been elected members of the Society.

Colonel R. C. Temple read a paper on "Some Words not to be found in Yule's Anglo-Indian Glossary," of which the following is an abstract.

Colonel Temple said that he came across these words while editing an interesting log of a voyage round the coast of India in 1746. It was the year in which the French fleet under Labourdonnais took Madras, a circumstance which prevented the ship in question from putting in there. The log is also valuable, as it gives an account of the cyclone which destroyed Labourdonnais' fleet while lying in Madras Roads. Among the words that Colonel Temple was able to illustrate were 'herba' for tussur silk; the old landmark, 'the black pagoda,' near the famous temple of Juggernaut in Orissa (Jagannat); 'Kettle Bottom' as a sailor's name for more than one hill on the Indian coasts.

Among words for which additional illustrations were given were 'jute,' which was supposed to have been first heard in 1795, but in the log it was used as early as 1746. The many puzzling senses in which 'monsoon' was used were also explained. The puzzling word 'chaya,' which occurs in many different forms, was shown to be a name for Indian madder, a red dye. The sense of 'batta' or 'batty' as the difference in exchange was shown to be important. 'Soacie,' as a form of 'soosy,' a cloth of mixed cotton and silk, drew from Mr. Sewell its use by the Portuguese as early as 1550, under the form 'soajes.' The new word, so far as glossaries are concerned, 'gundy-gundy,' was explained to mean baggage. Its possible history may show it to come from the Arabic 'jund,' or from some Dravidian coast-word like 'gondi,' meaning a bag for covering luggage. Colonel Temple also illustrated a number of place-names which have been much corrupted, and located in their correct positions such queer names as Carera, Chitricory, Summerwarren, Due Point, Guard-anogre (Godavery). He gave the old name Carepare or Caregare for Ganjam; many interesting corruptions of Juggernaut, including 'Jno Gernaet' (1669); and a list of quotations showing how 'Mesopotamia' rose out of

Masulipatam. Lastly, he showed how 'Golgotha' had been made to stand for Calcutta, and how old names very like each other in form had stood for Calcutta and for Calcula, a place once of some trading importance lower down the Hughli. The following is a list of the words illustrated:—

Words not to be found in Yule.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Bonad. | 13. Narsipore. |
| 2. Herba. | 14. Pundy. |
| 3. Armegon. | 15. Ramnepatam. |
| 4. Barrebulle. | 16. Summerwarren. |
| 5. Bimlepatam. | 17. Vizagapatam. |
| 6. Black Pagoda. | 18. Blackwood's Harbour. |
| 7. Calpee. | 19. Due Point. |
| 8. Carera. | 20. Jute (addl. infn.). |
| 9. Chitricory. | 21. Monsoon (addl. infn.). |
| 10. Gangam. | 22. Shaii, Chae. |
| 11. Ingeram. | 23. Gundy-gundy. |
| 12. Kettle Bottom. | |

Additional Illustrations to the Words.

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 24. Batty. | 28. Guard-an-ogre. |
| 25. Soacie. | 29. Jakernot. |
| 26. Calcute. | 30. Masulipatam. |
| 27. Ohiling. | |

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Irvine, Mr. Sewell, Sir Henry Norman, Mr. Ashburner, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Frazer, and Dr. Gaster took part.

II. OBITUARY NOTICE.

The Rev. John Chalmers, M.A., LL.D.

The news of the death of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, transmitted by telegraph from Korea, gave us all a sad surprise. Dr. Chalmers was a native of Aberdeenshire, and was born in 1825. He was a graduate of the Aberdeen University, and was a student at the Cheshunt Theological College. In

1852 he joined the London Missionary Society, and was sent to Hongkong, where he joined the late Dr. Legge in the management of the Mission Printing Press. In the Autumn of 1859 he was transferred to Canton, where he worked as a missionary until 1879. His Alma Mater had in the meantime, in 1878, conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. In 1897 Dr. Chalmers experienced the great sorrow of his life, the loss of his wife, who had shared all his toils and troubles for forty-five years. Soon after the occurrence of this sad event he paid a visit to this country, and on his way back to the Far East, *via* Canada, was shipwrecked last September in the "Scotsman." He reached China, however, and went to visit his eldest son, who fills an important post in the Korean Customs Service, and it was in this son's residence at Chemulpo that he died on the 22nd November.

Dr. Chalmers' contributions to Chinese learning were numerous and valuable, but one cannot do more here than briefly give the names of a few. In 1868 he published a translation of the Tao-tê-Ching with the title "Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of 'the old Philosopher' Lao-Tsze." He compiled a very useful English-Cantonese Dictionary, which last year had reached a sixth edition. He was also the author of a small work entitled "The Origin of the Chinese," which is a learned and interesting work, but does not settle for ever the question of the origin of the Chinese. Another learned work by Dr. Chalmers is entitled "An Account of the Structure of Chinese Characters under 300 Primary Forms after the Shwoh-wan, 100 A.D., and Phonetic Shwoh-wan, 1833." This book, which was printed at Aberdeen in 1882, would probably become better known and more studied if a new edition were produced with the Chinese characters printed clearly and correctly. Among the Chinese books which Dr. Chalmers produced the most important is his "Concise Kanghi," which also deserves to be better known. He also contributed to the *China Review* articles on Chinese etymology and phonetics, on Taoism, Han-wên-kung, and other Chinese subjects.

In Hongkong and Canton, Dr. Chalmers was much respected and beloved as a zealous, devoted, and wide-hearted missionary, and as a kind and genial friend and neighbour. His name will be long remembered there by English and Chinese, and his teaching and example will have a lasting influence. His contributions to our knowledge of the Chinese language, philosophy, religion, and literature, will give him an enduring place among the serious students of those departments of learning.

T. W.

III. NOTES AND NEWS.

WE are pleased to hear that Professor A. A. Macdonell has been unanimously elected to the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford.

WE extract the following from the *Cambridge University Reporter* for 5th December, 1899:—

The Vice-Chancellor publishes to the University the following Report which he has received from C. Bendall, M.A., of Gonville and Caius College, to whom a grant was made from the Worts Travelling Scholars Fund (Grace, 9th June, 1898):—

OUTLINE-REPORT ON A TOUR IN NORTHERN INDIA
IN THE WINTER 1898-9.

DEAR MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—In accordance with the conditions of the grant above cited I beg leave to subjoin an outline of the tour which I have recently completed, for the information of Members of the Senate, in the hope of being able to publish, as in connection with my similar tour in 1884-5, a more detailed account later on.

I landed at Bombay on 23rd November 1898, and commenced search for MSS. by conferring with Bhagran Dās of Surat.

I next visited, chiefly for architectural study, Ahmadabad and Mount Abu. At Jeypore the Digambara Jain pandit, Cimanlāl, not only gave me a full list of his valuable manuscript library, from which copies can be made, but also presented me with several MSS. I further succeeded in obtaining some Digambara MSS. through my old friends amongst the Brahmans of the city. From Jeypore I proceeded to Delhi; whence I travelled with short stays at Agra and Allahabad to Kāthmāṇḍu, Nepal, which formed the chief goal of my journey.

Besides the acquisition of MSS. a second main object in my visit was the fuller exploration of the library of H.E. the Mahārāja, of which I previously gave an unavoidably brief account.

Among several very interesting literary discoveries in this remarkable collection, I may here select two as of special interest: (1) fragments of a Pali canonical work written in a form of the

Gupta character; (2) of several Buddhist-Sanskrit works written in or about the fifth century A.D. The writing shows a striking resemblance to some of the early fragments of Indian origin recently found in Central Asia. Many of these leaves I photographed at the time, and I am glad to be now able to add that the most interesting of them have recently been sent to the India Office Library for my use, and for publication so far as resources may allow. I am greatly indebted to the Nepalese Durbar for this mark of confidence and appreciation, and to the Government of India for their intervention in the matter.

Continuing also my work on the chronology of Nepal I noted all dates of MSS. giving names of kings in their colophons; which I now propose to publish in supplement to the list of the kings of Nepal, given in my longer Report,¹ fourteen years ago.

As to epigraphic work, I discovered and copied some six inscriptions of the early period (5th—9th cent. A.D.), and I have either copied or noted a considerable number more of the succeeding centuries.

It gives me special pleasure to testify my obligations to the then Acting Prime Minister of Nepal, Deb Shamsher Jang Bahādur Rāna, who showed me not only personal kindness in many ways, but special practical sympathy in two respects: (1) in borrowing rare MSS. from private owners for my perusal; (2) by presenting me with two valuable MSS., one of which I propose with his approval to make over to the University Library, while the other, a unique work of considerable importance for the history of Buddhism, I intend shortly to edit. His Excellency further expressed to me his wish that the relations between the State Library of Nepal and libraries like our own in Europe could be drawn closer by mutually making known desiderata.

The second main division of my original programme was to make archæological enquiries in the territory of H.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.

I accordingly proceeded to Hyderabad by the East Coast route, making on the way some search for inscriptions alleged to exist at several points, especially near Vizagapatam, as to which I may publish later further details.

In and near Hyderabad I was unable, owing to the somewhat advanced date of my arrival (Feb. 17th), to do much outdoor work; but I made several enquiries, which may hereafter prove valuable. My accomplished host, Shams-ul-Ulama Syed

¹ "A Journey of . . . Research in Nepal and N. India." (University Press, 1886.)

'Ali Bilgrāmi, Public Works Secretary to the Nizam, presented me with several Sanskrit MSS. for the University Library. Preceding to Aurungabad in the same State, I visited, for the study of archæology, the cave-temples and monasteries of Aurungabad and Ellora. I examined carefully the chief group of caves near the first-named place, which are now somewhat neglected. As a result of my visit an important cave (No. iv), previously choked with rubbish, has now been cleared under the orders of my friend Syed 'Ali Bilgrāmi.

In Aurungabad I also found and partly examined two noteworthy libraries of Sanskrit MSS., hitherto unknown to European scholars.

After further study of cave-architecture at Bhaja and Karli I returned to Bombay. I left India on 3rd April, 1899.

I propose shortly to submit to the University Librarian a statement of the MSS. obtained and available at once or ultimately for acquisition by the Library.

I have also made a large number of photographs, which I am preparing for exhibition and for publication, according as opportunity may be afforded to me.

I remain, dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

Yours faithfully,

November, 1899.

CECIL BENDALL.

PHILOLOGY NOTES, 1899.

I. ASIA: (1) *India*.

I. Mr. George Grierson, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, now on special duty in India for the purpose of compiling a full and complete list of the Languages of that country, has in 1899 published in London (Luzac & Co.) and in Calcutta (Thacker, Spink, & Co.) an important work, "Essays on Kashmīri Grammar," dedicated to the memory of our dear and lamented friend Dr. Georg Bühler of Vienna. These Essays have originally appeared in the pages of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1896-1899. The Language is of interest to Comparative Philologists, as, to use the words of Mr. Grierson, "no Indo-Aryan Language in her grammatical construction is so naked and

unashamed. A study of Kashmíri, therefore, is a necessary preliminary to any inquiry, which deals comparatively with the mutual relations of the modern Aryan Vernaculars." The Language had been previously represented by a useful little grammar from the pen of Mr. Wade, which is intended for those who seek to acquire a sufficient colloquial knowledge. Mr. Grierson's object is different, and is intended for linguistic scholars. As in other languages in North India, there are two Dialects of Kashmíri, the one used by the Hindu, the other by the Mahometan, who introduces Arabic and Persian words, which the Hindu avoids. This book illustrates the Dialect of the Hindu only, which represents a purer form of the original Kashmíri, in which all the old literature of the country is found. Two forms of Written Character prevail: the Arabic Character, modified by Persian usage, employed by the Mahometans, and the Sárada and Deva-Nágari Character by the Hindu. The Sárada is the true Alphabet of the Language, but Mr. Grierson for practical reasons has adopted the Deva-Nágari. To the 'Phonology' or 'Sound-Lore' a very large space in these Essays is consecrated, as it forms the groundwork of a rather complicated Grammar: once that is mastered, the 'Word-Lore,' and 'Sentence-Lore,' known to us as the Accidence and Syntax, are comparatively easy.

II. A letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated October 18, 1899, has brought to the Royal Asiatic Society a pamphlet of a few pages entitled a "Lushai Primer," called also "Mizo Zir Tir Bu." There is not a word of English in the Pamphlet, but it is printed at the Government Press, Shillong, and "by Authority."

III. By a singular coincidence, on the 11th November, 1899, I received from an entire stranger, Mr. Lorraine, a Missionary to the Lushai, a copy of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language, prepared by himself and his colleague, Mr. Savidge. This is clearly a full and carefully prepared volume of 350 pages in the English

language, and the Lushai words in Roman character. This is also published at Shillong and at the Government Press, in the year 1898. The authors have returned from England, to which they paid a short visit, to the land of the Lushai.

IV. Our venerated Honorary Member has in the days of his old age put forth a volume, which no one but himself could have compiled, "The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy," by F. Max Müller. The aim and scope of this work are best indicated in the author's own words as "a description of some of the salient points of each of the six recognized systems of Indian Philosophy." As he points out, the almost entire absence of any chronological data makes a historical treatment of the subject impossible. The book gives a luminous exposition of the conditions, amid which Indian Philosophy had its rise, and shows how it owes to these so many of its unique characteristics. The author then traces the genesis of philosophical ideas in the Veda—the gradual development of those conceptions destined to play so great a part in the later philosophical systems of the country. Beginning with the system of the Vedānta, Professor Max Müller next sketches the main doctrines of each philosophical system in turn. Throughout he seeks to define as clearly as possible the various terms used and to throw light on the obscurer points of Indian Philosophy generally, though readily admitting the difficulties besetting the European interpreter in this respect. In the evolution of Indian Philosophy so many links are missing, that we must give up the idea of ever being able to reconstruct it in its original form, or trace back through all its gradations the development of a single, and that perhaps the simplest, Philosophical idea. Such, broadly speaking, is the conclusion of the author himself, though it in no way weakens his conviction, that here and there careful study may lead to the solution of problems hitherto regarded as insoluble. The book is distinguished by that lucidity of style and power of graphic representation so characteristic of all the author's writings.

V. Dr. M. A. Stein, the distinguished Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, has forwarded to me a pamphlet of seven pages entitled "The Castle of Lohāra," a reprint from the *Indian Antiquary* of September, 1897. Its interest is rather antiquarian, as it is alluded to in the *Rajatarāngini* by Kalhāna, an annotated translation of which by Dr. Stein is now passing through the Press. A brief notice is sufficient, as copies of the *Indian Antiquary* are available in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VI. "The Great Indian Epics." This little book gives within the compass of some 250 pages a concise and graphic account of the subject-matter of the *Ramāyana* and *Mahābhārata*. A sketch like this should appeal readily to that large class of people, who, with no knowledge of Sanskrit, yet wish to have some idea of the old literature enshrined in it. The scholar is but too prone to ignore the necessity of presenting these subjects in a popular and attractive form, and to look a little disdainfully on such 'compilations' as beneath his notice. Yet, in the present day, when a knowledge of the history and literature of India has become indispensable to the number of Englishmen connected directly or indirectly with that country, it is the writer, who can popularize his subject, rather than the scholar, who will be most sought after for information on these matters. The author, Mr. John Campbell Oman, Principal of Khalsa College, Amritsar, writes with an appreciation of the Indian epics and a sympathy with Indian ideas only to be found among those who, like himself, are personally familiar with Indians, their own experience of native life enabling them to understand allusions and views, which to the stranger would appear unintelligible or grotesque. The author wisely confines himself to a simple narrative of the plot and episodes of the respective epics, accompanied by brief introductory remarks elucidating these. The theories held by various scholars regarding the origin and history of the epics are touched upon, but there is no attempt to discuss them, such being outside the scope of a work like the present.

(2) *Asia except India.*

VII. "Arabic Self-taught," by C. A. Thimm, F.R.G.S. This book has been received from the Editor for 'review.' The Language is one of supreme importance, and spoken either as the sole Vernacular or used as the literary Language of Millions. It has also merits of its own, and deserves more extensive study. I insert the description of the work supplied by the Editor: it is a mere booklet of 92 pages, and the price is 2s.

The above has been carefully revised by Professor G. Hagopian, who has made various emendations and improvements in it. The work is an elementary and practical treatise on the language, the Arabic characters being used, with a concise Grammar and an English-Arabic Dictionary, together with a correct English phonetic pronunciation of every word and phrase; the transliteration being arranged in accordance with the scheme adopted at the last Congress of Orientalists. It is a most useful adjunct to the "Egyptian Self-taught," which only treats of the language *as spoken in Egypt*, for the benefit of Travellers and others. Students, therefore, will find the "Arabic Self-taught" sufficient to enable them to obtain an accurate grammatical and conversational knowledge of Arabic.

VIII. Mr. D. G. Hogarth recently undertook the very interesting experiment of inviting a number of scholars, each of them engaged in some special branch of archaeology, to contribute essays to a work, the purpose of which was to indicate to what extent recent archaeological research had affected our conceptions of Biblical and Classical literature. This book has now been published under the title "Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane," and, while Mr. Hogarth appears both as a contributor and as general Editor, the names of Professor Driver, Professor Ernest Gardner, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Haverfield, and Mr. A. C. Headlam, also appear on the title-page. The largest single contribution to the volume is that of Professor Driver, to whom was

entrusted the first part of the book, dealing with "Biblical Authority," while by no means the least interesting portion of the volume is the short chapter contributed by Mr. Hogarth, on "Prehistoric Greece." In a work of this nature, which embraces the whole field of ancient archaeology, to attempt an exhaustive treatment would naturally be quite impossible; and the contributors have wisely confined themselves to giving a sketch of the main results achieved in their various departments of study. The views expressed in the volume have not been arrived at by any common understanding, and each writer is responsible for those put forward in his own contribution; but, within its limits, the volume has successfully achieved a rapid survey of the archaeological field, and will prove a welcome guide to the general reader, who, without special archaeological knowledge, is interested in the history of ancient civilization.

IX. "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University. Few scholars have done more to elucidate the many difficult problems connected with the Zoroastrian religion and the history and date of its Founder than Professor Jackson, who has now summed up in the admirable book mentioned above the results of his long and careful studies. Trained in the German School, he has succeeded in combining German diligence and accuracy with an almost French lucidity and conciseness of exposition; and inspired by the firm conviction of his teacher Geldner as to the historical reality of the Prophet of Ancient Persia, he has made the fullest and yet most prudent use of the 'traditional school,' to whom, especially to West and Darmesteter, we are so deeply indebted for a knowledge of the Pahlavi literature. Some of Professor Jackson's results have already appeared in various articles not easily accessible to the public; amongst these his essays "On the Date of Zoroaster" (*J.A.O.S.*, 1896), "The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life" (*Biblical World*, 1896), and "Ormazd, or the Ancient Persian Idea of God" (*Monist*, 1899) deserve mention. In his larger book on Zoroaster we

find for the first time a clear, full, and convincing presentation of a personality, so surrounded with fable and myth, that many persons have regarded him as wholly legendary. Professor Jackson has the great merits of being perfectly definite in his views, of presenting clearly and fairly the often conflicting evidences, of summing up with judicial impartiality, and of using all available sources. He endeavours to show (and in our opinion with success), (1) that Zoroaster was a real historical person; (2) that he flourished from B.C. 660 to B.C. 583; (3) that he was a native of N.W. Persia (Ādharbayjān), but that his chief successes in proselytizing were in the North-East (Bactria).

X. In the Journal of our Society for 1895, I noticed at considerable length Professor Maspero's noble and epoch-making work "The Dawn of Civilization," edited by Professor Sayce, and the work of translation excellently done by an accomplished lady, Mrs. Edmund McClure. The volume was a large quarto, with Map and 470 Illustrations. It contained the result of the most recent researches in Egypt and Chaldea.

Since that date a second volume, equal in size, entitled "The Struggle of the Nations," has been compiled by the Professor, and edited and translated by the same hands. It relates to Egypt, Syria, and Assyria.

And now on December 2nd, 1899, the third volume is announced in *The Times*: "The Passing of the Empires," 850 B.C. to 330 B.C. This monumental work is, and must remain for some time to come, the most comprehensive and trustworthy account of the Ancient Eastern World, being compiled by the greatest living French Scholar in that particular branch, Professor Maspero, and edited in its English form by the greatest living English authority, Professor Sayce. I lay it upon myself to go carefully through vols. ii and iii, as I have already done for vol. i, but at the age of 79 promises are made, which cannot be kept. I only hope to contribute to our Journal the results of my perusal; for this reason I have inserted this brief notice of the existence of these important volumes.

II. AFRICA.

XI. Grammar and Dictionary of the Bobangi Language, Upper Congo, West Central Africa; compiled by John Whitehead, Baptist Missionary, 1899.

The people, who speak this form of speech, are found along the South bank of the great River Congo, below the junction of the Kasai with the Congo, also along the banks of the Mobango River for two or three days by steamer, and in a certain other less well-known Region. It is also used by stranger tribes over a larger area, as a commonly understood means of communication. It is the most important Vernacular from Stanley Pool to beyond Bangála up-stream, and is freely used by the Authorities and Traders. Whatever literature exists, imported by Europeans, is in that Language. Attempt was made in 1888 to publish a handbook, and later on a Vocabulary and Grammatical Note; but the time had arrived for a more solid production, and this is now under our notice in the shape of a volume of 500 pages carefully prepared by the Author. A translation of St. Matthew's Gospel has also appeared.

III. OCEANIA.

XII. The talents and the linguistic knowledge of Mr. Sydney Herbert Ray have been notified during the last year. Professor Haddon, of the Royal College of Science, Dublin, made a second expedition to Torres Straits, and was accompanied by Mr. Ray, who was thus able to strengthen his knowledge of the Languages of that Region. His knowledge of Melanesian and Papuan Languages is quite unique. The tour extended as far as Sárarak, and a considerable amount of material has been collected. Mr. Ray has already contributed to Periodicals, and learned Societies, no less than twenty-four articles, and we may anticipate a considerable number in addition. It is a pity that he is not placed in a position more favourable for his peculiar studies and capabilities than that of Master in a London Board School. More light is required in that dark corner of the globe, Oceania.

December, 1899.

R. N. Cusr.

Royal Asiatic Society.

GOLD MEDAL FUND.

IN 1897 the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world; and to meet the expense contributions were invited from those interested in the scheme.

A beautiful design was prepared, and dies engraved, by Mr. Pinches; the first Medal was awarded, on the report of a Committee of Selection, to Professor Cowell, and was presented to him by Lord Reay at a Special General Meeting of the Society, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the Journal for July, 1898.

The subscriptions (including interest on deposits) amounted to £298 13s. 6d., and the disbursements (including cost of die) to £68 2s. 7d., leaving a balance of £230 10s. 11d., of which sum £215 6s. 0d. was expended in the purchase of Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock (a Trustee Stock), and there is therefore a small balance in hand of £15 4s. 11d. The amount invested forms the nucleus of an Endowment Fund; but as it is estimated that the cost of providing a Medal will amount to upwards of £24, and as it is to be given every third year, the annual income required will be about £8. To produce this, a sum of £300 will be needed, that is to say, about £100 in excess of the capital already raised.

It is hoped that this amount will be forthcoming during the next few months, so that on the presentation of the Medal in the Summer of 1900 it may be announced that the entire sum has been raised.

Contributions, which will be acknowledged in the Society's Journal, will be received by the Secretary, or the Chairman of the Committee of the Medal Fund.

A. N. WOLLASTON,

Chairman of Committee.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.
January, 1900.

FIRST LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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Mr. R. Burn ...	1	1	0	Sir William Muir ...	3	0	0
Dr. O. Codrington ...	1	1	0	Professor F. Max Müller ...	2	0	0
Professor E. B. Cowell ...	5	0	0	Mr. B. A. E. Neil ...	1	1	0
Dr. R. N. Cust ...	1	1	0	Mrs. Plimmer ...	5	0	0
Professor Donner ...	1	1	0	Mr. W. J. Prendergast ...	0	5	0
Sir M. E. Grant Duff ...	4	0	0	The President, Lord Reay	5	0	0
Mr. J. F. Fleet... ..	1	0	0	The Marquess of Ripon ...	2	0	0
Mr. B. W. Frazer ...	1	1	0	Mr. J. G. Scott... ..	2	2	0
Dr. M. Gaster ...	1	1	0	Mons. Émile Senart ...	2	0	0
Captain Gerini ...	1	1	0	Mr. R. Sewell ...	1	1	0
Mr. E. J. W. Gibb ...	1	1	0	Mr. C. H. Tawney ...	1	1	0
Mrs. Gibson ...	1	1	0	Colonel R. C. Temple ...	2	2	0
Sir Frederick Goldsmid ...	1	1	0	Dr. T. H. Thornton... ..	1	1	0
Major-General Gosset ...	1	1	0	His Highness the Mahārāja			
Mr. R. Griffith ...	1	1	0	of Travancore	5	0	0
Mr. R. Heap ...	1	1	0	Mr. Devchand Uttamchand	1	1	0
Sir W. Wilson Hunter ...	3	3	0	Mr. M. J. Walhouse... ..	1	1	0
Mr. W. Irvine ...	1	1	0	Mr. T. Watters... ..	1	1	0
Mr. H. C. Kay ...	2	12	6	Sir Raymond West ...	3	0	0
Mr. J. Kennedy... ..	1	1	0	Mr. E. H. Whinfield ...	2	2	0
His Highness Kerala Varma	2	0	0	Mr. A. N. Wollaston ...	1	1	0
Mr. F. W. Lawrence ...	1	1	0				
Dr. G. W. Leitner ...	1	1	0				
Mr. Guy Le Strange... ..	1	1	0				
Mrs. Lewis... ..	1	1	0				
					£100	0	6

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Mons. A. Barth (2nd don.)	1	0	0	Professor D. Margoliouth			
Dr. J. Burgess ...	1	10	0	(2nd don.) ...	10	0	0
Mr. W. C. Capper ...	1	1	0	Mr. F. D. Mocatta (2nd don.)	3	0	0
Professor Donner (2nd don.)	2	0	0	Mr. Lewis Rice ...	1	1	0
Dr. Duka ...	1	1	0	Mrs. Rylands ...	2	2	0
General Forlong ...	1	1	0	Professor E. Schrader ...	1	1	0
Mr. F. L. Goldsmid ...	1	10	0	Dr. M. A. Stein ...	1	1	0
Major-General Gosset (2nd don.)	5	0	0	Mr. C. H. Tawney (2nd don.)	1	1	0
Dr. G. Grierson... ..	1	1	0	The Rev. Dr. Taylor... ..	1	1	0
Mrs. B. H. Hodgson ...	2	2	0	Mr. G. W. Thatcher ...	1	1	0
Mr. W. Irvine (2nd don.)...	2	2	0	Professor Tiele ...	1	0	0
Major-General Jago Tre-				Mr. T. Watters (2nd don.)	1	1	0
lawney ...	1	1	0	Mr. A. N. Wollaston (2nd don.)	1	1	0
Mr. A. M. T. Jackson ...	5	0	0				
His Highness Kerala Varma							
(2nd don.) ...	2	0	0				
					£57	4	0

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Anonymous per Mr. Wollaston	1	1	0	Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	1	1	0
Mr. E. L. Brandreth (2nd don.)	2	2	0	Mr. Edmund Neel	1	1	0
Mr. E. Grant Burls	1	1	0	Sir Henry Norman	2	2	0
Rt. Rev. Bishop of Calcutta	1	1	0	Lord Northbrook	5	0	0
Mr. Estlin Carpenter	1	1	0	Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote	2	2	0
Dr. O. Codrington (2nd don.)	1	1	0	Dr. Pfungst	2	0	0
Rt. Hon. Lord Curzon (Viceroy of India)	5	0	0	Sir E. C. Ross	1	0	0
Dr. R. N. Cust (2nd don.)	1	0	0	Mr. P. J. Rowlands	1	1	0
Mr. Clinton Dawkins	2	0	0	Mrs. Rylands (2nd don.)	2	2	0
Sir Joseph Fayrer	1	1	0	Professor Sachau	1	0	0
Captain Gerini (2nd don.)	2	0	0	Messrs. Sampson, Low, Marston, & Co.	5	0	0
Professor de Goeje	1	0	0	The Rev. Professor Sayce	1	1	0
Dr. Grierson (2nd don.)	1	1	0	Sir Thomas Seecombe	1	1	0
Messrs. Grindlay & Co.	5	5	0	Mr. R. Sewell (2nd don.)	1	1	0
The Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton (Sec. of State for India)	5	0	0	Messrs. T. N. Singh & Co.	5	0	0
Lord Harris	2	2	0	Sir R. Strachey	1	1	0
Captain Hatfeild	1	1	0	Rt. Rev. Sumangala (High Priest of Ceylon)	2	2	0
Mr. R. Heap (2nd don.)	1	1	0	Major Sykes	1	1	0
Sir Joseph Hooker	1	1	0	Mr. W. S. Talbot	2	2	0
Sir W. Wilson Hunter (2nd don.)	3	3	0	Mr. C. H. Tawney (3rd don.)	1	1	0
Mr. H. C. Kay (2nd don.)	1	1	0	Rev. Dr. Taylor (2nd don.)	1	1	0
Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co.	2	2	0	Col. R. C. Temple (2nd don.)	1	1	0
Sir A. Kemball	2	0	0	Mr. F. W. Thomas	1	1	0
Professor Kern	1	0	0	Sir A. C. Trevor	2	2	0
Professor Kielhorn	2	2	0	H. R. H. Prince Vajirāṇāna	2	0	0
Messrs. H. S. King & Co.	5	5	0	Mr. T. Watters (3rd don.)	1	1	0
The Rev. G. A. Langdale	2	2	0	Professor Weber	1	1	0
Mr. F. W. Lawrence (2nd don.)	1	1	0	Lord Wenlock	2	2	0
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Mr. F. D. Mocatta (3rd don.)	3	0	0	Mr. A. N. Wollaston (3rd don.)	5	0	0
Mr. H. Morris	1	1	0	Sir Albert Woods	1	1	0
				Mr. R. A. Yerburch	2	2	0
					£137	9	0

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Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot (2nd don.)	2	0	0
H. H. Sultan Muhammad the Agha Khan	1	1	0
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Professor Macdonell	1	1	0
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Lord Stanmore	1	0	0
Mr. A. N. Wollaston (4th don.)	5	0	0

IV. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the Colombo Museum Library.

Catalogue of the Museum Library, Supplement No. 2.

8vo. Colombo, 1899.

Presented by the India Office.

Foster (W.). Letters received by the East India Company from their servants in the East. Vols. ii and iii.

8vo. London, 1899.

Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava. Translation with Notes.

8vo. Rangoon, 1899.

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8vo. London, 1899.

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8vo. London, 1899.

Presented by the Quarter-Master General, Intelligence Branch, India.

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Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise de France. Série II, tome iii. Roy. 8vo. Paris, 1890.

J.E.A.S. 1900.

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Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.

Margoliouth (G.). Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum acquired since 1873. 8vo. London, 1899.

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Radloff (W.). Die alt-türkischen Inschriften der Mongolei. 2^e Folge. Roy. 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1899.

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St. Petersburg, 1898.

Presented by H.R.H. Prince Vajirañāna.

Samantā Pāsādikā on the Culla Vagga in Siamese character.

Presented by the German Oriental Society.

Meinhof (C.). Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen nebst Anleitung zur Aufnahme von Bantusprachen. 8vo. Leipzig, 1899.

Presented by Professor Rhys Davids.

Lowell (P.). Occult Japan. 8vo. Boston, 1895.

Presented by the Authors.

Davids (T. W. Rhys). Dialogues of the Buddha. 8vo. London, 1899.

—— Buddhism. New and Revised Edition. 8vo. London, 1899.

—— Der Buddhismus, translated into German by A. Pfungst. 8vo. Leipzig, 1899.

Cobham (C. D.). *Laws and Regulations affecting Waqf Property translated for the Delegates of Evqaf, with an Index compiled by C. R. Tyser.* 8vo. *Nicosia*, 1899.

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Goldziher (I.). *Das Kitāb al-Mu‘ammarīn des Abū Ḥatīm al-Sigistānī.* 8vo. *Leiden*, 1899.

Hartmann (M.). *The Arabic Press of Egypt.* 8vo. *London*, 1899.

Hillebrandt (A.). *Vedische Mythologie.* Bd. ii. 8vo. *Breslau*, 1899.

——— *Alt Indien.* 8vo. *Breslau*, 1899.

Ganganath (Jha). *The Chandogya Upanishad (Upanishads, vol. iii).* 8vo. *Madras*, 1899.

Alabaster (E.). *Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law, together with a brief excursus on the Law of Property.* 8vo. *London*, 1899.

Map of China, published by the China Inland Mission. fol. *London*, 1899.

Ward (G. E.). *The Bride's Mirror, or Mir-ātū l-Arūs of Maulavī Nazīr Aḥmad.* 8vo. *London*, 1899.

**THE
TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF ORIENTALISTS.**

ROME, 1899.

IN accordance with the announcement made at Paris in 1897, the Congress took place at Rome, from the 3rd to the 15th of October. The number of members was about six hundred. A notable feature in the geographical distribution of the membership was the attendance of Roumanians, which exceeded in number that of every other country except France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. The place of reunion was La Sapienza, the Roman University.

The Congress was opened on the evening of October 3rd, when Count Angelo de Gubernatis, President of the Committee of Organization, was elected Acting President of the Congress, and M. Graziadio Ascoli, Honorary President. The following Presidents of Sections were also elected :—

SECTION I.

General Indo-European Linguistic.

MM. Ascoli, Bartholomae, Henry, Ludwig, and Thomsen.

SECTION II (a).

Oriental Geography and Ethnography.

MM. Cordier and Hermann, Col. Temple, and M. Urechia.

(b).

American Geography and Ethnography.

Mr. J. del Paso y Troncoso.

SECTION III.

Comparative History of Oriental Religions.

Comparative Mythology and Folklore.

MM. Dvorak, Ginsburg, Guimet, and Thiele.

SECTION IV.

China, Japan, Korea.

MM. Diosy, Hirth, Hozumi, and Turrettini.

SECTION V.

Burma, Indo-China, Malay, Madagascar.

MM. Aymonier, Kern, and Marre.

SECTION VI.

(a) *India.*

Sir William Hunter, MM. Kuhn, Pischel, and Hoernle,
Sir Raymond West, M. Senart.

(b) *Irania.*

Mr. A. Granville Browne, Professor Williams Jackson,
MM. Esow, Geiger, and Salemann.

SECTION VII.

Central Asia.

MM. Kunos, Radloff, Vambéry, and Donner.

SECTION VIII.

(a) *Semitic Languages in general.*

Mr. A. A. Bevan, MM. Euting, Merx, Guidi, Kautsch,
and D. H. Müller.

(b) Assyriology.

MM. Bezold, Haupt, and Oppert.

SECTION IX.

Musulman Peoples.

Dra. Goldziher and Karabacek, Sir Charles Lyall.

SECTION X.

(a) Egyptology.

MM. Eisenlohr, Ermann, Naville, Piehl, and Révillout.

(b) African Languages.

M. Reinisch.

SECTION XI.

Greece and the East.

MM. Krumbacher, Lambros, Strzygowski, Tocilescu, and Tsagarelli.

The formal inauguration of the Congress took place the following morning at the Capitol, when the Minister of Education, Signor Bacelli, welcomed members in the name of H.M. the King of Italy by a brief Latin oration, and was followed by a greeting in the vulgar tongue from the Mayor of Rome. Count de Gubernatis then reviewed the situation in an eloquent French harangue, dwelling on the unsurpassed 'universality' in the nature of the assembled Congress, touching on the loss sustained by the death of Bühler, Schäfer, Socin, and Leitner, deploring the illness of Professors Max Müller and Weber, Barbier de Meynard and Bréal, and regretting the absence of M. Maspero, Lord Reay, and Prince Roland Bonaparte. Thereupon certain of the delegates delivered brief addresses to the King's representative and the President, among them being Sir Raymond West, for the Royal Asiatic Society, and Sir Charles Lyall, for the Government of British India.

A number of works were then presented to Congress, including the volumes of the Oriental Translation Fund Series, presented by Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, and vol. ii of the series of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, presented by Professor Max Müller.

A large number of papers were read and discussed, but it was the subject of general remark that in this respect the programme of most of the sections was far less crowded than had been the case at previous Congresses. The attendance also was as a rule scanty, with the exception of that in the Indian Section (VI) and (sometimes) in the Semitic and Musulman groups. The magnificent weather and the attractions of Rome were probably the chief deterrents.

At a meeting of delegates held on the eve of the dispersion of Congress, the resolutions passed in the special sections were submitted for approval or rejection. The following were adopted, and on the next day, at the general closing meeting of Congress, were passed by acclamation :—

(From Section IV.—*China*, etc.) . . . que chaque pays fixe un système unique et officiel de transcription des sons chinois ; ces différentes transcriptions seront recueillies dans un manuel international.

(From Section VI.—*India*, etc.)—1. *Indian Bibliography* :—
 “La Section, vu le besoin impérieux d’une bibliographie pour les études indiennes qui soit complète et systématique, désire que MM. Kuhn et Scherman veuillent bien s’en charger, étant les savants les plus habiles pour une telle entreprise. Puisque ce travail coûterait beaucoup d’argent et devrait durer au moins six ans, la Section désire le recommander chaleureusement aux gouvernements et aux corps scientifiques qui ont de l’intérêt pour les études indiennes.”

2. *India Exploration Fund* :—

(1) Des remerciements sont adressés au Gouvernement de l’Inde et au Secrétaire d’Etat pour l’Inde, pour l’accueil bienveillant accordé aux ouvertures qui ont été faites en

exécution des votes du Congrès de Paris. Il leur est en même temps transmis l'assurance que les deux conditions posées par eux et que nous avons énoncées tout à l'heure, sont pleinement acceptées.

(2) L'Association internationale pour l'exploration archéologique de l'Inde est déclarée définitivement fondée. Elle reconnaît dès à présent pour président Lord Reay, comme président en fonction de la Société Royale Asiatique de Londres.

(3) Les membres de la Commission d'étude nommée à Paris, c'est-à-dire, en faisant abstraction de la Grand-Bretagne où le nécessaire a déjà été fait :—

M. Pischel pour l'Allemagne,
 M. L. von Schröder pour l'Autriche,
 M. Lanman pour les Etats-Unis,
 M. Senart pour la France,
 M. le Cte. Pullé pour l'Italie,
 M. Kern pour les Pays-Bas,
 M. Serge d'Oldenburg pour la Russie,

sont invités à poursuivre activement l'organisation des comités nationaux dans leurs pays respectifs, et, aussitôt assurée, à la notifier au Président de l'Association. Un appel pressant est adressé, dans le même sens, aux amis de l'indianisme dans les pays qui, au premier moment, n'ont pu être représentés au sein de la Commission.

(4) Il est exprimé le désir que le Président de l'Association provoque, dès qu'il le jugera opportun, une première réunion constitutive du Conseil central.

(From Section VII.—*Central Asia*.)—1. Sur la proposition de M. Donner : vœu de voir continuer les travaux de M. le Dr. Huth en Sibérie et en Mandchourie.

2. On accepte la proposition de M. Radloff pour la constitution d'une association internationale nommée "Association Internationale pour l'exploration archéologique et linguistique de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Extrême Orient" (Central and East Asia Exploration Fund, to be organized on the model of the India Exploration Fund).

3. Vœu que le Gouvernement Russe et les institutions savantes compétentes organisent et subventionnent dans l'Asie centrale une expédition destinée à compléter et à étendre par une recherche méthodique les résultats déjà obtenus par l'expédition Klementz et autres similaires.

(From Section IX.—*Musulman*.)—Adoption of resolutions concerning the Committee elected after the resolution of the Paris Congress for the publication of a Musulman Encyclopaedia.

Other resolutions of less general Oriental significance were adopted.

It was also moved by Mr. Thomson Lyon, and supported by Professors d'Oldenburg, Kautsch, and Leumann, and Sir Raymond West, that "Le XII^{me} Congrès International des Orientalistes décide qu'un bureau permanent des archives du Congrès sera établi dans l'une des capitales d'Europe, et que la Société orientale de cette capitale sera chargée de l'organisation du dit bureau." It was decided, however, in accordance with the amendment of MM. Radloff and Karabacek, that the feasibility of such an institution should be inquired into by the Organization Committee of the next Congress.

This Congress it was resolved to hold at Hamburg in 1902.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. IX.—*A Sanskrit Deed of Sale concerning a Kāśmīrian Mahābhārata Manuscript.* By M. A. STEIN.

THE manuscript to which the present note refers was purchased by me at Śrīnagar in October, 1898. It is written in Śāradā characters, and contains the Gada, Sautika, Strī, and Aśvamedha Parvans of the Mahābhārata. The manuscript acquired by me originally formed only a portion of a codex which must have contained the whole of the great Sanskrit epic. This is made clear by the curious notice I shall proceed to discuss, as well as by the fact that other portions of the codex have been seen by me in Śrīnagar during earlier visits. The whole must have formed two large folio volumes which, judging from the writing and the paper, were probably copied in the sixteenth century, or in the early part of the seventeenth. The manuscript is very carefully written, evidently by the hand of a Paṇḍit, and represents a very good specimen of the text of the Western recension of the Mahābhārata current in Kāśmīr.

The interest which this manuscript possesses for us does not, however, lie in the text it presents, but in certain later additions it has received. When the manuscript was

brought to me for sale I did not fail at once to notice in it numerous marginal notes and corrections from a hand with which I had become familiar enough for a series of years back. Ever since I prepared and published my edition of the Sanskrit text of Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī from the *codex archetypus* secured by me in Kaśmīr, I had endeavoured to trace the identity of a certain glossator to whose hand that codex owes an extensive series of important notes, supplements, and various readings. I have discussed the value and peculiar interest of the work of this glossator whom I designated as A₂, in the critical preface of my edition.¹ I had shown there from internal evidence that A₂ was probably the oldest among the annotators of the *codex archetypus*, and apparently a contemporary of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha himself, the scholarly scribe of the *codex archetypus*.

Since the publication of my edition I have repeatedly, in manuscripts of other Sanskrit texts which I saw or acquired in Kaśmīr, come across learned glosses and notes in the handwriting of A₂. They fully confirmed the estimate I had formed of the learning and accuracy of the anonymous glossator. But in none of these texts had I been able to discover a clue to his identity. All the more gratified I felt when I found that the manuscript purchased by me last Autumn presented this clue, and in the form of a record as authentic and precise as it could be desired.

The record is furnished by a curious deed of sale which is endorsed on the obverse of the first leaf of the Aśvamedha Parvan, and of which a slightly reduced reproduction is shown in the accompanying plate. The Deed is made out both in Persian and Sanskrit. It is the latter version which, being written and signed by the glossator A₂, must engage our special attention. Its text runs as follows :—

*atra samvatsare vasuśarasamkhye āstayaṃjamaṣe sitetarapakṣe
tithau pratipadyām guruvāsārānvitāyām || samvat 58 aśva vati*

¹ See Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, ed. Stein, Education Society's Press, Bombay, 1892, pp. x, xi.

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1 gurau || atra Śre Pre Diddāmatthe nivasamānaih Paṇḍita
 Auttārakaputrapautraiḥ Paṇḍitalālapaṇḍitaśrikanṭhapāṇḍita-
 [ga]ṅgkaputrapaṇḍitanarābhidhaiḥ Mahābhāratapustakadvaya-
 yaṁ Ādiparvam ārabhya Āraṇyaparvam tāvat ekam pustakam
 Karna[parva]m ārabhya Āsramaparvam tāvat dvitīyam pusta-
 kam idam Mahābhāratākhyā itihāsapustakadvayaṁ mayā
 Paṇḍitalālakena vā Paṇḍitaśrikanṭhena vā Paṇḍita-gaṅgā-
 dharaputrena Paṇḍitanarakena Paṇḍita Auttārakaputrena dī
 sahasrapañcatvāriṁśakamūlyena guruvarānandapādānām vi-
 kṛitam aṅke dī sahasraṁ 4500 (sic) atra sākṣiṇaḥ [Brahma]
 viṣṇu-maheśvarāḥ likhitam mayā Takade Bhaṭṭaharakeneti
 śubham || sākṣi Paṁ Keśavakaḥ

sākṣi Paṁ Keśake tra.

This may be translated—"In this year marked by the
 Vasus and arrows, on the Pratipad day of the dark half of
 the month Āśvayuja, a Thursday, [i.e.] Sāmvat 58 Āśva
 vati 1 Thursday, We Paṇḍits Lāla, Śrikanṭha, and Paṇḍit
 Gaṅgaka's (Gaṅgādhara's) son Nara, sons and grandson
 [respectively] of Paṇḍit Auttāraka, residents of Diddā-
 mattha in Śrīnagara-Pravarapura,¹—[that is] severally I,
 Paṇḍit Lālaka, and I, Paṇḍit Śrikanṭha, and I, Paṇḍit
 Gaṅgādhara's son Paṇḍit Naraka, sons [and grandson,
 respectively] of Paṇḍit Auttāraka,—have sold two volumes
 containing the epic known as the Mahābhārata; one
 [containing the text] from the Ādiparvan to the Āraṇya-
 parvan, the other [containing the text] from the Karna-
 parvan to the Āsramaparvan, to the worshipful Guru
 Ānanda for the price of forty-five thousand Dī[nnāras],
 in figures 45 thousand Dī[nnāras]. Witnesses hereof [be]
 Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Written by me Takade Bhaṭṭa
 Haraka. Śubham. Witness Paṁ[dit] Keśavaka [who signs
 himself below in his own hand wrongly as] Witness Paṁ[dit]
 Keśake."

¹ For Śrī-Pre, the usual abbreviation of the ancient designation of Śrīnagar,
 Pravarapura, more fully Śrī-Pravarasenapura, see the note of my Rājatarāṅgiṇī
 translation, vol. ii, p. 442. Śre Pre may be taken as an abbreviation for
 Śrīnagara-Pravarapura.

The Persian Deed, of which I have given below a transcript, agrees substantially with the deed just translated, except that it shows the date in the Muhammadan reckoning and the sale price as "225 Tankas."¹ It also bears in the margin what seems to be the individual signatures of the three vendors, and of the witness Paṇḍit Keśava, who here calls himself a "Sarāf." From the fact that this Persian Deed occupies the first place and is alone attested by the signatures of the vendors, we may conclude that the latter, like the great majority of Kāśmīrian Brahmans at the present day, were acquainted with the official Persian, but not with Sanskrit.

Turning now to the contents of our record, we learn that the Paṇḍits Lāla and Śrīkaṇṭha, sons of Auttāraka, and Paṇḍit Nara, a grandson of Auttāraka, living at Diddāmaṭha, the Diddamar quarter of the present Śrīnagar,² sold

¹ The text of the Persian deed, which, owing to its cursive writing and the want of diacritical points, is somewhat difficult to make out, was read by me with the assistance of S. U. Maulwi Aḥmad, Head-Maulwi, Calcutta Madrasah, as follows:—

| | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| اقرار کرد واعتراف نمود برضا و رغبت خود لاله پندت و | العبد مست |
| شریکت پندت ولدان اوترپندت و فرویم پندت ولد گنگی پندت | لاه پندت آنچه درین قبول دارم 6 |
| ساکنان محله دیرومر برینمعی که دو قطعه بستک جلد مهابارت بمبلغ | |
| دو صد و بیست و پنج تنکه متصل به فضیلت مآب اندرا رانه جیو بیح | العبد مست |
| کردیم و فرویمیم نانی الحال اگر کسی دعوی کند باطل خواهد بود و مبلغ | شریکت پندت آنچه درین واقعه مست 9 |
| مذکور بمعرفت هره بت گرفته و بستک مذکور را نیز بمعرفت مشار الیه | |
| داده شد این چند کلمه بطریق قیس نوشته داده شد تحریر فی | العبد مست |
| تاریخ شرف شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۹۳ | نزه پندت موافق این که |
| | شاهد شد |
| | کیشو پندت صراف |

² For the identification of *Diddāmaṭha*, still a favourite quarter of the Śrīnagar Brahmans and known to the Paṇḍits by its ancient name, compare note vi, 303, in my forthcoming translation of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*.

two volumes containing the whole text of the Mahābhārata for 45,000 Dinnāras to one designated "the worshipful Guru Ānanda."¹ The date is given as Thursday, the 8th day of the dark half of Āśvayuja, in the Laukika or Saptarṣi year [47] 58. This by calculation and the evidence of the Muhammadan date in the Persian version (A.H. 1093) is shown to correspond to Thursday, the 10th July, 1682 A.D. The writer of the Sanskrit Deed, who appears to have acted as intermediary at the transaction, and who by his handwriting proves himself identical with the glossator A₂, signs himself as *Takaḍe Bhaṭṭa Haraka*.

The recorded date of the sale shows beyond all doubt that I was right in assuming that A₂, or, as we must now call him, *Bhaṭṭa Haraka*, was a contemporary of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha. Manuscripts by the hand of the latter scholar, which I successively examined or purchased, show dates ranging from A.D. 1648 to A.D. 1685. Bhaṭṭa Haraka has annotated and revised, not only the archetypus of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, but also a considerable number of other manuscripts which Ratnakaṇṭha had copied evidently for his own use.² From this it may be inferred with great

¹ As Ānanda is given in the Persian version the family name راجانك, i.e. *Rājānaka*, it is possible that Ānanda Rājānaka, a well-known Kāsmīrian scholar of the second half of the seventeenth century, is meant; compare Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, s.v. Ānanda. Ānanda Rājānaka's commentary on the *Naiṣadha-carita*, of which a copy was acquired by Professor Bühler in Kāsmīr (see *Report*, p. x, No. 143), was composed A.D. 1654. Paṇḍit tradition in Kāsmīr has retained a recollection of a close personal connection between Ānanda and Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, the writer of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī codex.

² Glosses, variæ lectiones, etc., from the hand of A₂ or Bhaṭṭa Haraka are found in the following manuscripts written by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha and now in my possession :—

- i. Rāyamukuta's commentary on the *Amarakośa* (No. 6 of my collection).
- ii. *Amaravidyā* (No. 9).
- iii. *Kātantravivarana-pancika* (No. 33).
- iv. *Kāsimāhātmya* (No. 39).
- v. Ratnakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Haraviṣaya* (author's autograph; No. 188).
- vi. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (recently obtained by me from Bhadravāh territory).

For other manuscripts showing notes of Bhaṭṭa Haraka, compare the *Introduction* to my forthcoming translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, § 47.

Takaḍe (pronounced *Takarē*, as the use of the Śāradā character for ॐ shows) is evidently the 'Krām' or family name borne by the learned glossator.

probability that he was a constant companion, and probably a pupil, of that distinguished Kāśmīrian scholar and author.

The document we have just examined is of interest, not only on account of the light it throws on the person and date of 'A₂,' but also on account of its form and the monetary information it furnishes. Bhaṭṭa Haraka's record is the first formal Sanskrit Deed which, as far as I know, has yet come to light in Kāśmīr. It is, therefore, all the more interesting to note that in its form and phraseology it agrees closely with the formularies for such documents given in that most curious and valuable Kāśmīrian text, the *Lokaprakāśa*.

It is impossible on the present occasion to refer in detail to the many points of antiquarian interest furnished by that text from which Professor WEBER has recently published valuable extracts.¹ Nor can I attempt here to explain the difficulties besetting the question as to the date and origin of its varied contents. It must suffice to point out that the discovery of an actual contract drawn up at the end of the seventeenth century, in close conformity with the forms prescribed by the *Lokaprakāśa*, strongly supports the belief first expressed by Professor Bühler, and also held by myself, that we have in the *Lokaprakāśa* a genuine handbook of official and business routine as current in Kāśmīr.² Although distinctly old in its origin and in some of its materials, it has undergone numerous adaptations to the changed conditions of later periods, down to the time of the Mughals.

Another item of useful information for the student of Kāśmīr antiquities is supplied by the record of the sale price in the deed. The amount of 45,000 Dīnnāras would

¹ See *Indische Studien*, vol. xx, pp. 290-412.

² The close connection between the formularies of the *Lokaprakāśa* and our deed of sale is curiously illustrated also by the various points of bad grammar exhibited in the text of the latter. Bhaṭṭa Haraka, who in his glosses shows a scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit and wide reading, would scarcely have committed himself to the several barbarous expressions found in the Deed (e.g. *Ādiparvam ārabhya Āraṇyaparvam tāvat*) if their use had not been approved by custom in similar contemporary documents.

appear strangely extravagant to those who know the term *Dinnāra* in Sanskrit texts of India proper only as the designation of a gold coin. The question as to the real value of the *Dinnāra* so frequently mentioned in Kalhana's Chronicle and some other Kāśmīrian texts, has been first examined by me in a long note of my forthcoming commentary on the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which has been reprinted also in the July number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.¹ I believe to have proved there that the term *Dinnāra* (regularly abbreviated into *Dī* in the formulas of the *Lokaprakāśa*, as in our deed) applied in Kāśmīr not to a real coin, but to a particular currency based on a decimal system of values, starting from a very small unit and represented mainly by a copper coinage.

Without going into detailed explanations, for which the present note does not afford room, I may mention that during the centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest four of the well-known copper coins of the later Hindu rulers of Kāśmīr were counted as equivalent to "hundred *Dinnāras*," called also simply in Skr. *śata*, 'a hundreder,' or in Kś. *hāth*. Owing to a gradual course of debasement, which can be traced through the whole history of the Hindu coinage of Kāśmīr and of the Muhammadan coinage succeeding it, the *hāth* or 'hundreder' was in Akbar's time, as clearly shown by a statement of Abū-l-Faẓl, only equal to $\frac{1}{40}$ of a Rupee. The *Sāsūn* or 'thousander,' the old *Sahasra*, accordingly then represented a value of not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Rupee.

The deterioration of the values representing the old currency of Kāśmīr has continued down to modern times. According to the system of reckoning which I have found still current in Kāśmīr both among Śarrāfs and villagers, the term *hāth* is now applied to a copper coin corresponding in value to the British pice. Ten coppers are still reckoned as one 'thousander' (*Sāsūn*), which thus has now come to represent only the value of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Annas. It is probable that

¹ See Note H (iv. 495); *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, vol. xix. pp. 125-174.

at the time when Bhaṭṭa Haraka wrote his sale record, the value of a 'thousand Dīnnāras' was still nearer to Abū-l-Faẓl's estimate of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Rupee. But even if we accept this higher value, the price paid for the manuscript, 45,000 Dīnnāras, must appear, on the face of it, remarkably low, considering the bulk of the great epic contained in the complete codex (*circ.* 110,000 ślokas).¹

This low price paid for the manuscript is, however, fully accounted for by the extreme cheapness which prevailed in old Kāśmīr, and for which in the above quoted paper I have furnished a series of remarkable illustrations extending over centuries. Here it may suffice to point out that we can easily arrive at a more correct estimate of the intrinsic value represented by the price paid, if we remember that in Abū-l-Faẓl's time the commutation rate of a Kharwār of rice, equivalent to 177 lbs. avoirdupois, was about 1,300 Dīnnāras, or 13 hāths. The 45,000 Dīnnāras paid for the Mahābhārata codex would at this rate have sufficed to purchase about 35 Kharwārs, or 88 Maunds of rice, which gives, perhaps, a more adequate idea of the sale profit realized by Auttāraka's family.

¹ The entry in the Persian version of 225 'Tankas' as the equivalent of 45,000 Dīnnāras does not assist us in the calculation, as it is not clear what particular coin is meant by that designation. As the *tanka* is made equal to 200 Dīnnāras or two hāths, a copper coin is evidently intended. The word 'Tanka' simply means 'coin,' and has been variously employed in different times and territories.

ART. X.—*Some Account of the Arabic Work entitled "Niháyatu'l-irab fi akhbári'l-Furs wa'l-'Arab," particularly of that part which treats of the Persian Kings.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

To the curious book of which the full title stands at the head of this article, I have already alluded in my communication to the Journal of January, 1899, on *The Sources of Dawlatsháh*, pp. 51–53. I now propose to give such account of its contents as is possible within the limits here prescribed. For this purpose I have made use of the Cambridge Codex (belonging to the Burckhardt Collection) marked Qq. 225. Though the book is a rare one, at least three other manuscripts are known—two in the British Museum (see the old Arabic Catalogue, pp. 418 and 581)¹ and one (marked A. 1741) at Gotha. The last was used by Professor Nöldeke, in his reference to the *Niháyat*, at pp. 475–476 of his excellent *Geschichte . . . der Sasaniden*. He describes it as “in the main a quite arbitrary recension of Dínawarí, though here [namely, in the Romance of Bahrám Chúbín] it had before it an essentially fuller text than this,” and briefly characterizes it as “das seltsame, ziemlich schwindelhafte Werk.” When I first lighted on the book at Cambridge, not being aware of the existence of other copies, or of Nöldeke’s unfavourable judgment as to its value, I was elated beyond measure, believing that I had at last found the substance of that

¹ These MSS., marked *Add.* 18,505 and *Add.* 23,298, I have only examined superficially, but enough to satisfy myself as to their identity. The former is a poor and inaccurate text, and is incomplete, the end corresponding with f. 185b of the Cambridge Codex. It presents a rather different text in places, and is entitled in the colophon *Ta'rikhu'l-Ámma'i*. The other, dated A.H. 1043, more closely agrees with our codex, and is entitled in the colophon “*Kitābu'n-Niháyat*, which is the *Siyaru'l-Mulúk*.”

precious translation of the Sásánian "Book of Kings" (*Khudháy-námak*) made about the middle of the eighth century by the eminent 'Abdu'lláh Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', who, born and brought up a Zoroastrian, made a profession of Islám of doubtful sincerity, and was put to death about A.D. 760. The *Siyaru'l-Mulúk*, by which title his Arabic version of the Pahlavi "Book of Kings" (compiled in all probability in its final form, as Nöldeke has shown, during the reign of Yazdigird III, the last Sásánian king) is generally known and cited, is professedly the chief, if not the only source of those portions of the *Niháyat* which deal with Persian history; nay, the *Niháyat* actually pretends to have incorporated in itself this important work, the source whence most of the early Muslim historians chiefly drew their information about ancient Persia, but which, it is to be feared, is, in its original form, absolutely and irrecoverably lost. These pretensions can best be made clear by a translation of its preface, which contains all the direct information as to the alleged circumstances of its compilation vouchsafed to us by its author.

[F. 6b.] "Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, than whom there is no other God, the Best of Creators; and may God bless Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets. There is no strength save in God, the High, the Mighty.

"Says al-Aṣma'í¹: — 'Hárúnu'r-Rashíd the King was wont, when he was wakeful, to send for me, and I used to relate to him the history of former nations and past ages. And while I was thus entertaining him one night, he said, "O Aṣma'í, where are these kings and princes?" "O Prince of Believers," I replied, "they have gone their way." Then he lifted up his hand to heaven and said, "O Destroyer of Kings, have mercy upon me on that day when thou joinest me unto them!" Then he summoned Šálih, the Keeper of his Oratory,² and said, "Go to the

¹ A distinguished Arabic philologist, born A.D. 740, died A.D. 831. See De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. ii, pp. 123-127.

² صاحب البلاط.

Keeper of the Library,¹ and bid him bring forth unto thee the Chronicles of the Kings (*Siyaru'l-Mulúk*), and fetch them hither to me." So the book was brought to him, and he bade me read to him; and that night I read six sections² of it. Then said he: "O Aşma'í,³ the beginning of this book, as thou seest, is from Shem the son of Noah. Hast thou knowledge of the sequence of events from the time of Adam (on whom be Peace), and of what hath been inherited by each successor from the Past, and from the first by the last?" Then he continued: "O Aşma'í, see what was before Shem the son of Noah by way of legends and events, and set them in their right order, and make mention therein of all such as ruled from the time of Adam (on whom be Peace) until it came to Shem the son of Noah, which is the beginning of this book as it is [here] written, king by king and episode by episode; and seek assistance herein of Abu'l-Bakhtari the jurisconsult."⁴

"So when it was morning I came to Abu'l-Bakhtari and told him what the Prince of Believers had commanded, and the "Book of Origins" (*Kitábu'l-Mubtadá*) was sent for, and we transcribed from it this portion, which we placed at the beginning of the "Chronicles of the Kings" (*Siyaru'l-Mulúk*), keeping it apart. And we began with the creation of Adam (may God bless him), and his adventures and history, and his fall from Paradise, and how he took up his abode at Mecca, and the period of his sojourn upon earth, from the time when he descended upon

¹ صاحب بيت الحكمة.

² اجزا, "quires," generally of 16 pages each.

³ The MS. has قال الاصمعي, "al-Aşma'í says," or "continues," but the sense seems to require some such emendation (قال للاصمعي or قال يا الاصمعي) as I have made.

⁴ MS. ابو البختري. See Ibn Qutayba's *Kitábu'l-Ma'drif* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 258), who states that he died in A.H. 200 (A.D. 815-816), and describes him as a weak authority in traditions.

it until God took him to Himself. Thereafter from amongst his sons Seth assumed the vicegerency, until [in course of time] it came to Enoch (*Akhnúkh*), the son of Mahalaleel (*Mahlá'il*), the son of Cainan (*Qaynán*), the son of Enos (*Anúsh*), the son of Seth (*Shith*), the son of Adam, and passed to him. And Enoch was Idrís the Prophet (may God bless him), and he was so called only by reason of his assiduous study (*dirásat*)¹ of the Books of Adam and Seth. Then [we continue with] the Chronicles [f. 7a] which succeed this, until such time as God sent Noah to summon his people unto Him, and [with] the story of the Deluge, and what happened thereafter until Noah's death. This section was added at the beginning of the "Chronicles of the Kings" in this place, and we kept it separate therefrom, and constituted it an introduction to that book (it comprising some ten leaves), in such wise that the two form a continuous narrative.' "

This Introduction, of which the scope is adequately indicated above, has no reference to the history of Persia, either legendary or actual, and makes no mention of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', so that a brief mention of its contents, and of the authorities cited by Abu'l-Bakhtari (who is represented as the author), will suffice. *Contents*: Creation of man.—Adam and Eve and the Serpent.—Birth of Cain and Abel and their twin sisters.—Murder of Abel.—Birth of Seth.—Account of Idrís (Enoch) and Noah. *Authorities cited*: 'Aṭá from ash-Sha'bí from Ibnu'l-'Abbás; Sufyán from 'Aṭá, etc.; Ibn Bardil; Ibnu'l-Kalbí. This Introduction ends (f. 14a, l. 9) with the words "the portion added to the Chronicles of the Kings is finished." At this point we resume the translation.

"This is the beginning of the Book of the Chronicles (*Kitábu's-siyar*), which ceased not to be preserved by the Caliphs, unto whom may God Most High be merciful!

¹ Cf. Dinawari, ed. Guirgass, p. 3, l. 10.

“Saith ‘Ámir ash - Sha‘bí¹ :—‘Everlasting dominion which perisheth not and hath no end, and enduring rule exempt from all decline, belong to God alone (blessed and exalted is He!), the One, the Single, the Eternal, who subdueth kings by the permanence of His Kingdom, and abaseth tyrants by the might of His Rule. Verily hath God (blessed and exalted is He!) established dominion amongst the peoples of the earth, and made it fugitive and transitory, only as a type of His Kingdom which declineth not, and His Rule which passeth not away.

“‘These are legends of bygone kings and former nations and past ages; of the Tyrants (*al-Jabábira*), the Kings of Yaman (*at-Tabábi‘a*) and the Monarchs of Persia (*al-Akásira*), with accounts of their circumstances, their histories, their burial-places, and their lives, and of what hath been recorded by the Arabs and the Persians concerning their wars, their raids, their poems, their wise sayings, their customs, their harangues, their letters, and their decisions, from the time of Shem the son of Noah until God sent Muḥammad, whom may He bless and keep in peace!

“‘Now they who compiled and composed this book, and set it in order and perfected its arrangement, having heard [the incidents therein recorded] from learned men worthy of credence, were ‘Ámir ash-Sha‘bí and Ayyúb² Ibnu‘l-Qirriyya, who were amongst the wisest of the Arabs who concerned themselves with the affairs of former peoples and were acquainted with what had occurred in past ages. And herein they were aided by ‘Abdu‘lláh Ibnu‘l-Muqaffa‘, one of the most learned of the Persians in the Chronicles of their Kings, and the most profoundly versed in the knowledge of their affairs, the fruits of their culture, and the most signal achievements of their wisdom. And he who convened them [i.e. ash-Sha‘bí, Ibnu‘l-Qirriyya, and

¹ His full name was Abú ‘Amr ‘Ámir b. Sharaḥbíl. His mother was one of the prisoners captured by the Arabs at Jalúla (A.H. 12). He died in A.H. 104 or 105, aged 77. See *Ibn Qutayba*, p. 229; *Fihrist*, pp. 73, 74 of the notes.

² See *Ibn Qutayba*, pp. 46 and 206. He was noted for his eloquence, and was put to death by al-Ḥajjāj because he was suspected of inclining to the party of Ibnu‘l-Ash‘ath.

Ibnu'l-Muqaffa'] was 'Abdu'l-Malik ibn Marwán, in the year 85'" [of the *hijra* = A.D. 704].

Now this introduction is more than suspicious; since, apart from the fact that Arabic prose literature hardly began until the 'Abbásid period (late eighth century of our era), that the general style and structure of the *Niháyat* are utterly unlike the older historical works composed in Arabic, that we have no record of any such enterprise, and that it is in the highest degree improbable that 'Abdu'l-Malik the Omayyad Caliph (reigned A.D. 685-705) should have troubled himself at all about the legends of the ancients, the association of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', who was put to death at a comparatively early age about A.D. 757, with a Caliph who died more than half a century before this date, and with two collaborators of whom one died in A.D. 724 and the other some thirty-five years earlier, is a glaring anachronism. Yet though the framework of the book is clearly false, it does not necessarily follow that its contents are equally worthless. So learned and early a writer as al-Jáhidh (d. A.D. 869) complained that his contemporaries were so indifferent to modern merit, however conspicuous, that he was compelled to attribute his own writings to older authors, like Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' (d. A.D. 757), in order to secure for them a circulation.¹ One's impulse, on detecting such false pretensions in a work on which one has spent considerable time and labour, is to cast it aside in disgust, and so I did with the *Niháyat* after I had read it carefully through, translated a considerable portion of it, and made a careful analysis of the rest.

Baron Rosen's interesting article on the *Khudáy-námak*, or Sásánian "Book of Kings," published on the occasion of the Centenary of the École des Langues Orientales in the *Vostochniya Zamyétki* (St. Petersburg, 1895, pp. 153-191), first brought about a reaction in my mind in favour of the *Niháyat*. For the story about King Balásh

¹ See al-Mas'ádi's *Kitábu't-tanbîh wa'l-ishráf*, ed. De Goeje, p. 76.

(Vologeses) and his two wives (the Indian Princess and the Groom's daughter) there given on the authority of al-Kisrawí (about A.D. 870), and recovered from later works wherein he is cited, occurs also in an equally full or fuller form in the *Niháyat*, which also, as observed by Nöldeke, gives in an unusually complete and detailed form the Legend of Bahráw Chúbín. The *Niháyat* agrees in the main with Dínawarí (d. A.D. 895), but is often fuller; and since the additional matter which it contains can be shown in several cases to occur also in old writers of high repute, like al-Kisrawí, whose works are lost save for fragments quoted by their successors, it appears to merit careful examination, as a source whence we may hope to increase our knowledge of the half-historical, half-legendary contents of the Pahlaví "Book of Kings."

To another feature common to the *Niháyat* and *Dinawarí* I have called attention in the article already mentioned, namely, the occurrence of Persian words and phrases cited in the original. In Dínawarí, for instance, we find, besides numerous Persian titles like *Işbahbad* (= *Spahpet*, *Sipahbad*, "commander-in-chief"), *Hazár-fat*¹ (= *Hazárpét*, *Hazárbad*, "captain of a thousand"), short phrases like "*Zeh suwár!*" ("Bravo, horseman!" p. 105), "*Mard u mard*" ("Man to man," as a challenge to single combat, p. 130), "*Diván imadand!*" ("The demons are come!" p. 133), and the like. In the *Niháyat* such phrases (accompanied in every case, so far as I recollect, by an Arabic translation) are more numerous. I cited one connected with the story of Wahriz and the words *san án* in my former article,² and I will now give a few more instances. "*Sháh-i-jahán*" (f. 110b) is correctly explained as "*Rabbu'd-dunyá*," "Lord of the World." The epithet applied to Yazdigird I, given by Arab writers as "*al-Athim*," is given (f. 123a) in its Persian

¹ Cf. Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 76, n. 2 *ad calc.*

² I have since found an allusion to this anecdote in Nöldeke's above-mentioned work, p. 226, n. 2. It occurs in Ibn Qutayba's '*Uyúnü'l-akhbár* (Petersburg codex).

form *Baza-kun* (بَزَكُن).¹ *Si u bist* (f. 129a) is rightly translated "twenty-three." A popular etymology for the name of the place where Bahráw Gúr is supposed to have been engulfed in a bog while out hunting is given on the same page as follows:—

فلما انقضى ملكه خرج ذات يوم متصيِّداً كما كان يخرج
 فرفعت له عاذر من وحش فركض في طلب غير منها فانتهى الى
 اجمة فيها عيون ما تنبع فانتهى فرسه الى ذلك الموضع فغرق
 فرسه في حمأة حتى غرق بهرام وكان معه داية له فقال داي مرك
 آمذ يعنى يا ظئر جآ الموت

Dínawari's hazár-mard and *diván ámadand* also occur (ff. 182a and 224b) with correct explanations, and the cry of the watchmen round the Royal Palace—"Pás ! Pás ! Pás ! Pás ! *Khusraw Sháhánsháh !*" (f. 207b). These examples suffice to prove clearly that the author or authors of these accounts were acquainted with the Persian language. As a curiosity I add the following passage (f. 162a), professing to give the text and translation of a Persian (presumably Pahlavi) inscription alleged to have been found in Yaman, although the Persian text is so corrupt that only some of the words (*ari túsha*, "provisionless," *bi-khúrand bi-maza*, "will consume with relish") are recognizable:—²

قال فاصابوا في ناووس³ من ناوويس الابناء من العجم الذين كانوا
 بها لوح حجر⁴ مكتوب فيه⁵ بالفارسية وانثو اميسرة كدنيك كرد يميزه

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *op. laud.*, p. 72, n. 4 *ad calc.*

² This passage I have collated with the British Museum MSS., *Add.* 18,605 (here called A.) and *Add.* 23,298 (called B.), and the variants from these are here given.

³ A. om. [في ناووس].

⁴ A., B. om. [حجر].

⁵ A. om. [فيه].

وثن هیدانی توشه^۱ و تفسیره ارمحل بلا^۲ زاد و قوله^۳ و ایذا سمس
حرمة الحی بعده کسالی^۴ و قوله^۵ بخورند بمره^۶ یا کلونه بطیب
طعم و لذانو^۷

As regards the contents of the *Nihāyat*, they may be divided into the period before Alexander the Great (to f. 48); the Alexander Legend, given with great fulness, and representing the well-known Romance of the Pseudo-Callisthenes (ff. 49-71); the period of the Parthian or "Tribal" Kings (*Mulūku't-Ṭarā'if*), with which is associated the Legend of Būdāsaf (ff. 72-82); and the Sāsānian with the contemporary Arabian period, which occupies the remainder of the volume (ff. 82-230). It is chiefly, of course, in the last portion that Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' and his *Siyaru'l-Mulūk* are cited, though he is occasionally given as the authority for earlier Persian (but never Arabian) legends, as, for instance, the Story of Rustam and Isfandiyād (this form, a more correct though less familiar modernization of the old *Spentadāt*,⁷ is also used by Dīnawarī), and the Story of Farrukhān and Būdāsaf. As it is his alleged contribution to the work which I chiefly desire to discuss, the contents of this portion will be given more fully than the remainder, but I propose to state summarily the contents of the whole

^۱ و اتومسین سکت کرد بین و تزهید اتی توبته A.

B. وایتوا میسرّه کنیک کرد بیزه و تزهیدا فی توشه.

^۲ A. بلاد (sic!).

^۳ B. om. [قوله].

^۴ A. اذاسیس خترالله الحی بعده کسانی;

B. ایذاسیس حرمة الحی بعد کسالی.

^۵ A. om. [و قوله و].

^۶ A. بخورید بمره; B. بخورند یمره.

^۷ Cf. Nöldeke's *Iranische Nationalepos* (separate reprint from Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*), pp. 5 and 10.

book. In so doing I shall often have occasion to refer to Dínawarí's *al-Akhbáru't-Tiúdl* (ed. Guirgass, Leyden, 1888), which I shall denote by the letter 'D.,' and to Nöldeke's translation of this portion of Tabarí, entitled *Geschichte . . . der Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879), which I shall denote by the letter 'T.'

The formal description of Qq. 225, the Cambridge MS. of the *Niháyat*,¹ is as follows:—Ff. 232 of 19·1 × 12·8 c. and 29 ll.; good, clear naskh; some leaves supplied in a later and worse hand; rubrications; transcribed by a certain Fathu'lláh in the middle of Rabí' I, A.H. 1024 (= April, A.D. 1615), for the library of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Sayyid Muḥammad Abu's-Ṣafá. Five leaves have been added at the beginning, of which ff. 3b–5 are occupied by a Table of Contents. The original f. 1, therefore, is now f. 6; f. 2 = f. 7, etc. F. 13 of the original has been lost and replaced by two new leaves (ff. 18, 19); so, too, f. 20 of the original = ff. 26–27. Ff. 216 and 221 of the original (= ff. 223, 228) are missing. The text ends on f. 223 of the original (= f. 230), and the last two leaves are blank. The colophon is as follows:—

تم كتاب سير الملوك المسمى بنهاية الارب في اخبار الفرس
والعرب وذلك في اواسط شهر ربيع الاول سنة اربع وعشرين و الف
وقد كتب برسم خزانة مستجمع العلوم والحكم اعلم علماء العرب
والعجم قاموس جماهير الامم الاعز الامجد السيد احمد بن السيد
محمد ابى الصفا لزالته اخبار محامده متلوة و ابارك الافكار بمحاسن
شيمه مجلوة
كتبه عبده فتح الله

The contents of the book up to the preface of the so-called *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* have already been described, and we therefore begin at f. 14b.

¹ Even the slight examination of the two British Museum MSS. which I have been able to make sufficed to convince me that the Cambridge codex is far superior to them in point of accuracy.

CONTENTS OF NIHÁYATU'L-IRAB.

Death of Noah.—Shem and his children.—Jamshíd Vîvañhana (D. 4, وَيُوجَهَان, here corrupted into نُوَيْجَهَان).—Persian accounts of him from Ibnu'l-Qirriyya = D. 9, ll. 4-10 (f. 15).—The confusion of tongues (تَبْلِيلُ الْأَلْسِنِ) and dispersion of the nations (f. 17).—The stories of 'Ād, Daḥḥāk-Bívarasp who overthrew Jamshíd, Og the son of Anak, Húd the Prophet, and the Garden of Iram, with 'Abdu'lláh b. Qulába's narrative (f. 22).—Sepulchre of Shaddád, with Arabic verses alleged to have been inscribed on it in the Himyarite character (f. 24).—The Leadén Cupola (f. 25).—Story of Daḥḥāk-Bívarasp continued (= D. 6-8).—Burial-places of Murtadd b. Shaddád, his son 'Amr, his grandson 'Āmir, the Prophet Húd, the son and grandson of Shadíd, etc. (f. 35).—Accounts of Šálih the Prophet (f. 38), Abraham (f. 41), the War of the Amalekites with Jurhum (f. 43), the Mission of Shu'ayb, the Destruction of Šakhár, Jáshim and Wabár, the descendants of Jurhum b. Qaḥṭán (f. 45).

At this point Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' is first formally cited as the authority for the story of Rustam's combat with Isfandiyád in the following words (f. 45a):—

رجع الحديث الى ملوك العجم ' حديث رستم واسفندياد '
قال وفي ذلك العصر كانت حرب رستم واسفندياد ' قال عبد الله
بن المقفع وجدت في كتب العجم حرب رستم واسفندياد الخ

Of this episode I shall give a complete translation, as a specimen of this portion of the book, but, before doing so, I will mention the names cited as authorities in the pages already reviewed, i.e. the first 44 ff. of the MS.:—ash-Sha'bí, Ibnu'l-Qirriyya, Daghfal, here called ash-Shaybání (cf. Ibn Qutayba, p. 265), Ibnu'l-Kays an-Namari

(Ibn Qut., pp. 46, 266), Wāḥb [b. Munabbih], 'Abdu'llāh b. Qulāba, Ka'bu'l-Aḥbār (erroneously described as living in the reign of Mu'āwiya, who reigned A.H. 41-60, whereas he died A.H. 32), Bistām of Ḥaḍramawt (cited by Daḡhfal), Ibnu'l-'Abbās, al-Aṣṣbagh b. Bināna, 'Abdu'llāh b. Salām, 'Abdu'llāh b. Kāmil al-Juhanī, al-Bashīr b. Ḥayāzim al-Ḥimyarī, Ōmayya b. Abi's-Ṣalt, and al-Lissīn. This list is, I believe, complete.

"The Narrative returns to the Kings of Persia : Narrative of Rustam and Isfandiyād.

"Says [the narrator] : 'In this age occurred the combat between Rustam and Isfandiyād. Says 'Abdu'llāh Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' : "I find in the books of the Persians the combat of Rustam and Isfandiyād ; and that the cause of this was that Bushtāsf, the son of Bukht-Nuṣṣar (for the Arabs call Luhrāsf Bukht-Nuṣṣar), when King Zarādušt (*Zoroaster*) came to him, saying,¹ 'I am an Apostle from the Lord of the Worlds unto thee, and unto the people of my country, and of thy kingdom, to invite thee unto the Religion of the Magians,' Bushtāsf [I say] replied, 'And what is the Religion of the Magians?' And [Zoroaster] answered, 'That marriage with sisters and mothers and daughters is lawful unto thee ; and the worship of the Sun and of Fire.' So Bushtāsf hearkened unto that whereunto the accursed one² invited him as to the abandonment of his religion in which he had been ; and he went over to the religion of the Magians, and induced the people of his country to do the same, so that, willing or no, they acquiesced. Now at the beginning of the reign of Bushtāsf there had marched against him from the country of Egypt a king of the children of Ḥām at the head of a thousand thousand men of the people of his kingdom. And Bushtāsf went forth

¹ = Dinawarī, p. 27. The passages which occur in D. are here placed in italics.

² This epithet, of course, as well as the summary account of the Zoroastrian creed, is an addition of Muḥammadan origin.

to meet him with his hosts, having with him his son Isfandiyád; and they fought a fierce fight, and the victory was to the sons of Hám over Bushtásf, and they took him captive. *And Rustam was in his home in Sajistán.* Now men differ as to the genealogy of Rustam. Some of the learned men of the Persians say that he was of the sons of Tasm b. Núh, who were mighty kings; while some say that his mother was [f. 45b] Tasmíyya and his father of the posterity of Nimrod, the son of Kin'án, *and that thence he was gifted with largeness of frame, strength of body, and natural might.* And when news came to Rustam that Bushtásf had been taken prisoner, he equipped himself with twelve thousand men of the people of Sajistán, and marched on the track of the King of the sons of Hám, who was at the head of two thousand thousand men, after [deducting] those of his followers who had been killed. And [Rustam] fought with him until he delivered Bushtásf from his hands, and drove him forth from his [Bushtásf's] kingdom. And when Bushtásf returned unto his capital, he crowned Rustam with a crown, and made him king over Khurásán and Sajistán, and permitted him to sit on a throne of gold, and bestowed on him many lands in fief, and exalted his rank, and gave him precious gifts; and so he returned to Sajistán. *But when it came to his ears that Bushtásf had abandoned the religion of his fathers, and had agreed to that whereunto Zoroaster invited him of the Magian religion, he was angered thereat with a great anger, and said, 'He hath left the faith of our forefathers, which the last of us have inherited from the first, and hath inclined towards the religion of Zoroaster the infidel.'*¹ Then he resolved to depose him, and assembled the nobles of his people, and told them what the King had done in abandoning the faith of his forefathers and embracing another faith, and proclaimed to them his deposition. *And they supported him in this, and renounced their allegiance to Bushtásf and his son Isfandiyád, who was the strongest man of his time, and whose skin the Arabs*

¹ = D., p. 28, which ends the sentence "to a new religion."

suppose to have been of brass.¹ *Then said Isfandiyád's father to him: 'O my son, verily the kingdom will come to thee shortly, and thine affairs will not prosper unless thou shalt kill Rustam and be quit of him. Thou knowest his strength and his power: choose, therefore, what thou wilt from the hosts, and march against him, and bid him return to his allegiance. If he consents, and desists from his present course of action, well and good; if not, fight with him; and I trust that thou may'st conquer him, since thou art his equal in strength and power.'* So Isfandiyád chose from the hosts of his father twelve thousand men of the most valiant warriors of Persia, and then marched against Rustam. And news of this reached Rustam, and he came forth to meet him with the men of Khurásán and Sajistán, advancing towards him. And the two armies met in the district of Qúmis, and stood facing one another in battle array.² And Isfandiyád cried out, 'Where is Rustam? Let him come forth, that I may speak with him!'³ So Rustam came forth, and Isfandiyád said, 'What hath impelled thee to disown thine allegiance to the King and to revolt against him?' Rustam replied, 'I am displeased at what he hath done in abandoning his faith and the faith of his forefathers, and in following Zoroaster in the religion of the Magians, and entering into it.' Isfandiyád answered: 'Verily the King perceived what would befall him from thee in his affairs; abandon, then, continuance in rebellion, and return unto thine allegiance, and remember what [kindness] hath been done to thee by him, and what honour he hath shown thee, and how he exalted thy station [f. 46a] when thou wert living in obscurity in thy land, neglected in thy country.' Rustam answered: 'Verily his obligations to me are greater than my obligations to him, inasmuch as I delivered him from

¹ He is called in Persian *روئین تن*, i.e. "having a body of [i.e. strong and tough as] brass."

² For these two sentences D. substitutes: "And Rustam came forth to meet him, and they met between the countries of Sajistán and Khurásán."

³ In D. the remainder of the narrative occupies only seven lines. The words "And the Persians tell many tales about this" (i.e. the combat between R. and I.) stand for the elaborate details here given.

death after that he had come nigh unto it; neither will I return to his allegiance until he renounces the religion of the Magians and returns to the faith of our fathers, and otherwise I will fight with him and challenge him to equal combat.' Said Isfandiyád: 'Verily it is not just that captains should lead their troops into positions of peril and spare themselves. Make, therefore, a firm covenant with me, and I will make the like with thee, that thou wilt spare the two armies from battle, and that the fight shall be between me and thee alone, thou contending with me and I with thee; and whichever shall slay his opponent shall take possession of his kingdom, and unto him shall its people turn.' Rustam answered, 'This is granted thee, and to this I consent, for it is fair.' So they bound themselves by an oath to this, and mutually agreed thereunto, and the two armies stood in their ranks under their standards while Isfandiyád went forth unto Rustam, and they fought a fierce fight until night intervened between them. And the arms of Rustam could not touch Isfandiyád by reason of the hardness of his skin, while Isfandiyád could not prevail against Rustam because of his strength and power. So they continued thus forty days. Then Rustam resolved on treachery to Isfandiyád, and drew up his hosts in battle array, and rushed upon the army of Isfandiyád and made a great slaughter of them. And when it was morning, Isfandiyád sent unto Rustam, saying: 'O miscreant and traitor, thou hast broken the pact and betrayed thy trust and pledges which thou didst pledge me and wherewith thou didst covenant with me: come forth unto us to do battle!' So Rustam went forth unto him, and Isfandiyád shot at him a thousand arrows, whereof not one missed its mark, and the wounds weakened Rustam so that he came near to falling from weakness. Then Isfandiyád cried to him, saying: 'This is enough for thee to-day: get thee back, for we are wearied of fighting.' Rustam answered: 'I accord thee this: turn back, for verily one like me is not invited unto anything wherein an equal is concerned but he accepts.' So Rustam turned back, and

came at length unto a deep river in his path, and his horse Rakhsh was unable to cross over it because of its depth. So Rustam dismounted and put his head between the fore-legs and the hind-legs of his steed, and carried him on his neck until he had crossed over the river with him. And Isfandiyád, beholding this, said to his followers: 'Do ye not see how Rustam, notwithstanding the wounds in his body, hath been able to carry his horse, which is one of the stoutest of steeds? There is not the like of him amongst the Persians!' And Rustam spent the whole night plucking out the arrow-heads from his body until it was morning. Then he summoned a soothsayer who was with him, and said, 'What thinkest thou about Isfandiyád?' 'My opinion,' replied the soothsayer, 'is that thou wilt soon slay him [f. 46b], but that thou wilt not long survive him ere thou too shalt perish.' 'I care not,' said Rustam, 'what befalls me so that I kill him; but how shall I contrive to kill him when my weapons make no impression on his skin?' 'No weapons,' replied the soothsayer, 'will make any impression on it save the branches of the tamarisk which is in an island called the Island of Kázárún.' And when Rustam heard this, he sent to Isfandiyád to request a postponement of the battle, holding out hopes of a return to his allegiance; and Isfandiyád consented to this. So Rustam embarked on a ship until he came to this island, which was one of the dependencies of Ṭabaristán; and he cut from the tamarisk three shafts. Then he returned and made them arrows, fitting them with points and feathers. Then he sent to Isfandiyád challenging him to battle, and he came forth unto him, and Rustam shot him with these arrows in a mortal place, and he died. *Then his hosts returned unto Bushtáxf and informed him of what had happened as to the death of his son Isfandiyád and the cause thereof; and thereat sorrow overcame him, and he sickened with the sickness whereof he died. And he bequeathed the kingdom to his grandson Bahman, the son of Isfandiyád,*¹ and then died.

¹ = D., 28, ll. 13-15, which continues: "And when Rustam returned unto his abode in the land of Sajistán it was not long ere he died."

And after the destruction of Isfandiyád, Rustam went forth to the chase, and there sprang up before him a wild ass, and he galloped after it, and came, while his horse was at full gallop, to a well, and fell into it, and died. But it is said [by others] that the wounds inflicted upon him by Isfandiyád's arrows overcame him so that he died. And Bushtásf reigned a hundred and twenty years, and was succeeded by Bahman, the son of Isfandiyád, the son of Bushtásf." " "

Continuation of Abstract (f. 46b).

Account of Bahman the son of Isfandiyád.—He marries [D. 29, Írákht] the daughter of Salmál [D. 29, Sámál], the son of Rákha'tam [D. ارخبعم = Rehoboam], called by the Persians Ummídh-dukht, who was one of the Jews whom Bukht-Nussar (Nebuchadnezzar) led away captive.—Her brother Rúynál [D. Rúbíl] is made king over Syria by Bahman, and ordered to restore the Temple.—Tomb of Daniel at Sús.—Its rediscovery in the time of 'Umar the Caliph (f. 46b).—Kings of Qaḥṭán in Yaman.—Burial-place of Abú Malik b. Shimr b. Abí Karib, with Arabic verses engraved on an ebony throne therein (f. 47a).—Account of the Tubba' al-Aqran (f. 47b).

The Persian Legend from Bahman to Alexander.

Bahman has a son Sásán and a daughter Khumání. The latter, after the incestuous custom of the Magians [called *Khvétúk-das*], he takes to wife. When at the point of death (having then reigned eighty years), he causes her to be crowned, and bids her act as regent, but, if she bear a son, surrender the power into his hands when he has reached years of discretion. She bears a son, Dárá, and abdicates in his favour when he is 30 years old. Her brother Sásán, greatly vexed at his exclusion from the Crown, betakes himself to the Kurds in the mountains and becomes

a shepherd, whence he is called "Sásán the Kurd" and "Sásán the Shepherd." Khumání invades Rúm, and compels two architects whom she takes captive to build for her three palaces in Fárs—one in Ištakhr, one on the road thence to Khurásán, and the third two parasangs along the road to Dárábjird. Legend said to have been read on one of her coins [see *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1899, p. 52]. On the coronation of Dárá his mother Khumání takes the veil and retires into private life (f. 48b).

The above portion of the narrative corresponds very closely with Dínawarí (pp. 29–30), and is given on the authority of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', who is cited three or four times, but the coin-legend is apparently not ascribed to this source. At this point there is a transition to the history of Yaman, and the legend of Dhú Jayshán, Ṭasm, and Judays, wherein occurs an episode presenting a striking analogy (to which attention has been called by Baron Carra de Vaux) with the coming of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane in "Macbeth." This is followed (f. 51b) by an account of the sepulchre of Dhú Jayshán, who was defeated by Dárá, to whom the narrative now returns.

Elated with pride at his victory over Dhú Jayshán, Dárá invades Rúm with 100,000 men, defeats Philip of Macedon [*Filuffús*, *Filífús*, in D., p. 41, *al-Faylafús*, for the less correct *Filaqús* of Nidhámí and other Persian writers] in Syria, and exacts from him a yearly tribute of 1,000 [D. 100,000] nuggets of gold each weighing 40 mithqáls, which tribute was paid till the death of Dárá I and the accession to the throne of his son Dárá II.

At this point (f. 52a) the narrative again turns to Yaman, and recounts the bursting of the dam of al-'Iram, etc., after which we come to the Legend of Alexander, which is given at great length and occupies ff. 56a–79a. First come the Persian and Greek accounts of his parentage, and the Persian popular etymology of his name, the plant after which he is called being here designated *Iskandar* [D. *Ál sandar*]. This corresponds very closely with D. 32–34, but the dialogue between Aristotle and Alexander [merely

described by D. as "a long harangue," موعظة طويلة, p. 33] is here given more fully, as well as several miraculous circumstances connected with the liberation of Aristotle from prison by an angel, the destruction, by fire from heaven, of the soldiers who try to recapture him, and the final conversion of Alexander. The war between him and Dárá, as well as the negotiations which preceded it, are described much more fully than in D. 34. Dárá sends five ambassadors to Alexander (f. 59b) with a second letter, and also, "to prove his understanding," the following objects: a golden box or coffin, a precious pearl, a polo bat and ball, and a stocking filled with sesame or coriander-seed. Alexander interprets the pearl as the kingdom of Dárá, "which shall become wholly mine, even as this pearl lies in the hollow of my hand"; the golden box as Dárá's treasure; the bat and ball as himself and Dárá, "whom I will drive before me as the ball is driven by the bat"; and the stocking full of sesame as the Persian hosts, "whom," said he, placing some of the seed in his mouth, "I will grind to powder even as I crush this in my mouth." He then loads Dárá's envoys with presents, and gives them a bag of mustard-seed for the Persian king, who tries to treat it as Alexander treated the millet, with what results may be readily imagined. The narrative now runs very close to that of the *Sháhnáma* (ed. Macan, vol. iii, pp. 1269 et seqq.), and is much fuller than D.; but it differs from the latter in not making Alexander the instigator of Dárá's assassination, in adding an ornate harangue delivered by Dárá to his troops (f. 60), and in mentioning several persons (Dárá's minister Mah-ádhár, his brother Mardán-bih) and places (Júy-bih near Kaskar) not there mentioned. The account of Dárá's death and last wishes, the punishment of his murderers, and Alexander's marriage with his daughter Rawshanak (Roxana) are much the same as in D.

The remainder of the Alexander legend, which is less intimately connected with Persia, agrees very closely with the *Sháhnáma* (iii, pp. 1304-1359), both in matter and arrangement, and less closely with Dínawarí, who omits

several episodes, such as Alexander's visit to the holy men called here برجمانيون, but by Firdawsí (*Sh.*, pp. 1327-1331) "Brahmins." The description of them and their city, here called معبارات, closely agrees with Qazwíní's account of Jábalq and Jábars in the *Atháru'l-Bilád* (pp. 17-18). These holy men, questioned by Alexander, foretell the course of history down to the time of Islám (ff. 68b-70b). Next comes the account of the people described by D. (p. 39, ll. 15-18), who are here placed under a queen named بريانوس; then Alexander's journey to the West, the city of Jábars, the boiling Fountain wherein the sun sets, and the Land of Darkness; the colloquy with the gigantic birds and with Isráfil the Angel (*Sháhnáma*, iii, pp. 1340-1341). For what follows not Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' but ash-Sha'bí', on the authority of 'Abdu's-Sulám, is cited. This includes Alexander's quest with Khidr after the Water of Life, to which he is incited by his Guardian Angel زريابيل, wherein Isráfil and the gigantic birds are again introduced; the building of the cities قالونية [D. 38, قانونية] and سوريه, here regarded as successive names of one town, not (as in D.) as two separate places; the journey through the lands of the Slavs, Khazars, and Turks to China, and the submission of its Emperor [= D. 38]. Then follow a number of marvels omitted by D., such as the destruction of Alexander's minister افيلمون (? Philemon) and a thousand of his men by a sea-monster; the Image of Kús the son of Feridún; Jábars and Jábalq; the talking trees; the Dragon slain by cow-shaped automata; the dead King of 'Ad on the mountain spur; the dialogue of Alexander with the Angel who sustains the mountain, who gives him the title *Dhu'l-Qarnayn* and much good counsel; the horse-headed folk who speak the language of "the Blacks," etc. The remaining episodes — viz., Gog and Magog, and the Great Wall; Alexander's return to Persia, Syria, and Jerusalem; the twelve cities built by him; his discussion with Aristotle as to the best means for securing peace to his country after his death, and the institution of the *Mulúku't-Tawá'if* or "Tribal Kings" (= *Sh.*, iii, p. 1354); and Alexander's

death and burial—occur also in D. (pp. 39–41), though in a more meagre form. The *Niháyat*, for example, places the capitals of the Persian “Tribal Kings” at Máhín, Šaymara, Másbadhán, Nahávand, and Mihrázfádán; mentions the appointment of مهرنيس (also later in the book هرمس, بهرمس : cf. Nöldeke’s *Sasaniden*, p. 1, “Mihrmas?”), the grandsire of Ardashír Bábakán, as king of Ištakhr; and gives what purport to be inscriptions, letters, and funeral orations (= *Sh.*, iii, p. 1359) in abundance. The forms of the many foreign names mentioned in the Alexander legend vary considerably in the *Niháyat* (N.), *Dinawari* (D.), and Macan’s ed. of the *Sháhnáma* (Sh.), for instance : قيطون N. = قطون Sh. 1310–1312; قندافه N. = قندافه Sh. 1312–1327 = قنداقه, قنداقه D.; قران N. = قريان Sh. = قيروان D.; قيدروس N. = قيدروش Sh.; قيطفور N. = نيطقون Sh.; كثير N. = قافونيه D. = قالونيه Sh.; برجماني N. = برهمن Sh.; تاويل, تاريس N. = ناويل, نارس D.; قينانوس N. = مارجانوس D.; ميلانوس, مرخانوس N. = صدود D.; صيدودا D.; فرنيه N. = فرنيه D., etc.

From the Death of Alexander to the Rise of the Sásanian Dynasty.

We now come to the period of the *Mulúku’t-Tawá’if*, or “Tribal Kings,” of which the events are so scantily represented in the national tradition that they hardly fill one page of Macan’s edition of the *Sháhnáma*. The length of this period, between the death of Alexander and the establishment of the Sásanian dynasty, is represented here, as in nearly all Arabic and Persian sources, as 266 years instead of about 550, which was its actual duration. The reason of this false chronology is explained by the learned Mas’údí in his *Kitábu’t-tanbih wa’l-ishráf* (ed. De Goeje, pp. 97–98). When Ardashír Bábakán, says he, had overthrown Ardawán the Parthian, and established himself as sole

ruler of Persia, a prophecy was current that 1,000 years after Zoroaster the religion founded by him and the Persian Empire would fall together. Now Zoroaster is placed by Oriental historians about 280 or 300 years before Alexander, since whose time 550 years more had elapsed, and therefore only about 150 years of the thousand were still left; so Ardashír, fearing, probably, that the prophecy might conduce to its own fulfilment, deliberately cut off some three centuries from this period, thus extending the prophesied duration of his dynasty 434 years, the approximate time (A.D. 226-652) of its actual duration. This falsification of the records Mas'údí calls "an ecclesiastical and political secret of the Persians." The story is a curious one, as apparently ascribing efficacy to what is recognized as a forged prophecy.

To return, however, to the *Niháyat*. To what D. (p. 41, ll. 10-15) says about the method of settling disputes employed by the "Tribal Kings" it adds (f. 79a) that they were eager after wisdom and culture, and that in their time were written the *Books of Kalila and Dimna, Sindbád, Luhrásf, Shimas, Yúsfasf* (يوسفاسف), *Balúhar* (بلوهر), and *Marúl* (مرول), "that is to say," adds the author, "in the time of بليناس (? Apollonius or Pliny), the expert in talismans." After a brief mention of the coming of Christ [= D. 42, ll. 19-20] and the reign of Ardawán b. Asha b. Ashghán [= D. 42, ll. 12-19], there follows, on the authority of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', the episode of Búdásaf, an adaptation of the Buddha legend, wanting in D., of which the contents are as follows (ff. 79b-86b):—

Legend of Búdásaf (Buddha).

King Farrukhán b. Áfarín b. Asha b. Sábúr b. Ardawán (or Adrawán), being childless, prays for a son. His prayer is answered by the birth of Búdásaf. As this prince increases in years he is filled with sadness at the transitoriness of all earthly things and the misery which prevails in the world, and desires to withdraw from public life and become a hermit.

He questions and argues with his father, who bids him publicly discuss his proposal with the people, appointing the monk Sham'ún (Simeon) arbiter. The King first addresses the assembly, telling them that "there has befallen them what befell the bird Shírmá" (شیرما). The Prince retorts with the Story of the Partridge (قطاة), which is met on the part of the people by the Story of the Gazelle called الجيدا. After the relation of these and other fables the Prince is finally permitted to depart and adopt the ascetic life. He retires to a mountain in 'Irâq on the confines of Ahwáz called مهندف (perhaps a corruption of مهرجانقدق, *Mihrján-gadhaq*, D. 42, l. 14). The King of Ahwáz and his beautiful daughter come to spend the summer in a castle situated near this mountain. One day the King chances on Prince Búdásaf and holds with him a discussion, in which the Parable of the three men in the Garden is introduced. The Princess, hearing of Búdásaf, desires to join him in his ascetic life, and confides in her old nurse, who devises a plan to bring about their marriage. The old nurse holds a discussion with Búdásaf, in which are introduced other parables of birds, etc. Búdásaf is finally induced to marry the Princess, who joins him in his life of pure devotion. Meanwhile Farrukhán dies, and his people seek out Búdásaf and endeavour to persuade him to rule over them in place of his father. Another discussion follows, in which another pious hermit is appointed arbiter. Búdásaf is eventually persuaded to consent to his people's wish and accept the crown. Advice of the old nurse to the Princess, and of her three sisters. A son is born to Búdásaf and his wife in their old age, who is Ardawán (Ādharwán), the last Parthian king, whom Ardashír Bábakán overthrew. This legend, evidently of Indian origin, and belonging to the Buddha and Barlaam-Josaphat cycle of stories, presents a close analogy with the Story of Balásh the Sásánian, the Indian Princess, and the groom's daughter, published with a Russian translation by Baron Rosen in the *Vostochniya Zamyétki* (pp. 153-165), and given further on in the *Niháyat* (ff. 135b-142b).

We now enter on the Sásánian period, which, with the corresponding Arabian history, occupies the remainder of the volume (ff. 89a-230b). In order to keep this article within reasonable limits I shall as far as possible ignore what concerns only the Arabs, and shall, moreover, take Dínawarí's account of the Sásánian kings (pp. 44-149) as my basis, noting only such passages of the *Niháyat* as are omitted from his history or occur in a different form. These matters I shall arrange under the names of the successive kings of the House of Sásán, adding the date of each king (taken from Nöldeke) and the portions of Dínawarí (D.) and the *Niháyat* (N.) which deal with his reign. Nöldeke's *Sasaniden* (transl. of Ṭabarí) is cited as Ṭ.

1. *Ardashír Bábakán* (A.D. 226-241: N. 89-101; D. 44-48).

On the death of Bábak, King of Iṣṭakhr, his son Ardashír is chosen to succeed him.—His brothers are jealous and revolt, but while marching against him are destroyed by the collapse of Khumání's palace (see p. 212, *supra*), situated four parasangs from Iṣṭakhr, in which they have alighted for the night [Ṭ. 8].—Ardashír's dream [= Ṭ. 6].—His harangue to his people.—He takes Dárábjird.—Slays خروهر [probably = Gochihr, جزهر: see Ṭ. 4 and n. 4 *ad calc.*], king of جنلبا, and appoints Nársí [? = Tirê of Ṭ. 4-5] governor of his territory.—The kings of Fárs thereon complain of Ardashír's aggressions to Ardawán, who writes a letter of remonstrance.—Ardashír writes a circular letter to the kings, including Ardawán, who is furious [D. 44] and sends a second letter, to which also he receives no reply.—Ardashír conquers Shápúr and Isfahán, defeats and slays Ardawán in the plain of Bádarján [D. 44, Hurmuzdján] at the end of the month of Mihr [so D.], seizes Nahávand, and takes to wife a cousin of Ardawán [D. 45 makes her a niece of Ardawán's son Farrukhán, who is represented in this account as the last Parthian king; Ṭ. 27 merely describes her as of the family of Ashak, i.e. one of the Arsacides], not knowing that she belongs to the family

of his dead foe. This leads up to the well-known story of Abarsám [here described as بن الهوذان : cf. T. 9 and n. 1; 27, n. 2] and the birth, concealment, and recognition of Shápúr [here, as in T. 28, Sháh-puhar, شاه بهر و ترجمته, . . .], from which, however, it is separated by an account of Ardashír's further conquests of Ahwáz, Hamadán, Qum, Ray, Dashnî, Merv, Adharbayján, and Armenia; his defeat of the seventeen allied kings under Mibrak, the son of Fádhan, King of Babylon, Khutarniya, and Súra, and his son Shádh-mihr [cf. T. 11 and n. 2, and 43 seqq.]; his assumption of the title *Sháhánsháh* [D. 45, l. 17]; and his restoration of al-Madá'in (originally built by زاب بن يودكان بن منوشهر).

So far the narrative contains hardly any new elements; what remains (ff. 93b—101b) is of a less familiar and more legendary character. It is related that Christ (placed by a gross anachronism in this period, although previously mentioned in the Parthian time) sent one of his disciples to Ardashír [D. 46], who was well received by his Minister on the recommendation of his son. Ardashír's favourite horse falls sick and dies, but is restored to life by this disciple in his Master's name, whereupon Ardashír, his son Shápúr, and his Minister embrace the Christian religion [cf. D. 85], and endeavour to persuade the Persian nobles to do the same. In this attempt, however, Ardashír is unsuccessful, and is compelled thereafter to conceal his belief for fear of being deposed. The parallel which this legend offers to the healing of King Gushtásp's favourite horse by Zoroaster is so obvious that we can hardly doubt that we have here one of those transferences noted by Nöldeke (*Das iranische Nationalepos*, pp. 3, 4, and note *ad calc.*).

The institutions of Ardashír are next discussed, viz.: how he organized the kingdom; how he chose his knights (اساورة); how he chose his secretaries; how he guarded his frontiers; how he received ambassadors; how he built cities; how he dealt with the Noble Houses (بيوتات الشرف), the members

of which are the *Bár-bitán* of the Pahlaví inscriptions); how he caused the land to prosper; how he instituted the five classes or castes (of priests, warriors, scribes and poets, farmers, and merchants), causing each to wear a distinctive mark; and how he devised a means whereby all who thought themselves wronged could be sure of submitting to him personally their appeal. This last institution is described in exactly similar terms in the *Siyásat-náma* (ed. Schefer, p. 10; transl., pp. 12-13), which is interesting, as revealing a common source for both books which cannot be placed later than the eleventh century of our era.

Finally, we have the account of Ardashír's death after a reign of 40 years and 10 months (*sic!*); his dying injunctions to his son Shápúr, which include a prophecy of the fall of the dynasty after 600 years (*sic!*); and the names of the six cities founded by him, which, though corrupted in several cases, agree on the whole with D. 47, and less closely with the eight cities in T. 19-20.

2. *Shápúr I* (A.D. 241-272: N. 102b-104a; D. 48-49).

The accounts of this reign are scanty in both N. and D., but the agreement is close. N., after its usual fashion, gives the speech made by Shápúr on his accession. The story of the building of Bel-ábád [Beth Lápât: see T. 40-41], omitted by D., is here given. The name of Valerianus [T. 32 and n. 3 *ad calc.*] here occurs as البرنانوس, البرنانوش, and البرنانوس. In the Roman campaign قالوتية [D. 48] is here called قالونيه, as in the L. and P. MSS. of D. Appearance of Manes [= D. 49, T. 40]. Shápúr dies after a reign of thirty-one years [= D. 49, l. 5: cf. T. 42].

3. *Hurmuzd I* (A.D. 272-273: N. 105-106; D. 49).

Throne-speech.—Manes put to death [= D. 49].—Testamentary injunctions of Hurmuzd to his son.

- 4, 5, 6. *The three Bahráms* (A.D. 273–293: N. 106–107; D. 49).

Bahrám III, called *Sagánsháh*, is ignored, as in D. 49; and the accounts of the others are meagre and inaccurate. Bahrám II is here stated to have conceived a dislike to the Zoroastrian religion because of the incestuous marriages sanctioned by it, and to have sent to India for Christian teachers. Seven missionaries are sent. He becomes a Christian, attempts to convert his people, is threatened with deposition, and conceals his faith (cf. Ardashír, p. 219, *supra*).

- 7, 8. *Nársi and Hurmuzd II* (A.D. 293–309: N. 108b; D. 49).

9. *Shápúr II Dhu'l-Aktáf* (A.D. 309–379: N. 109–113, 118–120; D. 49–52).

The agreement with D. is very close, and includes the pre-natal coronation; the Arab invasion of Persian territory in Shápúr's childhood; his acuteness in the matter of the bridges; his defeat and punishment of the Arabs; his adventure with Mulayka, the daughter of Dayzan and Dukht-núsh [D. 50 دُخْتَنُوش], which incident really belongs to the reign of Shápúr I [T. 34–40]; his war with Julian (here called بريانوس: cf. D. 51, note *d*) and peace with Jovian (here برسانوس: cf. D. 52, note *e*); and the cession of Nişibín to the Persians and its colonization by 12,000 of them from Ištakhr, to which N. adds "4,000 from Isfahán." The only additions in N. are Shápúr's title *Sháh-i-jahán* = *Rabbu'd-dunyá* (cf. p. 201, *supra*), a translation of a short harangue alleged to have been delivered by him to his people "in Persian" in the fifth year of his reign, and a few trivial amplifications of the Roman War. The narrative of his reign is followed by a long account of Jirjis the Christian saint, filled with miracles and marvels, and by the story of Judayma and Hind az-Zabbá, which

offers a remarkable parallel to the Zopyrus legend. This story is alluded to in D. 56 as well-known, but is not there given.

10, 11, 12. *Ardashir II, Shápúr III, Bahrám IV*
(A.D. 379-399 : N. 120-121 ; D. 53).

Of these three kings the first is entirely omitted both by N. and D., while the accounts of the others are very meagre. Except for the throne-speeches of each, and the substitution of twenty for thirteen years in the reign of the latter, N. is practically identical with D.

13, 14. *Yazdigird I, Bahrám V Gúr* (A.D. 399-438 :
N. 122b-129b ; D. 53-60).

The Persian original of Yazdigird's title *al-Athim* is given as *Basa-kun* (cf. p. 202, *supra*), and the usual throne-speech is ascribed to him. His faults are summed up as a fondness for conferring titles on unworthy persons, arrogance, contempt for learning and religion and systematic opposition to their professors, and extreme wilfulness. The birth of his son Bahrám Gúr is placed in the second year of his reign, on the day of Hurmuzd in the month of Farvardin. When Mundhir is summoned to receive and take charge of the child, Yazdigird confers on him a twofold promotion and the titles *Afsúd Khurrahi* and *Mastará Mastarán* (f. 123a) :

.. فكتب [يزدجرد] اليه [يعني الى المنذر بن ماء السماء]
يأمره بالقدوم فلما قدم حباه بمرتبتين وسمى انزد خرهي معناه
ازداد كرامة ومرتبة اخرى سماء مسترا مستران معناه عظيم العظماء

[These titles are given by T. (pp. 86-87) as *Rám-arcúdh Yazdigird* and *Mahisht*.] The account of Bahrám's training is a little fuller than in D. He studies with three Persian and three Arabic tutors (D. 53 says "two" in each case)

for seven years, till he reaches the age of 12, when he devotes himself to horsemanship and archery. As he grows older he persuades Mundhir to give him four concubines and five of his best horses. One of the former named Ázádwár accompanies him to the chase, and he, at her request, to display his skill in archery, shoots at a gazelle which is scratching its ear and pins the ear to the foot, but afterwards discards Ázádwár because she has imposed on him such a test.—His skill as a hunter.—His encounter with a lion.—He visits his father Yazdigird at Ctesiphon, but wearies of his life there and returns to Mundhir.—Yazdigird is killed by the demon-horse [T. 77-78 and note] when he has reigned $21\frac{1}{2}$ years [= D. 57].

The proposal to exclude Bahrám from the throne and the setting up in his place of a descendant of Ardashír Bábakán stand in N. as in D., but the names of the conspirators are here omitted.—Bahrám, with Mundhir and a thousand Arabs, marches on Ctesiphon, and is joined by 12,000 men. The Persians, being alarmed, send a pious man named *Jawán-bih* [T. “*Juwánoé*”] to Bahrám, who proposes that he and his rival Ardashír shall decide their claims by the ordeal of the lion. This proposal is accepted, and Bahrám is victorious [T. 91-98: D. om.]. He is made king, pardons those who would have excluded him, and issues a proclamation.

The next incident is the war with the Kháqán of the Turks, which is told exactly as in D. 57-59 save in the following details. The Kháqán is at Qúmis when the Persians offer him submission and tribute, thinking that Bahrám has fled from his foe. Bahrám thereupon doubles back from Ádharbayján, whither he has gone, by Daylam and Tabaristán, to Qúmis, occupies a mountain near the Kháqán's encampment, and about dawn lets loose on the Turkish camp all the beasts and birds he has captured, as well as his dogs and falcons, so that the Turks, thinking themselves to be attacked by an immense host of at least a million men, flee in panic. Bahrám pursues them, kills the Kháqán, invades their country, delimits the frontier, and

builds a great tower on it, as in D. 59.—His proclamation of victory.—His generosity to his army and subjects.—He consults the astrologers as to how long he will reign. They tell him *si u bist*, i.e. 23 years (its actual duration), but he thinks they mean, not $3 + 20$ but 3×20 , i.e. 60 years (cf. p. 202, *supra*). His death in the quagmire at Dáy Marj (cf. p. 202, *supra*: D. 59–60; T. 103 and n. 3).

15, 16, 17. *Yazdigird II, Hurmuzd III, Pírúz* (A.D. 438–484: N. 130b–135a; D. 60–62).

The account of the first of these kings is even shorter in N. than in D., his death only being mentioned in connection with the fratricidal struggle between his brothers. In the account of the flight of Pírúz, Kábul takes the place of Şighániyán (D. 60), the number of men given to him by the Kháqán is not specified (D. has “30,000”), and the condition is the cession of “Tálaqán, which is the country beyond Balkh,” instead of Tirmidh. Also Pírúz, on his victory, kills his brother Hurmuzd, instead of “not punishing him” (D. 60). At this point comes in the story of Dhú Nuwás, the persecution of the people of Najrán, and the Abyssinian invasion, down to the death of Aryát at the hands of Abrahātu'l-Ashram [= D. 62–64]. The conversion of the people of Najrán is here ascribed to a disciple of Christ called *فيمون*, who by prayer overthrows a sacred tree which they have previously worshipped.¹ The account of the reign of Pírúz, his death in the disastrous campaign against the Turk Akhshawán, and the release of his daughter Fírúzdukht and the *Múbadhán-múbadh* by Sukhrá [here called *سوخرا ويد*: D. *شوخر*; cf. T. 120, n. 3 *ad calc.*], agrees very closely with D.; but a third city founded by Pírúz in Jurján (named *فمر فيروز*, not clear) is mentioned, and the city in *Ādharbayján* is here called *فادار فيروز* instead of *باد فيروز*. Also, as usual, there is a throne-speech.

¹ By Ibn Hishám (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 20) he is called *Faymiyún*, *فَيْمِيُون*.

18. *Balásh* (A.D. 484-488 : N. 135b-142b ; D. 62).

Here, as already noted (pp. 200-201, *supra*), we have an important addition, viz. the Story of Balásh with the Indian Princess and the Groom's Daughter, published, with a Russian translation, by Baron Rosen in his contribution to the *Vostochniya Zamyétki*, pp. 153-165. As D. gives nothing about Balásh save the fact that he reigned four years, I here add a brief abstract of this portion of the *Niháyat*. Balásh's accession at the age of 20, and throne-speech.—His fondness for women. He hears of the beauty of *Harwala*, daughter of the King of India, and asks her in marriage.—Her father urges her to consent.—She relates the Story of the Owner of the Pearl, and refuses Balásh.—He invades India, kills the Indian king in single combat, and summons the Princess before him.—She relates to him the Story of the Diver and the Pearl.—He brings her back to Persia, houses her magnificently, obtains, after a while, her permission to visit her, and remains with her seven days.—His subsequent neglect.—She sends her nurse to ascertain its cause, and learns the ascendancy obtained over him by the Groom's Daughter.—The Princess makes friends with her, finds out how she has succeeded in winning and retaining the King's affection, induces him to visit her again, and succeeds in completely captivating him.—He consents to remain with her three days.—She relates to him on the first day the Story of the King and the Beautiful Tree.—Her discourse on the different kinds of beauty.—She relates to him the Story of the Lion, the Lioness, and the Hyaena.—On the third day a servant brings an insulting message to the Princess from the Groom's Daughter.—The King, moved by the Princess's tears, gives her the Groom's Daughter, whom she at once sends for.—The Groom's Daughter arrives, argues with the Princess, and remonstrates with the King and relates to him the Story of the Fox and the Birds.—The Princess retorts with the Story of the Crow and the Pigeon, which the Groom's Daughter meets with the Story of the Rat, the

Lark, and the حدادة.—Continuation of the discussion.—The Groom's Daughter poisons herself. [Cf. T. 134, n. 4 *ad calc.*; and the Vienna Oriental Journal for 1896, vol. x, pp. 323–326, where an abstract of this story is given by J. Kirste.]

19. *Qubādh I* (A.D. 488–531: N. 142*b*–145*b*; D. 62–69).

His accession at the age of 12 [D. 66, l. 10 has "15"].—Súkhra's regency.—D.'s "Sábúr of Ray, one of the sons of the Mihrán [cf. T. 439, n. 1 *ad calc.*] al-Akbar, governor of Bábil and Khutarniya," is here called "Sábúr, son of Bahrám, one of the sons of Bahrám al-Akbar, *Ispahbadh* of Sawád" (Chaldaea).—He, at Qubādh's instigation, kills Súkhra and becomes Prime Minister, whence the Persians say: *خدمت نار سوخرا و هبت ريح سابور*, "*The Fire of Súkhra is extinguished, and the Wind of Sábúr blows*," which remains a proverb till this day.—In the account of Mazdak, the heretic and communist, he is described as "from Nasa" (P of Fasá, near Shíráz: cf. T. 456) instead of "from Istakhr" [D. 67], and is said to have been supported by a Persian noble named *ورانس* بن *خرگان*—no doubt a corruption of *زرانش* بن *خرگان*—*Zarátusht son of Khuragán* [cf. T. 456].—Qubādh only pretends to believe in Mazdak, but his pretence is taken for reality, and he is deposed in favour of his brother Jámásp and imprisoned.—His release and flight with Zarmihr, son of Súkhra, and four other companions; his marriage at a farm between Ahwáz and Isfahán with the mother of Núshírwán, and his further adventures, agree with D. 67 et seqq., but the incident of the gold-embroidered trousers [omitted by D., but mentioned in T. 136] occurs. The course of his further flight to the Kháqán is by Herát, Búshanj (فوسنج), and Gilán.—In the conditions laid down by the Kháqán, Tálaqán takes the place of Sigháníyán. Cf. p. 224, *supra*, s.v. Pírúz, where the same data (including the 30,000 men furnished by the Kháqán) occur in another connection.—Qubādh's conquests

in the land of Rúm, and the cities founded by him, are here given nearly as in D. 68, except that *A'mad-Qubádh* stands for *Abar-Qubádh*. Next follows in D. 69 the account of Núshírwán's character, and his one fault of being over-suspicious, for which his father takes him to task. In N. (144b-145b) this is amplified. This Prince's good qualities are first enumerated. His father sets a watch over him to ascertain more fully his character, that he may see whether he is fit for the succession. The qualities particularly regarded by the Persians as essential to a king were, wisdom, self-control when angered, truthfulness and loyalty, generosity, modesty, a cheerful demeanour, and unwillingness to think evil. Of these seven attributes, Núshírwán is defective only in the last:—Qubádh's counsels to Núshírwán.—The testament which he leaves to be opened and read to his son by the *Múbadhán-múbadh* (explained as قاضى القضاة) after his death.—This is done.

20. *Khusraw I Núshírwán* (A.D. 531-578: N. 146-167; D. 69-76).

After the reading of the testament above mentioned, Núshírwán makes the usual throne-speech.—He beheads Mazdak and his followers.—Divides Persia into four provinces, nearly as in D. 69, but here Kirmán is placed in the third instead of the first.—War with the Hayátíla.—Defeat of Šúl.—The Khazars invade Armenia and Ádharbayján, but are defeated and almost exterminated.—Núshírwán builds a stone wall in Armenia to keep them out of his territories, and appoints one of his *Marzubáns* with 12,000 cavalry to guard it. To this Warden of the Marches is accorded the privilege of sitting on a throne of gold. "This," adds the author, "is the place which is called *Bábu'l-abwáb*, and the dominion of this *Marzubán* whom he set in this place as a guard remaineth unto his children until this day . . . and these are they who are called [by the title of] 'King of the Throne'" (*Maliku's-sarir*).—The portent of the jackals [= D. 76,

Ṭ. 250] is related nearly as in D., but the number of unjust governors put to death [90 in D.] is not here specified. At this point are inserted the portents heralding the Prophet Muḥammad's birth, the account of 'Abd Manáf, the oracle of the soothsayer Saṭīḥ [D. 56, Ṭ. 254 et seqq.], and the prophecies concerning Islám down to the overthrow of the Omayyads by the 'Abbásids. This is followed by an account of Hášim and his dream, and of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. Then follows the account of the Abyssinian invasion of Arabia under Abrahātu'l-Ashram, the "People of the Elephant," and their miraculous destruction by the birds called *abábil*, in the usual form [D. 64].—Birth of the Prophet in the "Year of the Elephant," and in the twentieth year of Núshírwán's reign. Núshírwán dreams that eight battlements fall from his Palace, which is shaken by an earthquake.—In the morning he is informed by the chief of the Herbeds of the extinction of the Sacred Fire, and later he learns of the drying up of the Lake of Káshán.—His own interpreters of dreams being unable to interpret these signs, he sends to Nu'mán, who sends 'Abdu'l-Masīḥ, then over 300 years old, to the Persian court. He also is unable to explain these signs, but promises to go to Syria and consult the aged Saṭīḥ, whom he finds in his death-agony. Saṭīḥ's oracle [= Ṭ. 253-257] is here given more fully in the rhymed prose (*rajjaz*) portion, especially as regards the final clause:—

فَقُلْ لابن بابكان ' اذا ملك فيهم النسوان ' آزر مى دخت و
 بوران ' فايقتنوا بالهوان ' بابن عمرو بن حيان ' اذا كثرت [كثرة]
 التلاوة ' وظهر صاحب الهراوة ' وفاض وادى السماوة ' ونصب
 بحيرة ساوة ' فليست الحيرة لك بدار ' ولا بهالك من قرار '
 وسيملك منهم ملوك وملكات ' بعدد الشرفات ' وكلما هو
 آت آت

Story of Raqíqa, the daughter of Abú Sayfi, who was born on the same day as 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.—Next follows the Story of Sayf b. Dhú Yazan [= D. 65–66]. He appeals first to the Byzantine Emperor at Constantinople [D. "Antioch"] for help against the Abyssinians.—This the Emperor refuses, but offers him 10,000 dirhams, which, however, are declined. Sayf, introduced at the Persian Court by Nu'mán ibnu'l-Mundhir, next addresses the same petition to Núshírwán, adding to what is recorded by T. (220–227) the following appeal on the ground of race and colour:—

انتم احبب الينا منهم واقرب قرابة لان الوانكم على الوانا
واولئك مخالفون لالوانكم والوانا

[Cf. T. 222, l. 15.] The remainder of the narrative of the Persian conquest of Yaman by *Wahriz* [cf. T. 223 and n. 2 *ad calc.*], here called *Wahzan* (perhaps a popular etymology, *Wih-zan* = *Bih-zan*, "shooting well," in allusion to his lucky shot at Masrúq, the Abyssinian king), differs from Ṭabari's account only in the following particulars. The condemned prisoners sent as an army with Wahriz, the centenarian, and Dhú Yazan are raised in number from 800 to 3,600, and the ships in which they embark are reduced to seven. They are reinforced on their arrival by 20,000 Himyarites [T. 231, "100,000"]. Masrúq's army is placed at 30,000 men. To the account of the lucky shot of Wahriz at the ruby on Masrúq's forehead is added the passage concerning the choice of the arrow which I translated at pp. 52–53 of the J.R.A.S. for January, 1899. According to one of Nöldeke's notes [T. 226, n. 2], which I then overlooked, this also occurs in Ibn Qutayba's *ʿUyūnu'l-Akhbār* (St. Petersburg MS.). The text of this passage runs as follows (f. 154a):—

فكانت العجم تكتب على نشبها ثلاثة أسماء اسم الملك واسم
الرجل واسم المرأة فاخرج وهزن نشابة فنظر فيها فاذا عليها زنان

اسم النساء فتطير منها ورتها و اخرج غيرها فاذا هي مثل الاول
عليها اسم المرأة فرثها و اخرج ثالثة فكانت كذلك ففكر في نفسه
وقال زنان انما تاويله زن آن و تفسيره اضرب ذاك فتفأل فيه
ذلك

The instructions given by Núshirwán to Wahriz on hearing of his victory omit D.'s clause about "killing all the blacks" [cf. T. 234], and add concerning Dhu Yazan "make him king, if he be of royal blood, but if not, behead him."—The verses of Omayya b. Abi's-Şalt [T. 234–6] are given.—Embassy from Quraysh to congratulate Sayf b. Dhú Yazan, whom they find at Ghumdán, the palace built by Bilqís the Queen of Sheba.—'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib acts as their spokesman.—Sayf foretells to him the mission of his grandson Muḥammad the Prophet.—After a reign of seven years, Sayf is assassinated by his Abyssinian guard [T. 236].—Wahriz is sent back to govern Yaman, which he rules for three years, till his death. The description of his shooting an arrow to determine the site of his grave [= D. 66, T. 263] appears to me to furnish a possible elucidation of part of the Pahlaví inscription of Shápúr I at Hájí-ábád, of which the published translations seem to the ordinary reader so unsatisfactory (cf. Haug's *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 64).¹ Did Shápúr also solemnly shoot his arrow "in the presence of the satraps, the dukes [of the seven noble houses], the magnates, and the nobles" with some similar purpose? The point seems to me to merit attention.

The Persian governors of Yaman who succeeded Wahriz [T. 237] are here ignored. Bádhán (called "the son of Khusrawán") is described as his immediate successor. The war with the Byzantines and its causes come next, agreeing closely with D. 70–71, but the Persian name of New Antioch

¹ The most satisfactory interpretation of this inscription with which I am acquainted is that given by Friedrich Müller in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* for 1892 (vol. vi, pp. 71–75).

(*ar-Rūmiyya*) is given as *بهازيد خسروا* instead of *زبر خسرو*, and the Christian governor *Yazd-Fana* [= *Yazd-* or *Isad-Panáh*, D. 71] is here called *برز قباده*, an easy graphical corruption. The Persian resident in Syria, *Sharwín* [D. 71], lacks his *nisba* (الدستبات).

The next episode is the Revolt of Prince Anúsha-zád [T. 467-474; D. 71-72], which differs from D. only in the following particulars. Núshírwán falls ill at Ámid (مدينة الأمية), not Hims. — On Anúsha-zád's escape from prison, he is said to have taken the other prisoners with him, and to have been gradually reinforced till he had 30,000 followers. — Núshírwán's instructions to the governor of Ctesiphon, addressed as the *Dabtr-badh* ("Chief Scribe"), are given in full. His contemptuous estimate of the Christians, because they are commanded, if smitten on one cheek, to turn the other, is identical with D. 72.

Next follows the account of Núshírwán's new fiscal system [D. 72-73; T. 241-247] and military reforms [D. 74-75; T. 247-249]. The former he proposes in a speech (f. 158b), in which he invites discussion, but an unfortunate secretary who ventures an objection is handed over to his colleagues and killed by them with their pen-knives [T. 242-3, and n. 2 on latter]. — The Minister of War, Bábak (Pápak), is here called "the son of Bírúdhán" (ابن البيروذان? Pírúzáan) instead of D.'s "*Nahrucán*" (D. 74) or T.'s "*Birucán*" (T. 247). — The platform erected for the king at the review is carpeted with *سوساچرد و نموطا*. The story is otherwise the same as in D.

The names of the cities founded by Núshírwán are evidently from the same source as D. 75, but the forms are slightly different in several cases, e.g. for *خسرو ماه* we find *خرما قبان*; for *زئدور*, *رونديور*; and for the well-known *جسر سابور*, *جندی سابور*.

Some personal traits and anecdotes of Núshírwán next succeed. His leniency to his personal servants is illustrated by an anecdote describing how one day, being about to receive a deputation, he ordered an attendant to bring him

his crown. The man had been drinking, and his hand shook so that he let the crown fall, and it broke at the King's feet, yet he suppressed his anger and forgave him. Another similar instance is given in his gentle reproof of some of his courtiers who listened to the reading of a secret dispatch by his private secretary (f. 161a).—His dislike of calumniators and traducers of other men, even when they spoke truly.—His preference for public punishments of delinquents, as likely to produce greater effect.—He bids his ministers intercede with him for criminals when his anger ran high, "for," said he, "I have heard from the doctors of our religion that the greatest reward is for such as show mercy to sinners."—His love of learning and philosophy, his tender care of his subjects, his disregard of gossip and slander, his wise and deliberate discharge of business, especially in perilous affairs, and his clemency in all cases where it was possible, are also enumerated amongst his virtues.

Here follow some further particulars about 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, the Persians in Yaman (البناء), Bádhán the governor of that dependency, and the alleged Persian inscription found there (see pp. 202-3, *supra*). To these succeeds a long account (ff. 162b-166b) of Buzurjmíhr the son of Bakhtagán, Bih-Shápúr the chief priest (*Múbadhán-múbadh*), and Yazdigird the chief scribe, who, with seventy other wise men, were in constant attendance on the King.—How Buzurjmíhr first comes to the King's notice.—Specimens of his philosophical aphorisms and wise sayings, filling several pages (ff. 162b-166b).—Ten aphorisms apiece from the three wise men above mentioned.

Núshírwán is attacked by a mortal sickness when he has reigned forty-two years [D. 76 has "forty-eight," which is correct]. He summons his children and family, and addresses to them a long exhortation (ff. 166b-167b), with some additional words of counsel to his successor Hurmuzd.

21. *Hurmuzd IV* (A.D. 578-590: N. 167b-178a; D. 77-91).

The usual throne-speech is in this case given also in D. 77-80, and the two versions correspond very closely, as they do in the account of his character, and the anecdote of his severity towards his son and successor, Khusraw Parvîz, on account of a trespass which he had committed [T. 266]. This is followed by another similar anecdote. When he was riding out one day towards Sábât, in the season of the grapes, one of his knights plucked a bunch of the fruit from a garden wall by the road. He was seen by the custodian of the garden, who threatened to report him to the King; and at this threat he was so terrified that he gave up his belt, of gold and silver ornamented with precious stones, to secure the man's silence [T. 267].—His reply to the Herbeds who wished him to persecute the Christians [T. 268].—The number of nobles and men of position whom he put to death for oppression of the poor is here given as 3,000 instead of the 13,600 of T. 268.

We now come to the troubles of the eleventh year of his reign, and the beginning of the long episode of Bahrám Chúbín [D. 81-104: T. 270-289 and 474-478, where Nöldeke makes special mention of the *Niháyat* in this connection]. The Turkish invading army is here stated to have consisted of 300,000 men [so T. 269], and to have advanced to Balkh [D. Herát; T. Herát and Bádghîs]. The Byzantine army is reckoned at 100,000 men [T. 80,000]. Armenia is also attacked by the Khazars, and Fárs [T. 270, Sawád] by the Arabs.

Concerning the appointment of Bahrám Chúbín to lead the army against the Turks, N. adds the following additional particulars. After pacifying the Byzantines and driving off the Khazars, King Hurmuzd holds a council of war, where many conflicting opinions are advanced. Finally a Marzabán named Anúsha-ján (انوشجان) advises that his aged father *Mîhr-bustán* (مهرستان), who is an expert in

Turkish politics, shall be summoned. This is done, and the old man relates in substance what follows. "O King, thy father Kisrá (Núshírwán) sent me with fifty attendants to the Kháqán, the King of the Turks, with a letter demanding one of his daughters in marriage, and commissioned me to select the daughter whom I deemed most suitable. He received us hospitably, and on the third day summoned me before him to see his daughters, the Khátún, his queen, being also present. Now such of his daughters as were of humble origin on the mother's side were splendidly dressed and ornamented, but his daughter by the Queen was unadorned. But I detected their intention to mislead me in my choice, and chose her who was unadorned, and persisted in this, despite their endeavours to induce me to choose another. Then the Kháqán sent for one of his soothsayers named Kundugh (عتراف له تركتی كندغ) and asked him his opinion. 'My opinion,' said he, 'is that thou shouldest give her in marriage to him, for she will hold a position of high honour, and will bear him a son of such-and-such attributes [set forth in detail] who will reign after his father, and whose glory shall be great.' And thou, O King, art he! Then the soothsayer continued: 'And there shall march against him from our country a king at the head of a vast host, who shall penetrate to the confines of his land; and the son of this girl shall send against him one of his captains with such-and-such attributes [set forth in detail], who will march against the king of our people and slay him and despoil his army. But the son of the king who was slain shall march out against him, and fight with him again, and scatter his host, and take him captive, and send him to the son of this girl.' So when the soothsayer had thus spoken, the King consented to my choice, and equipped his daughter and sent her with me; and she, O King, is thy mother!"

When King Hurmuzd had heard this narrative, he enquired of his courtiers, nobles, and captains whether they knew of any man possessing the attributes ascribed to the

captain mentioned by the soothsayer. Then arose Yazdán-Farrúkh, the son of Abarkán (یزدان فروخ بن ابركان), and said, "O King, these are the attributes of Bahrám, the son of Bahrám, thy warden of the marches of Armenia, who is entitled Chúbín."

Thereupon the King summoned Bahrám Chúbín, received him in private audience, and told him the soothsayer's prediction. Bahrám replied: "O King, I am a servant amongst thy servants and a sword amongst thy swords, wherefore let the King send me against him . . . and he shall find in me such strenuousness and such wisdom in counsel as the best which he hopeth of me, and such hurtfulness to the King's enemies as he hath been led to expect from me, so that I will utterly destroy them, and will accomplish my utmost endeavour in respect to them." The King was delighted with Bahrám, conferred on him the chief command, and gave him full choice of equipment. He chose 12,000 men, all over 50 [D. 82, "40"] years of age, and made Bahrám, the son of Siyáwushán, the Captain of his Guard; Yazdán-Farrúkh (here called Ádhán-Farrúkh), the son of Abarkán, the Master of his Horse; Mardán-shína, of Rawandasht, the Commander-in-Chief; Bundád-Gushnasp, son of Jalhán [بنداد جسنس بن الجلهان], of Ray, the Head of his Intelligence Department; and another Bundád [بنداد نمیدن بن داشتن شاه], Captain of the Vanguard. The King expresses his surprise at the force being so small comparatively, and composed of such elderly men. Bahrám answers, citing several instances of armies of exactly this size obtaining great victories [D. 82], and explains his reason for choosing old instead of young men.

Now when Bahrám rode forth from the capital at a time fixed as fortunate by the astrologers, the King ordered the chief of those skilled in omens to go forth with him to see what omen would present itself. So Bahrám marched out with his 1,500 men, and outside the gate there met him a naked man carrying a basket containing sheep's heads and

trotters; and Bahrám picked out two of these heads with his spear and raised them aloft on his lance that all men might see, but one of them fell back into the basket. So the soothsayer went back and reported this to the King, interpreting it thus: "The two heads of which one remained impaled on the spear and one fell back into the basket are two foes, of whom he will kill one, but will set the other free after he has taken him captive. And the naked man signifies that Bahrám will cast off his allegiance to thee and will depose thee." So when the King heard this, he was troubled, and lay awake all that night, and next day consulted the *Múbadhán-múbadh*, who further discouraged the King, so that he sent a letter after Bahrám bidding him return alone to receive a verbal communication. But Bahrám excused himself and continued on his way, and the King let him go.

When Bahrám reached Ahwáz, an old woman complained to him that one of his troopers had stolen from her a basket of figs. So Bahrám caused the trooper to be beheaded and his body crucified. He then advanced to Herát, whence he turned aside into Gílán (!) and proceeded by forced marches to Balkh, where the Turkish Kháqán [here called *Sháhánsháh*: so D. 81, l. 11] was encamped. The account of the diplomacy by which Hurmuzd Khurrá - ba - zín [D. (text) 83: هر مزد جرابزین]¹ kept the Kháqán inactive, until, on Bahrám's approach, he was able to join him, stands here as in D.; but the fight between the Persians under Bahrám and the Turks under their King, as well as the preliminary operations, is here described with many details there wanting. These include Bahrám's harangue to his troops; his placing fifty men in the rear of his army to slay any deserters; and the employment by the Turks in the battle of lions, elephants, and burning naphtha. The fight ends, as in D. 84, with the death of the Kháqán at Bahrám's hands. Bahrám Siyáwushán is the only man

¹ The form *Juráb-zín* appears to be correct. Cf. Nöldeke's *Sasaniden*, p. 289, n. 1 *ad calo*.

missed on the Persian side, and he presently returns bringing a Turkish prisoner, who turns out to be the soothsayer consulted by the late Kháqán. He is beheaded by Bahrám.

The attempt of the Kháqán's son, Yertagin or Yeltekin [here يرتعین for یرتعین : cf. D. 84, T. 272 and n. 2], to avenge his father's death is given much as in D., but with details of the fighting and capitulation there omitted. He is sent a prisoner to King Hurmuzd with 7,000 of his followers, escorted by Mardán-shína of Rawan-dasht and 3,000 Persian troops. After a month's captivity at the Persian capital they are restored to liberty, and the King proceeds to examine the spoils of war sent to him by Bahrám Chúbín, against whom [as in D. 85] his suspicions are aroused by the remark of Yazdán-Gushnasp, "How ample was the table whence came this morsel!"

The King's insulting message to Bahrám Chúbín, the anger of his companions at such ingratitude, their citation of the proverb "Ardashír is no king and Abarsám [D. 85, "Yazdán"] is no minister" (explained in D., but not here), and the manner in which Bahrám is goaded into rebellion, are described as in D., but rather more fully, and with the following additional incidents. Bahrám goes forth to hunt with Mardán-shína, Yazdán-Gushnasp, Hurmuzd Khurrá-ba-zín, and Yazdak [lower, "Mazdak"] the scribe. While pursuing a wild ass they lose their way in a wood, and come at last to a castle, where they seek hospitality. The others are entertained with food and drink while Bahrám enters. As he is slow to return, Mardán-shína goes to look for him, and finds him conversing with a very beautiful damsel, who is giving him advice on some subject which Mardán-shína cannot understand. On seeing him, the girl bids him go out again and await his master. When these two eventually come out, and the girl bids Bahrám God-speed, his companions refrain from questioning him; but that night Khurrá-ba-zín and Mazdak the scribe leave Bahrám, flee to Madá'in, and inform King Hurmuzd of Bahrám's revolt, and of the girl, whom the *Múbadhán-múbadh* declares to be a fairy (جَنِّيَّة تسمى المذهب) and

the cause of Bahrám's disobedience. Bahrám sends the King 12,000 knives, of which the points have been bent up; and the King, interpreting this as meaning that he and his 12,000 men have turned aside from their allegiance, answers him by sending them back with the points broken off.

The means adopted by Bahrám Chúbín to arouse King Hurmuzd's suspicions against the loyalty of his son Parváz; the arrest of that Prince's uncles, Bistám and Bindú'é (here called "the sons of *خرسندادويه*"); the Prince's flight to Ádharbayján; the King's attempt to conciliate Bahrám; and the murder of Yazdán-Gushnasp (whose name sometimes occurs as *يزدانشيس*) at the hands of his cousin, agree closely with D.; but Yazdán-Gushnasp's suspicions against his cousin are stated to have been evoked by a wise woman whom he consulted at Hamadán as to the danger which he incurred by meeting Bahrám. While he was talking with her, his cousin, whose release from prison he had asked of the King, happened to enter; and the wise woman on seeing him immediately exclaimed, "What wouldst thou with all this questioning? For behold, thy fate is at the hands of him who approacheth!" He believed her the more readily because astrologers had foretold at his birth that he would meet his death at the hands of a kinsman, and so resolved on the underhand device for compassing his cousin's death which cost him his own life.

The narrative now follows D. very closely as far as the escape of Parváz into Byzantine territory. The encounter between Parváz and the latter is here placed, however, at Jalúlá instead of Nahruwán; the names of three of those who remained faithful to Parváz are here omitted; and the parley between the two parties is reported more fully, as well as the Prince's consultation with his deposed and imprisoned father. For comparison the following passage (f. 178a, ll. 20-27), which differs more than usual from D. (92, ll. 1-8), is given:—

قال له كسرى ان انت خلصتنا كفناك بذلك اجراً و ذخراً وان سلمت كفناك به شرفاً في الدنيا والآخرة قد خاطر ارسى اياس بنفسه منوشهر الملك حتى توسط اصحابه فرمى فقتله فعظم بذلك قدره وسنا ذكره وقد خاطر رستم بنفسه بسبب قيقاوس حتى اسرته السودان فاتخلصه من ايديهم فسلم ارسى فعظم ذكره في الناس وقد خاطر المنذر بن ماء السماء بنفسه في طلب رد الملك الى جدنا بهرام جورو جعل نفسه غرضاً ووقايةً فنال حظاً عظيماً وعظم قدره وقدر عقبه الى اليوم ، قال بندويه الخ

On arriving at Raqqa [D. 95, Yarmúk], in Byzantine territory, under the guidance of an Arab of the tribe of Tayy, Parvîz and his nine remaining companions rest three days, and then push on through Syria. On the way Parvîz holds a conversation with a monk, who tells him that the Byzantine Emperor will bestow on him in marriage his daughter Maryam and send his son Theodosius [ثيودوس] with 70,000 men to subdue the rebels, which will be effected in seventeen months and eighteen days; and that Parvîz will rule for thirty-eight years. All this he professes to have discovered from an apocalypse of Daniel in his possession. Parvîz then enquires as to his successor, and the monk answers:—

يملك ابنك شيرويه اشهرأ يسيرة ثم يموت ثم يملك ابنتان لك قليلاً ثم يملك بعدهما ابن لبعض ولدك ثم يخرج الملك عنه الى أمته من ولد اسمعيل بن ابراهيم صلى الله عليه يسكنون البوادي طعامهم الثمر والسهم وشرابهم اللبن فيبقى الملك فيهم الى يوم الدين ،

The monk makes further predictions, and adds that Bistám will rebel against Parvîz, whereupon the latter exacts from the former an oath that he will not do so.

On arriving at Antioch, Parvíz sends five of his comrades, viz., Hurmuzd Khurrá-ba-zín, Bistám, Shápúr Abarkán, Yazdak the scribe, and another, as an embassy to the Emperor at Constantinople, with a letter of which the text is given. The Emperor receives them, promises his help, and dismisses them much comforted.

The next considerable addition to D.'s narrative (pp. 96-99) occurs after the flight of Bahrám Chúbín across the Oxus to seek the Kháqán's protection. The Byzantine Emperor sends a congratulatory message to Parvíz, and a gift of gold and silver vessels and robes embroidered with crosses. These last are a source of great embarrassment to the Persian King, who fears that if he wears them he may be regarded by his people as an apostate from the Zoroastrian religion. Finally, at the advice of the *Múbadhán-múbadh*, he decides to wear them for a single day to show his gratitude to the Emperor, and then to discard them. Clad in these robes, and accompanied by Theodosius, he enters the banqueting-hall. Some of his followers murmur at seeing him thus apparelled, saying, "He hath forsaken the Magian religion and become a Christian." Parvíz, hearing this, wished to show that it was not as they supposed, so he, accompanied by Theodosius, approached the murmurers, . . . [Here something is omitted: apparently Parvíz took some food or drink forbidden to Christians from one of his followers, and offered it to Theodosius, who] refused to touch it, out of respect for the garments ornamented with crosses which he wore, but took it from Parvíz and handed it back to the "murmurer" (*muzamzim*). Thereat Bindú'é was angered and struck Theodosius, whereupon, notwithstanding the intervention of Bistám, a serious quarrel arose, and the Greek Prince demanded of Kiará either the surrender of Bindú'é, that he might be beheaded, or a duel between the Greeks and Persians. Parvíz, greatly embarrassed, consults his wife Maryam, who advises him to send Bindú'é to her brother Theodosius and trust to his forgiving disposition. This is done, Bindú'é is forgiven, and peace is restored. Parvíz then bids Yazdak the scribe record the names of

all his Byzantine allies, amongst whom he then distributes 2,500 purses, containing each ten thousand dirhams, and a thousand *qinṭárs* of gold, each consisting of forty *mithqáls*; besides which he sends magnificent gifts to the Emperor, Theodosius, and the *hasármards* [explained on f. 182a: *الهزارمردین متن كان الرجل منهم يعد بالف رجل*]. The Byzantines then return home, while Parvīz proceeds to his capital Madá'in, makes Bindú'é his prime minister, Bistám governor of Khurásán, Sístán, Ṭabaristán, Jurján, etc., and divides Persia into thirty-five administrative departments [cf. D. 102].

22. *Khusraw Parvīz* (A.D. 590-627: N. 178a-212b; D. 91-115).

The story now reverts to Bahrám Chúbín, his reception by the Turkish Kháqán, and his duel with the rebellious and arrogant brother of the latter, here called *Yaghsún* [يغزون, in one place يغزن; D. بغاوير *Boghawir*]. At this point the following incident, lacking in D., is introduced (f. 187). One day when Bahrám is talking with the Kháqán, the wife of the latter, the Turkish Khátún, enters, and asks his help in recovering her daughter, who had been carried off by an ape to a cave in the mountains, whence it has hitherto been impossible to rescue her, because the ape hurls down stones on all who approach, and, if they would shoot at it, holds the girl before it as a target. Bahrám goes to her rescue, and, when the ape shields itself behind the girl, bids her lift her arm a little, and, through the space thus left, mortally wounds the ape with an arrow, rescues her, and hands her over uninjured to her mother. By this achievement his influence and power are still further increased.

The account of Bahrám Chúbín's assassination, and the exodus of his comrades, led by his brother Mardán-shína and his brave and beautiful sister Gurdiya, from the land of the Turks to Daylam, agrees closely with D., but is

somewhat fuller in the particulars of his death, his dying injunctions, and his funeral, and adds that the Turkish slave who assassinated him was put to death with seventeen others. Khusraw Parváz is delighted on learning that his powerful opponent is no more, and the day of Bahrám Chúbín's death is thereafter observed in Persia as a festival until the fall of the Sásánian dynasty. The Kháqán, on the other hand, does all in his power to show his grief and to make amends to Bahrám's followers, to whom he offers the alternatives either of remaining with him as honoured and protected guests, or of returning, duly guarded and guided, to their own country. Disgusted with Turkish treachery, they choose the latter course, and are accordingly suffered to depart, loaded with presents, under a guard of a thousand men, who are to conduct them safely to the frontier. Now the Kháqán had a brother named Barnagh [برنج or برنع; T. 289, *Natrá* (P)] who loved the beautiful Gurdiya, whose hand he had sought in vain during her brother's lifetime. He now attempts to take her by force, but she, armed with her brother's arms and mounted on his horse, charges him with her spear and slays him. Barnagh's followers desire to kill her in revenge, but the Kháqán, hearing of what has happened, has them seized and beheaded, and the Persians depart in peace, reach Daylam, conclude a treaty with the inhabitants, and settle there.

We now come to that part of the narrative which deals with the execution of Bindú'é by Parváz, the revolt of Bistám (cf. T., pp. 478-487, "Empörung des Bistám"), his campaign against Parváz, his assassination by his wife Gurdiya, the sister of Bahrám Chúbín, at the instigation of the King, and Gurdiya's marriage with the latter. This portion differs very little from D. (pp. 105-110). For زه سوار [D. 105] N. has زه استوار. When Parváz sends off a reassuring letter to persuade Bistám to come to him, he writes also to Shápúr, the son of Abarkán, governor of Ray, ordering him to seize and behead Bistám on his arrival, and send the head to him. Bistám receives the

King's summons at Merv (مرور الشاهجان), and Mardán-bih's warning at Qúmis. On hearing of Bindú'ê's death he faints, but is presently restored by the cold water dashed over him by his comrades. The check of the King's generals at Hamadán is here described as a defeat, the reinforcements brought by the King are numbered at 200,000 instead of 50,000 [D. 108] men, and their halt is placed at Máhin instead of Qalús, while the ensuing battle at Hamadán, whither they advance by Sharáhin (رستاق شراهين), is said to have lasted not three but two days. Gurdí is described as the brother, not the nephew, of Bahrám Chúbín, and the name of his wife, by whose means he forwards the King's letter to Gurdiya, is given as Arjiya (ارجيه). Qazwín is here described as being built, not merely garrisoned [D. 110], by Parvíz.

At this point [=D. 110, l. 13] comes another considerable insertion. First, the King's marriage with Gurdiya, and the extraordinary honours and favours lavished by him upon her and Gurdí (who is made Governor of Fárs), are described. Then a conversation between Parvíz and Gurdiya is reported, in which the King enquires of her how she succeeded in slaying the Kháqán's brother Barnagh (here called برتغ). She describes this achievement, and then exhibits to the King her skill in military exercises and in the game of polo. The King's wife, Shírín, cautions him against Gurdiya, "this she-devil." Then follow some particulars about Shírín, and an anecdote relating how she humbles the misogynist *Múbadhān-múbadh*, which I give in the original (ff. 193-194):—

قالوا ولما استدف الامر لكسرى بن هرمزد سمته العجم ابرويز يقولون
فرور من بهرام جوبين الى قيصر ملك الروم وبنى قصر شيرين
لزوجته وهو الذى امر بحفر شبديز و امر بظورته فصور فيه و صورة
شيرين امرأته و صورة خواص اصحابه و تلك الصورة قائمة الى الآن
[f. 193^b] ثم ضبط المملكة و اجرى الامور مجاريها و اختص رجلاً من

اهل بيت الموبذانية من ذوى العقول والورع في دينه فجعله موبذاناً له وهو قاضى القضاة وصاحب المشورة وقد كان ذلك الموبذان طعن في السنّ وضعف عن مباشرة النساء فقام بامر الموبذانية ووجد عنده كسرى رأياً كاملاً أصيلاً نفوذ إلى التدبير وختته بالمشورة فكان يشير عليه بما فيه الصواب والنجح وكان أوّل من يدخل على كسرى بغير حجاب ولا اذن فيقول له عند دخوله اليه عشت أيها الملك بسعادة المجد (?) ورزقت على اعدائك الظفر واعطيت السرور وجنبت طاعة النساء ثم يومى بالجلوس فغاض ذلك شيرين امرأة كسرى وكانت من اجمل اهل عصرها جمالاً وافرهم عقلاً ورأياً فقالت ذات يوم لكسرى أيها الملك ان هذا الموبذان قد طعن في السنّ وضعف ولست مستغنياً عن رأيه وحسن مشورته وانما يُشَبّ المشايخ النساء ببرهن ومضاجعتهم ولطفهم وقد رأيت لحاجتك اليه ان اهب له جاريتى مشكدانه فقد عرفت أيها الملك عقلها وجمالها وحسن حديثها فان رأيت ان تسأله قبلها متى فعلت ' فكلم كسرى موبذانه في ذلك فهش الموبذان للجارية لمعرفته بجمالها وما ظهر له من عقلها فقال أيها الملك قد قبلت من شيرين تفضّلها واياها ايأى بافضل جواربها واحبّهن اليها ' فقالت شيرين لمشكدانه اتى اريد ان تأتى هذا الشيخ فتلفى له بمحاسنك ومحسن خدمته فاذا هش لمضاجعتك ما متعنى (متنعى MS.) عنه حتى توكفيه وتركبيه فلا يعود ان يزيد في محبة الملك هذه الكلمة ان يقول له وقيت طاعة النساء ' قالت لها مشكدانه افعل ذلك يا مولاتى واعلمك ذلك في الوقت الذى

افعل به ، فمشت الجارية الى الشيخ الموبدان فصارت معه في داره
التي يسكنها من قصر الملك فجعلت تحدّثه وتبره وتظهر اكرامه
وهي مع ذلك تبرز محاسنها وتكشف له عن صدرها وبحرها
وتبدى له عن ماقيها وفخذيها فارتاح لها الموبدان واحبها فانشرح
صدره لمضاجعتها فجعلت تمتنع عليه فيزداد بذلك حرصاً عليها
فلما اتح عليها بالمرادة قالت ايها القاضي ما انا بمجيبك الى ما
تشاء ابدأ حتى اوكفك فان اجبتني الى ذلك صرت طوع يديك
فيما يدعو الى مسرتك فامتنع عليها اياماً وهي في ذلك تبره له
وتتزيّن له وتكشف عن محاسنها حتى عيل صبره فقال لها افعل
ما احببت ثم صيرى الى طاعتي فيما اريد من المباشعة فهيات له
بردة صغيرة واكافاً صغيراً وحزاماً وثفراً فاقامته عرياناً على اربع
ووضعت على ظهره [f. 194^a] البردة والاكاف وهي تقول في ذلك
مثل ما يقال للحمار ثم حزمته وصيرت الشفر تحت حصيته
ومذاكيره وقد ارسلت الى شيرين تعلمها ذلك فقالت شيرين
لكسرى ايها الملك اصعد بنا الى ظهر بيت الموبدان لننظر من الكوة
ما يكون بينه وبين الجارية فصعدا ونظرا فاذا الجارية قد ركبت فوق
الاكاف فناداه كسرى فقال اى شىء هذا فقال هذا ما كنت اقول في
اجتناب طاعة النساء فاستضحك كسرى من ذلك فلم يكن بعد
ذلك اذا حيا الملك لا يقول في محبته وجنبت طاعة النساء ،

We now come to the Battle of Dhú Qár and the incidents connected with it (ff. 194a-205a), omitted by Dīnawarī, but given by Ṭabarī (Ṭ. 303-345). They are here arranged under the reign of an-Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir, and begin

with an account of 'Adí b. Zayd al-'Ibádí [T. 312 and n. 2], King Parvíz's interpreter and secretary, who, like his father and grandfather, "was skilled in both the Arabic and the Persian languages, and could write both writings." On the death of al-Mundhir, his son Nu'mán is chosen king from amongst his seventeen brethren by reason of his comeliness and cleverness, which are accounted for by his being of Persian extraction on his mother's side. Now about this time Khusraw Parvíz, wishing to buy some Arab horses, sent an Arab called Hájib to the fair of 'Ukadh to buy them, keeping his bow as security for the sum of one million dirhams entrusted to him, in kind or in specie, for the purchase. On his return with the horses he receives his bow, and, in addition, a rich reward from Parvíz. About the same time Nu'mán visits the Persian Court, and finds there embassies from China, India, and the Turks, as well as the brother of the Byzantine Emperor. These fall to discussing the respective merits of their different nationalities. Parvíz speaks slightly of the Arabs, whom he describes as poor, half-starved wretches. Nu'mán answers with warmth, and pronounces an eloquent encomium on their virtues (f. 196b). Parvíz acknowledges its truth, confers honours on Nu'mán, and sends him back to Híra. On his return there, Nu'mán summons ten chiefs of the Arabs, tells them of this discussion, and bids them go to al-Madá'in and display their wisdom and eloquence before Khusraw Parvíz. Accordingly these ten, to wit, Aktham b. Şayfi of Tamím, Hájib b. Zurára, Khálid b. Ja'far al-'Ámirí, 'Alqama b. 'Aláta al-'Ámirí of Quraysh, al-Háarith b. 'Abbád al-Bakrí, 'Amr b. Ma'dí-Karib az-Zubaydí, al-Háarith b. Dhálim, 'Ámir b. at-Ṭufayl al-Mazaní, Qays b. Mas'úd, and 'Amr b. Sadús, go before Parvíz, and so impress him with their courage, decision, boldness, wisdom, and eloquence, that the Persian king exclaims, "Never did the Arabs fear me so much as I fear them to-day!" The *Múbadh* then warns him that in the time of his grandson the dominion will pass from the Persians to the Arabs; "and," adds he, pointing to Yazdigird, the son of Shahriyár,

the son of Khusraw Parváz, "if I am not mistaken, from the hands of this boy," to which the King replies, "Well, so that it be after my time, I care not how it shall be." He then sends off the Arab envoys with a gift of 1,000 dirhams apiece, and a letter to Nu'mán, bidding each tribe choose for itself a king. Nu'mán convenes them at Khawarnaq and communicates to them the substance of this letter, whereupon the tribes choose as follows: *Himyar* chooses 'Amr b. al-Háarith b. Sayf b. Dhí Yazan; *Kinda*, Qays b. Ma'dí-Karib; *Ghassán*, Sahl b. Malik b. Shimr; *Taym*, Hájib b. Zurára; *Qays*, al-Aḥwas b. Ja'far b. Kiláb al-Āmirí; *Fisára*, Khárijā b. Ḥiṣn b. Hudhayfa; and *Rabī'a*, Qays b. Mas'úd. These seven Nu'mán equips and sends to Khusraw, who crowns them and makes them kings over their respective tribes.

The causes which led to the battle of Dhú Qár began with the murder of the above-mentioned 'Adí b. Zayd by Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir. His father Zayd had been sent by Qábús b. Nu'mán (called *Ibn Má'i's - samá*) as an ambassador to Hurmuzd, who was so pleased with him that he detained him as his secretary and interpreter. This Zayd died soon after the accession of Khusraw Parváz, who appointed his son 'Adí to fill his place. Now between the family of 'Adí b. Zayd and the Banú Nufayla (to which belonged the aged 'Abdu'l-Masíḥ, said to have been 350 years old at this time!) there was an ancient feud, in consequence of which one of the latter informed Nu'mán that 'Adí had boasted that he, by his influence with the Persian King, had obtained for Nu'mán the kingdom of Híra, a statement which greatly enraged him. It was 'Adí's custom to spend three months every year with his family at Híra; and, on the occasion of this visit, the Nufaylí, by means of a forged letter, so increased Nu'mán's anger that he cast him into prison. 'Adí thereupon wrote to his brother Ubayy, who was in high favour at the Persian Court, informing him of his imprisonment. Ubayy made the matter known to Khusraw Parváz, who at once sent a messenger to Nu'mán, bidding him release 'Adí and

send him at once to Madá'in. The messenger, on reaching Híra, first visited 'Adí in prison and informed him of his commission. 'Adí begged him not to leave him, lest he should be put to death by Nu'mán, which, in fact, actually happens so soon as the messenger has departed.

Meanwhile the messenger presents the Persian King's letter to Nu'mán, who bids him take 'Adí out of prison; but on arriving at the prison he finds 'Adí strangled. Nu'mán then gives him a thousand dinárs to induce him to put a good complexion on the matter in his report to Khusraw Parvíz, who, however, learns the truth from the son of the murdered man, who succeeds in effecting his escape. This son is called Zayd, like his grandfather, and inherits the highest skill of his father and grandfather (f. 202a):—

وكان زيد وابوه وجده زيد ابو عدت ماهرين باللسانين العربيه
والفارسيه ويكتب الخطتين

He tells Khusraw Parvíz of the beauty of Nu'mán's daughter Hurayqa, his sister Su'da, and his cousin Lubáb. The King thereupon orders him to write to Nu'mán bidding him send these women to the Persian Court. Nu'mán, on receiving this letter, exclaims:—

أما في عين السواد وفارس ما يغنى الملك عن نساء العرب
السود الالوان الخمش السوق

Zayd purposely mistranslates عين ("wild cattle," بقر الوحش, according to N., but rather, as Nöldeke translates, "the large-eyed ones," T. 328–329) as بقر, "cows," to the Persian royal eunuch who accompanies him. When this reply is reported to Khusraw Parvíz he is greatly angered against Nu'mán, confers the government of Híra on his former ally Ayás b. Qabísa, and commands that Nu'mán shall be brought to him in chains. Nu'mán, forewarned of this, flees from Híra, leaving his female relatives and property

under the care of Hání b. Mas'úd al-Muzdalif ash-Shaybání, and endeavours to stir up the Arab tribes to revolt against the Persian King. Meeting with but little success in this endeavour, he goes to Madá'in, surrenders himself to Khusraw Parvíz, and assures the Persian King that his expression was misinterpreted by Zayd. Parvíz, however, rejects his excuses, and orders him to be trampled to death by elephants. The beautiful Hurayqa (or حزيقه, or خريفة) embraces the Christian religion after her father's death, and becomes a nun at Dayr Hind.

The Persian King, having slain Nu'mán in this manner, sends a message to Ayás b. Qabísa bidding him send his children, servants, and possessions to Madá'in. Hání al-Muzdalif, however, to whose care they had been entrusted by Nu'mán, refuses to give them up. Khusraw Parvíz, on hearing this, bids Ayás attack the tribe of Bakr b. Wá'il, and sends 12,000 troops under Hámarz and the same number under Hormuzd Khurrá-ba-zín, besides another force under Qays b. Mas'úd, Warden of the Marches of Chaldea, to extirpate the tribe, who are encamped at a place called Dhú Qár, five stages out from Madína on the Baṣra road. This was in the year A.H. 1, just after the arrival of the Prophet Muḥammad at Madína, and Bakr b. Wá'il, though not yet professing belief in the Prophet, recited poems in his praise and invoked his name to their assistance.

We now come to the actual battle of Dhú Qár, whereof the Prophet said (f. 205a):—

اليوم أوّل يوم انتصفت فيه العرب من العجم و بى نصروا يعنى
باسمه حين جعلوا اشعارهم يا محمد

"To-day is the first day whereon the Arabs held their own against the Persians, and through me did they conquer"; that is, by his name, when they chose as their battle-cry, "O Muḥammad!" The preparations for battle on both sides are described. Handhala b. Sayyár cuts down the women's litters, so that flight shall be impossible for his Arabs. Ayás b. Qabísa, unwilling to fight against his compatriots, proposes to them

three alternatives, but they elect battle. Hámarz, the Persian general, comes out and challenges to single combat with the cry "*Mard* [*u*] *mard*!" (cf. D. 130), "Man and man" (يدعو الى البراز رجلاً لرجل). This challenge is accepted, and he is slain by Zayd b. Ḥammád al-Yashkurí. The Persians suffer from want of water. Night intervenes, and the Arab allies of the Persians agree to desert to the side of their compatriots on the following day. Notwithstanding this defection, and the thirst which consumes them, the Persians fight gallantly, but their leader Khurrá-ba-zín falls, and they are routed and slain. — Poems composed by the Arabs on this occasion. — Grief and anger of the Persian King.

The narrative (f. 205a = D. 110, l. 13) now rejoins Dínawarí in the account of the eventually disastrous campaign against the Byzantines, which immediately preceded the deposition and murder of Khusraw Parvíz. The names of the three Persian generals are here given as Sháhín (as in D. 110), Shahr-bundád (D. Búz, Ṭ. Rum-búzán), and Shahrán-zád (D. Shahriyár). Their operations, till the tide of fortune is turned by Heraclius, are similarly recounted, and the reference to the Byzantine successes in the Qur'án (xxx, 1 et seqq.: cf. Ṭ. 297) is noted; but in the section on the *Cause of the Murder of Khusraw Abarwiz* (f. 205b) the *Niháyat* again becomes much fuller.

Khusraw, angered at the defeat of his army and suspecting cowardice or treachery, makes out a list of 20,000 soldiers [cf. D. 111, ll. 15 et seqq.] whom he consigns to prison, intending to kill them. He then makes a low-born man named Khurdádhín minister of finance, who, by his extortions, increases the popular discontent. For Khusraw possessed vast treasures, of which an inventory was made in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, when his property included 3,000 concubines, 1,000 handmaidens, 8,500 horses, 990 elephants, 12,000 mules, 400,000,000 purses of dirhams, 100,000 purses of dinárs, and a vast quantity of jewels, gold and silver plate, furs, precious fabrics, and the like.

When he had reigned thirty-seven years, he ordered the captain of his guard to kill the imprisoned soldiers. "How," replied he, "shall I kill 20,000 men?" The King orders him to kill a thousand each day, but he, fearing trouble, takes no action.

At this juncture arrives the letter from the Prophet Muhammad bidding the Persian King embrace Islám or do battle in the following words:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ' من محمد رسول الله الى كسرى بن
هرمزد ' اما بعد ' فاني احمد اليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو وهو
الذي اوانى وكنت يتيماً و اغنانى وكنت عائلاً وهدانى وكنت
ضالاً ولن يدع ما ارسلت به الا من قد سلب معقوله والبلاء غالب
عليه ' اما بعد ' يا كسرى فاسلم تسلم او ايذن بحرب من الله
ورسوله ولن يعجزهما والسلم

Khusraw Parvîz, infuriated at this letter, writes to Bâdhân, his governor in Yaman, bidding him march on Madîna, fight Muhammad, take him prisoner, and send him to the Persian capital. He bids the messenger who bears this letter (a man of ascetic and pious life named *Abânú'ê*, ابانويه) go first to Madîna and invite Muhammad to come in person and explain his doctrine to the Persian King. In case of his refusal, the letter to Bâdhân is then to be delivered. On reaching Madîna, *Abânú'ê* is informed by the Prophet that Parvîz is no longer King, having been deposed on the previous day by his son Shîrú'ê. *Abânú'ê*, not believing this, goes to Yaman and delivers the letter to Bâdhân, who decides to wait for news from Persia before taking any action. Soon a letter arrives from Shîrú'ê announcing his accession, and bidding Bâdhân not to molest Muhammad. Bâdhân and many of his Persian followers are hereby converted to Islám.

Next comes the account of the various portents by which Khusraw Parvîz is warned that his death and the destruction

of his dynasty are at hand. These include a warning vision, a visitation by an angel, who breaks the staff which typifies the Persian power, and the writing on the wall, of which the purport in Arabic is given as follows :—

أيها العبد الضعيف ان الله قد بعث الى خلقه رسولا وانزل
عليه كتابا فاسلم و آمن يجمع لك خير الدنيا والآخرة و انتك ان
لم تفعل هلكت عن قريب و باد ملكك و زال عنك سلطانك ؛

Khusraw Parvīz, however, continues impenitent, and persists in his intention of putting to death the imprisoned soldiers, whose comrades and friends thereupon depose him, and make Shírú'é, his son by Maryam, the Byzantine Princess, King in his place. The first intimation that Parvīz has of this is that, awaking early in the morning, he hears the watchmen around the palace crying, "*Pás! pás! Shírú'é Sháhánsháh!*" ("Watch! watch! Shírú'é is King!": cf. T. 357 and p. 202, *supra*). He escapes by a rope from his palace and flees to a garden called الميروان, where he hides, but is discovered later, and imprisoned in the house of a *marzubán* named هرسفنه (D. 112). Thither he is conveyed, with veiled face, on a sorry horse, escorted by about a hundred troopers. On the way they pass the shop of a cobbler, who insults the fallen King with cries of "Wretch! Libertine! Tyrant!" and finally hurls a boot at him which strikes his horse. Thereupon one of the troopers turns back, reviles the cobbler, and cuts off his head. The deposed King is finally committed to the custody of one Hílús or Haylús (حيلوس, but lower جيلوس : D. 111, l. 19; T. جيلنوس) with a guard of 500 men.

23. *Shírú'é* (A.D. 627–628 : N. 208a–212b; D. 111–116).

Shírú'é begins his reign with the usual throne-speech and a distribution of gifts and remission of taxes. The nobles tell him that he must put his father to death, or else they will depose him. He asks for a day's delay to investigate

the late King's alleged misdeeds, and sends his chief secretary (here called *Ashtád-Gushnas*, اشتاد جشنس, elsewhere اشتاد جشنس, استاد جشنس, استاد جشنس : D. 112, *Yasdán-Gushnas*; T. 362, *Aspádh-Gushnasp*) to conduct this enquiry. The charges against the deposed King (D. 112-113; T. 363-368) are chiefly:

- (1) His cruel treatment of his own father, Hurmuzd;
- (2) his harshness towards his sons;
- (3) the proposed execution of the 20,000 soldiers;
- (4) his greed in appropriating to himself so many wives and concubines, of whom he could not take proper care;
- (5) his appointment of the ignoble Khurdádhín (lower, Khurzádhín) as finance minister, and the sanctioning of his exactions;
- (6) his ingratitude towards the Byzantine Empire (the Emperor's son is here called نيطوس), and his refusal to return the Wood of the True Cross;
- (7) his slaying Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir, notwithstanding the services rendered by him and his ancestors to the Persian Royal Family, from the time of Bahrá́m Gúr, because he refused to give up his daughter Húrayqa.

Shírú'é's letter containing these charges is brought to the prison by Ashtád - Gushnasp, whose interviews with the governor of the gaol, Jaylús, and with the deposed King, are described with great detail (f. 209), including the bad augury drawn by the latter from a quince which was lying beside him on a cushion, and which, being disturbed, rolled on to the carpet and thence into the dust (T. 367-368). Khusraw Parvíz's categorical reply to Shírú'é's accusations agrees closely with Ṭabarí (pp. 370-379). The Indian King Purumêsha, by whose astrologers Shírú'é's accession and the date thereof were predicted, is here called قرمىسا (cf. D. 113, l. 19). The third accusation and its answer differ from T. in that there it is a question of imprisonment only, not of execution. In the reply to the fifth accusation mention is made of the peculiar Court of Appeal (دكان المظالم) established by Khusraw Parvíz and described by the Nidhámú'l-Mulk in his *Siyásat-náma* (ed. Schefer, p. 10). The Indian King's comparison of Persia to a garden [D. 114, l. 18; T. 375, n. 1 *ad calc.*: the King

is here called [قرمیس] also occurs here (f. 211a). The sum given to the Byzantine Emperor, placed by D. (p. 114) at a million dirhams, is here estimated at 1,500 purses (بدرة). Khusraw Parvīz concludes his categorical answers to the charges brought against him with an eloquent defence of his general policy.

The murder of Khusraw Parvīz is described as in T. 379-382, and his murderer is named, as in that account, Mihr Hormuzd, son of Mardānshāh, but the latter is described, as in D. 115, as *Pádhúspán* (نادوسفان) of Babel, not of Nímruz, so that the two accounts seem to be here combined. The date of the murder is wrongly given as A.H. 3 instead of A.H. 6 (cf. T. 382, n. 2 *ad calc.* : Feb. 29, 628). Shírú'ē's prime minister is here named, as in the *Mujmil* and Persian Ṭabarī, Barmak son of Pírúz, the ancestor of the Barmecides (cf. T. 383, n. 2 *ad calc.*). The names of the seventeen brothers murdered by the parricide (cf. T. 383, n. 1 *ad calc.*) are here given as follows:—

شهربدان، جوانشیر، اوطسه، تسدیل، جوانشاه، شهربزاده،
مهره دانشاه، ارواندست، ارواندوگ، یزدجرد، اددانفراخ، شهرخت،
فیروز شاه، فروخ، مردفناه، شارشان، بهمن

Seven months later, having reigned only eight months, he falls sick and dies, and is succeeded by his little son Ardashír, who is made King under the regency of a man named *Mih-A'dhar-Gushnasp* (مهادرچشنس : cf. T. 386).

The Fall of the Sásanian Dynasty (A.D. 628-652 :
N. 212b-230b ; D. 116-149).

The short and troubled reigns of the remaining kings and queens of the House of Sásán need hardly be separated. Our text here follows Ṭabarī rather than Dīnawarī. The army of the usurper *Shahrbarāz* (here شهرابران, an obvious corruption) is, however, estimated at 24,000 instead of 6,000 men (cf. T. 387 and n. 2 *ad calc.*), and the details

of his treachery are omitted, while the account of his assassination is much abridged. *Púrān-dukht*, daughter of Khuraw Parvīz, is then made queen, while her little brother (son of Parvīz and Gurdiya, named *Jucānshtr* in D. 116) is being educated to assume the reins of government; but he dies six months later, and she is confirmed on the throne, issues an address to her subjects, remits one-third of the taxes, dies after a wise reign of thirteen months (T. 392 has "sixteen months"), and is succeeded by her sister *A'zarmī-dukht*.

We now come to the final portion of the book, describing the Arab invasion and conquest of Persia, which agrees very closely with *Dīnawarī*, though the arrangement of the matter is slightly different, viz.: D. 116-122; 124-125; 136-137; 126-127; 129-130; 133-137; 141-145; 137-140; 148-149. The *Nihāyat* confines itself more to Persian affairs, and has the following additions and variations. 'Umar's harangue on his accession [D. 118].—His letter to al-Muthannā [D. 118].—The name of *Āzarmī-dukht* stands for that of *Púrān-dukht* [D. 120, l. 2].—On the same page, the battle is here more fully described: the Persians, after their first rout, reform at Nahr-Salīm, and Mihrān challenges al-Muthannā to single combat, and is slain by him. Dayr-Qubādh stands for Abar-Qubādh [D. 124, l. 8]. Rustam, when he has encamped at Dayru'l-A'war [D. 126], sends for the notables of Hira, amongst whom is the aged 'Abdu'l-Masīh b. Hayyān (then about 300 years old), and reproaches them for their sympathy with the Arabs. 'Abdu'l-Masīh, acting as their spokesman, answers as follows (f. 218b):—

فقال عبد المسيح أما قولك انا فرحنا بمجيهم الى بلادكم فكيف
نفرح وليسوا على ملتنا ومحسن قوم نصارى وهم يشهدون علينا
بالكفر، وأما قولك انا صرنا عيوننا لهم فهل كانوا يحتاجون الى
العيون وقد هرب اصحابكم واخذوا عليهم البلاد والضرع والزرع

فلم يمنهم احد منكم عن هذه النواحي واما ما زعمتم انا قويناهم
 بالاموال فانا افتدينا منهم انفسنا باموالنا ان لم تمنعونا خوفاً من ان
 نستباح و نقتل و لقد عجز عنهم من لقيهم من جنودكم فاحن احرى
 ان نعجز عنهم و لعمري انكم احب الينا منهم فامنعونا نكن لكم فانما
 نحن عبيد من غلب ، فقال رستم لجلسائه خصمكم الشيخ و ادلى
 حججاً واضحة و كلاماً بيناً ،

On the same page [D. 126] some additional particulars are here given of the exploit of Tūlayha, who kills four [D. "two"] of his pursuers and captures the survivor, whom he brings before the Arab general, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, and compels to describe the exploit, and to give information through an interpreter about the position and strength of the Persian army (estimated at 50,000). This Persian captive then embraces Islām.

The interview of Rustam [D. 127] with al-Mughíra, the Arab envoy, is also described here with greater detail. Rustam offers the Arabs abundance of food, and presents of 1000 dínárs for 'Umar, 500 for Sa'd, 200 each to a hundred of the chief amírs, 100 each to a thousand minor captains, and 20 each to the soldiers. On al-Mughíra's refusal of this proposition and offer of the usual alternatives, Rustam relates the parable of the Fox in the Vineyard (essentially identical with that of the Weasel in the Henhouse in Æsop), to which he compares the greedy Arabs. A few additional details of the ensuing battle, in which the Persians are said to number 100,000 men and 12 elephants, and the Muslims only 24,000 men, are given, including the part played by the Arab women and children in checking the initial Arab retreat, the death of two Persian champions (*hasár-mard*), and the confusion caused in the Persian ranks by a wounded elephant (*lacuna of one leaf, viz. f. 223*). The Persian words *díván ámadand* cited by D. (p. 133, last line) are

here explained in Arabic: الشياطين قد اتبلوا. The Persian commander called Khurrazádh by D. (p. 133) is here called Khurdádh. The simplicity of the Arabs, as shown by their ignorance of the value of gold and camphor, is related as in *al-Fakhri* (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 100). The crown of Khusraw Parvís is said to have been amongst the spoils taken at al-Madá'in, and to have been sent to 'Umar, who hung it up in the Ka'ba at Mecca, "where it remains till this day" (f. 224b). Nahávand stands for Hūlwán in D. 135, last line. The Persian army, gathered together at Nahávand, described by D. [p. 141, l. 12] merely as "a great host," is here estimated at 300,000 men. The names of the Arab positions before the Battle of Nahávand are nearly the same as in D. 143, viz. الاسفيذهان and مدسحان, while the name of the position (distant half a parasang from the Arab lines) occupied by the Persians under Mardánsháh is given as حلهشت, near a mountain called ابرای. The Arab army is estimated at one-tenth of the Persian force, viz. 30,000 men. The battle is described as beginning on a Wednesday [D. 144, "Tuesday"]. The Friday is passed by the Arabs in prayer, but by the Persians in wine-drinking and song—an exact parallel to the Norman account of the eve of the Battle of Hastings. The above-mentioned mountain of ایرای (so pointed in this place) takes the place of Diz-Yzad in D. 144, l. 19. The number of Persians who perish in the ditch is stated at "about 100"—probably a clerical error for 100,000, since otherwise the words "God made this a destruction to them" would hardly be justified—while those slain in the battle are estimated at 40,000. A further stand is made by some of the local *marzubáns* and nobles at a village to the north of Nahávand named فهرمذوكان (lower, فهرمك), which place is surrendered by Dínár [D. 145]. The traitor who admits the Arabs into Shushtar is here called Shanbak [D. 138, "Sína"]; his fate is described as in D. The story of Hurmuzán before 'Umar, omitted by D. [p. 140] as too well known to need repetition, is here given in full, in the usual form. The

death of Yazdigird, which concludes the narrative, differs from D.'s account in only two or three minute details. The number of troops sent by the Kháqán to Merv under the command of a *Tarkhán* is given as 30,000, and the name of the river on which was situated the mill where the unfortunate King was murdered, after he had privily escaped from Merv by a cord let down over the city wall, is given as الروحى. As to the fate of the traitor Máhú'é, it is said that he escaped to Fárs [D. 149, "Abar-shahr"] and took refuge with 'Uthmán, though according to another account he was slain at Merv.

Having now completed the examination and analysis of the *Niháyat*, I feel bound to confess that it has hardly fulfilled my expectations, and that I should have done better to accept Nöldeke's verdict than to spend so much time in arriving at results which in the main only serve to confirm it. Yet having devoted to it so much labour, and still believing that there are in the book elements of interest, if not of historical value, I desired to make public the results of my toil, that at least others might be spared the necessity of devoting to the work energies which might be better employed. I do not think, closely as it agrees with Dínawarí, that its materials were derived directly therefrom, but rather that both books were drawn from a common source. In some cases, as we have seen, when D. has some expression like "concerning this the Persians relate many stories," the *Niháyat* gives in full narratives which are presumably the stories in question. In other cases it contains incidents otherwise known to us only from single sources, including not only such well-known histories as Tabarí, Hamza, and the *Mujmil*, but the rare '*Uyúnu'l-akhbár*' of Ibn Qutayba, the works of al-Jáhidh, and the *Siyásat-náma*. To the minor additions—such as the exact numbers given in the case of contending armies, and the like—no great importance can be attached. The numerous throne-speeches, admonitions, and letters cited in full may repose on a Pahlaví original, since it is

generally recognized that such elements entered largely into the *Khudáy-námak*, and when such are given in Dínawarí the correspondence with our text is close, so that they do not appear to be arbitrary embellishments added by the unknown author or compiler. At the lowest estimate, MSS. of the *Niháyat* should undoubtedly be used for help and control by any future translator of the earlier portion of Dínawarí's delightful history.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above article was in type and finally paged, I have, with the help of my friend and colleague Mr. Ellis H. Minns, finished the perusal of Baron Rosen's article in the *Vostochniya Zamyétki*, and have learned that practically all the stories about Khusraw Parváz, Shírín, and Gurdiya, to which reference is made on pp. 243-245, *supra* (including the *Story of Mushkdána and the Múbadhán - múbadh*, of which the Arabic text is here printed), are contained in the *Kitábu'l-Mahásin wa'l-Aqdád*, ascribed to al-Jáhidh (ed. Van Vloten, pp. 252-257). Had I been aware of this sooner, I should not, of course, have reprinted this extract. Essentially the same story is, I believe, told of Aristotle (who takes the place of the *Múbadh*) and Alexander (who takes the place of Khusraw Parváz).

ART. XI.—*The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century.* By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to present an account of the contents of a document, which needs some special acquaintance with the details of village history to understand it, but which possesses considerable interest since it is the earliest known account of a local group of Indian villages written by an European observer.

The document is an official charter or record of customs (*Foral dos usos e costumes*) dated September 16, 1526, under the authority of Don João, "King of Portugal, etc., and lord . . . of the conquest, navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India." The original (in Portuguese) forms No. 58 in Fasciculus 5 of the *Archivo Portuguez oriental*. This 'fasciculus' itself consists of three volumes, printed at Goa in 1863.

Mr. R. S. Whiteway has already published an abstract at p. 216 of his "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550"¹; but he has kindly placed at my disposal his manuscript translation of the original, and as there are several matters in it which deserve more specific record than his abstract gives, I have, with his help, reproduced the substance of the whole charter in somewhat greater detail. In so doing I have not followed the order of the clauses as they stand in the original; but have endeavoured to make the rules more intelligible, by bringing together under definite heads all that the charter contains on each subject. In the original, the various points are set down, apparently, as they occurred to the writer; so that often

¹ London, A. Constable, 1899. Mr. Whiteway (late of the Indian Civil Service) is also the author of the Settlement Report of the Mathura District, N.W.P., so valuable to students of Indian villages.

one or two clauses refer to a given subject, the writer passes on to another matter, and then more on the first subject is given in a later paragraph. At the same time, by always preserving the 'clause' number of the original, I have avoided any difficulty of reference.

It is needless, perhaps, to say, that the italics are my addition, because the matter is particularly noteworthy.

The abstract, so rearranged, is followed by a commentary : the capital letters in brackets added to the text, refer to the passages so marked in the commentary.

In the concluding pages I have endeavoured, with Mr. Whiteway's aid, to give some account of the history of these villages. This is very curious as showing how a village naturally constituted in one way, can undergo a complete transformation in the course of three centuries. And it is also instructive to note that the change was brought about by the effect of a radically bad system of revenue management, under which the responsibility for payment is enforced in a manner not adapted to the real village constitution. The headmen are allowed—indeed, are obliged—to make levies of rents and inposts over the village lands; and when they get into difficulties, they *sell the right to receive these dues*, in various fractions; thus they themselves lose their position and disappear, while the villages become dominated by a host of purchasers of 'shares' in the proceeds of the land—such sharers having no authority and no recognized position, but being naturally eager to make the most of their claims, are quite unscrupulous as to what they do in order to realize them.

ABSTRACT OF A CHARTER OF 1526

(rearranged so as to bring together all the orders relating to the same subject).

Preamble.—The Roll (*Foral*) purports to be granted to the 'Gancars' or village headmen (A), cultivators, and

taxpayers, dwellers in, and [permanent] residents of, the villages in the several islands that make up Goa.¹ The facts, i.e. the amount of revenue, "the rights [of possession], 'usos' [subsidiary rights], and customs,"² are declared to have been recorded after inquiry, and by ascertaining what the people "paid to the kings and lords of the soil before it was ours." The figures of the Revenue Assessment were set down in a separate roll: the rights and customs are recorded in what follows.

I. *The Village Headmen, their origin and privileges.*

(Clause 1.) Every village has certain 'Gancars'; in some there are more, in others fewer, according to the custom of the village. The said word (Gancar) means governor, administrator, and benefactor, and was given because *in the old times there were four men to establish new cultivation in an island or other waste place*. These improved and cultivated the land so that in time there grew up a large inhabited site. And the founders, for their good government, administration, and work at the spread of cultivation, were called 'gancar' and became lords and superiors (*sogigadores*)³ over the others, who agreed to pay rent and taxes so that they might remain possessed of their heritable rights and customs. *But the true origin of this is unknown (A).*

¹ It is hardly necessary to observe that the *Foral* refers, not to the whole of Goa as it now is (which contains in all 421 villages, many of them not in the condition here described), but only to that portion known as the 'Ilhas' or islands acquired sixteen years before the date of the charter. But in 1543 two other tracts, Salsette (Săsti) and Bardes, were added, and the charter was made applicable to them also. Thus, the 31 villages to which the charter primarily refers, became only part of the area governed by the rules. From the legislation of 1882 we ascertain that at that time the 'Ilhas' contained 38 villages, Salsette 53, and Bardes 39. It may be remarked by the way, that the increase of 31 villages in 1526, to 38 in 1882, shows how very unprosperous must have been the condition of affairs, since only so small an increase of cultivation and population took place. The whole tract to which the charter refers is officially known as the 'Old Conquests' (*Ilhas conquistadas*).

² I think this is the meaning: the primary right is to a certain land holding, but to this there are subsidiary, customary rights of user, etc.

³ = *subjugatores* or overlords, I apprehend.

(Clause 8.) In order to secure the position of the Gancars, because they are leaders and their office is hereditary, no Gancar (in his own village) can be removed from office—no matter what fault he may commit. Neither can the writer [Kulkarni], since he also holds an hereditary post and was appointed by the said headmen (*e foi posto pelos ditos Gancares*).¹ If either class commits a crime, there may be a penalty in person or goods; and if the punishment is death, the office passes on to the son or next heir. (Then follows a note of the authority that can try offences, according as they are of greater or less gravity.)

(Clause 17.) Should a Gancar *abscond* to avoid payment of his revenue, an assembly of the village called *Gancaria* (Gāñwkaria) must be held, and a proclamation made for the fugitive. Should this be disregarded, his property will be taken over by the other Gancars [who are jointly liable with him], and they can transfer it to others. [I suppose this means they can farm it out.²]

(Clause 18.) But an absconding Gancar's heritable property [i.e. his *watan* or special holding as headman] cannot be taken from him. His heirs must be asked if they will take up the absconder's obligations: if they refuse, or if there are no heirs, *the other Gancars* take over the property, but not the moveable property which in the absence of [direct] heirs escheats to the Crown.³

(Clause 19.) If a Gancar or other person dies, or leaves

¹ This is repeated more than once in the charter. Originally in raiyatwari villages generally, there can hardly be a doubt that the writer (mahato, pāndya, or kulkarni (Karn and Mar) = the Patwari of Northern India) was introduced as part of the hereditary staff, as early as the time when the royal grain-share was first levied from all the cultivators. But in villages founded (as these evidently were) in the waste at a later date, it is quite possible that the writers may have been appointed by the leaders of the colonists.

² Mr. Whiteway tells me that in the *Archievo* there is a note stating that on the margin of the original *Foral* was found an (old) addition, to the effect that in one village ('Sancoale' of Salsette) it was the 'custom' to allow the nearest *Christian* heir to take the property (on paying arrears) in preference to others; and that failing such a convert, the natural heirs should take. In either case the absconder, if he returned, was allowed to recover his position.

³ It will be seen, later, that the rules do not recognize *collateral*, but only direct, succession. Ordinarily 'the other' (recognized) Gancars in a village would be collaterals (brothers or cousins) of the absconder, not his sons.

the country, having no heirs, any revenue-free land escheats to the Crown [presumably, in view of Clause 18, other than *watan* land]. But debts of the deceased may be charged on it, provided a debt to the State ranks first for payment.

(Clause 40.) Should a Gancar of the Island of Chorão or others adjoining this island of Tissuary, fly from the country to the 'Moors' (Mussulmans), or in order to avoid paying his revenue, "as it is said they sometimes do, but we hope they will not do so in future," the moveable property will escheat [as already said], and the immoveable and the headmanship [i.e. the collective *watan*] will be sold to the highest bidder who agrees to take up the revenue-liability; and any surplus of the price realized, over and above arrears already due, will go to the Treasury. [By custom it was only Gancars who bid at such auctions: see clause 20, *post*. This clause (40) seems to repeat clauses 17, 18.]

II. *The Headmen's Precedence (among themselves).*

(Clauses 41, 42.) At a festival when *piçauris*¹ and betel are distributed, the chief Gancar takes first, and the others in order of their grade; and in calling the roll of names, the order of precedence is to be observed.

(Clause 46.) At seed-time and at harvest, the first field to be taken in hand shall be that of the chief Gancar: and so with thatching the roofs with *olhas* (leaves of *Borassus* palm); the chief Gancar shall have his house thatched before the other houses.

(Clause 47.) The dancing girls shall go first and perform (*festejar*) before the house of the chief Gancar, and then before the others.

Gancars of equal rank are to receive betel, etc., standing side by side with their arms crossed so that the right hand of one may be below the left hand of the other: (then) if one says "I received it with my right hand," the other will

¹ I cannot find this (Hindi) word in the Marāthi dictionary; it means a small kerchief to cover the head, or scarf of honour.

be able to say, "My left hand was held above your right" [so that your right hand was not superior to mine].¹

(Clause 48.) As to Gancars who are 'in community' [i.e. an undivided family], so that, at a ceremony, there is no pre-eminence of one or other, they may sell the honour of precedence for the occasion, to any Gancar in the village, at a price agreed on; and the price shall be distributed in the village: if no one purchases the honour, the writer [Kulkarni] may take it in their stead and so save a dispute.²

III. *The Status of the Villages.*

(Clause 2.) In the Goa territory there are 31 villages (a list is given); eight are placed at the head of the list, as "these are the chief for their privileges and pre-eminence" (B).

(Clauses 43, 44.) When a formal resolution regarding some matter is come to by all the villages assembled, and the decision is written down by the 'writer,' a formal reading and confirmation is called '*Nemo*.' This *nemo* is made by the chief headman present of the village Neura Kalān, because it is the chief village: in his absence the 'writer' makes it (C).

(Clause 45.) The village of Taleigão has this pre-eminence, that it *commences the rice harvest*. The headmen carry a bundle of rice to present it at the High Altar of the Cathedral. [This association of the village with the religion of the conquerors is very curious.] The Vicar of the Cathedral after this function accompanies the headmen to

¹ As no Oriental would receive with his left hand, the explanation is confusing. What is perhaps meant, is that, as the betel-giver is one person, he must necessarily approach one of the two right hands first, and so seem to give one a preference; whereas by arranging that one of the right hands is in a position of some inferiority, the difference is ceremonially neutralized.

² In Colonel Sykes' account of the Dakhan Villages, he relates a case where the whole of the various privileges attaching to a headmanship had to be partitioned; and it was arranged (by a *pañāyat*) that some of the honours or precedences should attach to one and some to the other sharers. In the above rule, if such a partition had not been made, and (say) three brothers were all Gancars by birth and so far equal, a solution of the difficulty is provided.

the Factory, and the Factor will spend 4 *pardaos*¹ in *piçhauris*, which he will put round the necks of the headmen : the other villages can then begin to cut their rice.

IV. *The Headmen's Duties in connection with the Revenue and the Cultivation.*

(Clause 3.) Each of the villages is bound to pay a certain rent (or revenue) as entered in a separate roll.

The headman assisted by the 'writer' *will distribute and assign the amount among the cultivators and those having lands*,² according to their customs and conditions of this charter. The headmen are bound to *distribute, collect, and pay the revenue or rent*, whether it increases or decreases, *and the loss or profit shall remain with them and with the village*, in order that the persons may bear the loss or share in the profit, who by custom (as before set forth) are entitled. Loss occasioned by war they shall be exempt from accounting for, according to the proportion of loss sustained by each holder.

(Clause 4.) The said profit and loss of each year shall be distributed, in proportion to each person's rent, on the palm or garden cultivation, or rice-land, which he holds (E).

(Clause 5.) Certain 'gardens' [*bāghāit* land of the modern Bombay system], palm-groves, and rice-lands are assessed to pay fixed sums,³ so that even if there be loss, they do not contribute to make it up. Other lands (of these kinds), though they are assessed at certain rates, yet are obliged to contribute further towards losses when there are any.

¹ The coinage is described in Mr. Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power," p. 69. The *pardão* is valued at 360 *reals*, which at the time would have been worth rather more than 7s. 6d. If there were several headmen, perhaps as much as 30s. might be required to buy these scarves; but it is not probable that any very costly article was given.

² The distinction here, I think, is between the various holders of fixed or hereditary land and the cultivators of rice-lands (clause 20, *post*), who merely take the land at an auction for the year or harvest, or who otherwise have no hereditary holding.

³ Apparently this is the *udhadjamabandi*, so common in the Bombay territories, where the holder is (for one reason or another) allowed to have a fixed lump sum assessed, which does not alter under any circumstances.

V. 'Watan' Grants for Village Service.

(Clause 12.) Gancars can give rent-free lands, be they waste, or cultivated, but vacant, lands, to the village servants, i.e. the temple Brahman, the gate-keeper (*porteiro*), the '*rendeiro*,'¹ the washerman, cobbler, carpenter, blacksmith, temple-sweeper (*faras* = *farāsh*), dancing girls, and the '*chocarreiro*.'² These persons get rent-free holdings of garden or other land as the recompense of their services. The grants are irrevocable, nor can any servant be removed and another man put in his place; for the servant is hereditary, and the grant is to him, his son, grandson, etc. Nor can servants be appointed other than the above-named, nor can they have free lands. Should such a grant lapse from failure of heirs, another man of the same profession must be put in to fill his place.

(Clause 13.) Headmen cannot, without express orders, make a rent-free grant to any person not a resident of the village.

VI. Disposition of Village Lands that are vacant.

(Clause 9.) Headmen can grant land which is waste or fallow within the boundaries of their village to any applicant who wishes to cultivate vegetables ['garden' land] or

¹ *Rendeiro* in Portuguese may mean either one who receives, or one who pays, a rent or other charge or dues. I am unable to suggest definitely what person, regarded as one of the village staff, is meant. But it is quite possible that some 'bailiff' or other collector of the various imposts and levies was required (though not belonging to the original 'balute' staff), and so was put in and rewarded with a 'watan.' Such a person is alluded to in later documents as *saccador*, and it may be that the charter means the same thing by *rendeiro*.

² '*Chocarreiro*' means a buffoon or jester—always implying jests of a low and coarse character. (So I am informed by an excellent Portuguese scholar at Lisbon.) I have never heard of any such person being one of the village staff. But the '*Mahār*' (see J.R.A.S., April, 1897, p. 258) is constantly found; and in Marāthi (according to Molesworth) the *Mahār* is often alluded to as '*Chokhāmeļā*' (after the name of one of their tribal holy men). It seems to me possible that a Portuguese scribe hearing this word and not understanding it, may have put it down as '*Chocarreiro*.' The *Mahārs* are always holders of *watan* land, and they are not otherwise mentioned in this list, though indispensable to the villages. There are generally several of them.

a grove, or for "other profitable use."¹ The grant is conditioned for the payment of such rent-rate as may seem fair [presumably a favourable or reduced rate] up to twenty-five years, after which the full customary rate will be payable. The customary rate is for each plot (grove) of twelve paces broad, that is, from palm-tree to palm-tree, up to one hundred trees; for the whole of it, five '*tanga*' of four '*barganim*' to the *tanga* (F). At this rate they pay for the extent, greater or less, of land held. The headmen may grant waste land to make a grove or garden for less than the rate of five *tanga*, but not for more; and may issue a written grant.

(Clause 10.) Land granted to make a betel-garden² will be given at the following rates:—5 cubits \times 5 cubits (which is from one betel-vine to another) up to 100 plants: if irrigated by well, 4 *barganim* [i.e. 1 *tanga*] annually; if irrigated by running stream, 6 *barganim* [i.e. 1½ *tanga*] (F).

Once granted, all such lands become hereditary possessions: this is the general rule, but if there is in any village some special custom in the matter, it will be given effect to.

(Clause 20.) The rice-lands³ of each village, according to the custom, will be put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder; this *does not apply to such lands when they are private property as heritable lands*. The bidding is to be among residents of the village, unless any special custom allows non-residents to bid.

[Bidding was, by custom, for many years, confined to headmen.]

¹ Apparently wet land (suited for rice) is not included, as that is disposed of in another way (clause 20, *post*). Apparently also the 'dry' crop of the Dakhan (*jirāit*) is not known in the Goa climate; rice, vegetables, etc., palm-groves, and betel-gardens are the staple.

² These gardens for the aromatic leaf (betel) (*Piper betle*), used with areca-nut for chewing, can only be made in favourable soil and with careful irrigation. They are very profitable. The (climbing) plants are often protected overhead with mats.

³ Low-lying and flooded lands only suited for rice, which is here the chief crop.

VII. *Failure of a whole Village.*

(Clause 6.) Should any village be so destroyed that it can no longer pay us the revenue assessed on it, the Gancars shall notify the 'Chief Thānadār' and the 'writer of the Island,' who will inquire into the causes of the failure; if they find it to be true, *they will call the headmen of the eight principal villages.* Other headmen may be present, but, by custom, the affairs of the Island lie with the headmen of the eight. To such an assembly, the headmen of the disabled village may relinquish the management. The eight must accept the charge as they are bound, and will put the village up to auction (in presence of the officials mentioned) and make it over to the highest bidder.

The deficiency [difference between the sum bid and the normal revenue] is to be made good by distributing the amount *over the eight villages, or over the whole island, viz. on those properties which are liable to make good losses, in such way that the full amount of our revenue shall in any case be made good to us.*¹

The lessee or lessees of the village are bound to improve and restore the disabled lands during the term of their lease, and for this purpose they shall hold the office of Gancar.

(Clause 7.) But the regular hereditary Gancars are not by this means permanently ousted; they must be restored whenever they ask for restitution and offer to pay the revenue-demand. When the lease has expired, the lessees have no further claim (D).

VIII. *Rules of Inheritance.*

(Clause 30.) The order of succession is from father to son and grandson, etc., and [failing the direct descending

¹ Nothing is said as to *when* 'the eight' and when the whole body of cultivators in the island (not holding free, or at any fixed rates) can be called on. Probably the headmen will decide, according to which gives the best prospect of making up the deficit.

line] upwards to father, grandfather, etc. No female can inherit.

(Clause 27.) If a man [however] has no sons, etc., *his property will escheat to the Crown, and not go in the ascending line even if his futher is alive*; unless, indeed, the deceased was holding undivided with his father.¹

Among sons the division is equal; if partition takes place in the father's lifetime, the father is entitled to maintenance.

If one son dies without heirs, his share lapses to the Crown, unless it is an undivided share, when it falls to the surviving co-sharers. A share of revenue-free land in any case lapses to the Crown (cf. clause 19). Should one of the brothers turn Mussulman or abandon the world and become a jogi, "which is the same as the gipsies (*ciganos*)" in Portugal (!), the property lapses to the Crown; but, *if it is revenue-paying land*, it will be sold and the private debts first discharged.²

(Clauses 28, 29.) Need not be detailed; they contain the rule that where property will escheat to the Crown, the dead man cannot be buried or cremated (as the case may be) before the officials have notice, and that they may take account of the estate. The property is put up to sale by auction to the Gancars and relatives only. Some preference is given to the relatives (who consent to discharge the revenue liability). Clause 29 relates to moveable property (D).

(Clause 32) The principle of division when there are sons by two wives is, to divide *per stirpes* [= *jorubāṇṭ* in N.W. India, or *çündavand* in the Panjāb] and not *per capita*; [so that four sons of one wife would get one-half between them, and one son of the other wife the whole of the other share. This, Mr. Whiteway notes, was modified by a later order allowing either rule according to custom as established.]

¹ No notice is taken of the ordinary rule, that failing the downward or upward direct line, the collaterals come in, brothers and brothers' sons. These are thus disinherited by the rules, which claim everything for the Crown.

² See also clause 19 (which includes "other persons" as well as Gancars) regarding revenue-free land.

IX. *Rules about Alienation of Land.*

(Clause 15.) Should a Gancar or other person desire to sell any heritable property in the village, he must obtain the consent of all the Gancars of the village in question. And no one can purchase without similar permission.

Any bargain made without such consent is *ipso facto* voidable, and can be set aside if the Gancars so desire in the interest of the revenue collection for which they are responsible. A purchaser is to receive a written slip, noting the revenue on the land bought, to save mistakes and discontent.

(Clause 16.) It is not sufficient that the sellers of heritable property sign the deed of sale: all his heirs must sign also; and if one of them is a minor, there must be a consent signed by his guardian or next friend on his behalf.

Omission of any necessary signature renders the transaction voidable at any time; but if a transaction is set aside, the purchase-money must be returned, though the purchaser will have no claim to be compensated for improvements he may already have effected.

X. *Rules of Procedure.*

(Clause 11.) The writer of the 'Camara' (Chamber or State Council?) of the Island, must be present at the passing and establishing, called '*Nemo*,' of all agreements and resolutions such as are issued by the Chief Gancars of all the island together with the Chief Thānadār and writer, etc. Without the writer of the Island nothing can be done; for he takes note and assents to all, so that he may decide any doubts or question that may afterwards arise. In like manner [in a village matter] the village writer must be present. The writer's records (village books) regulate all the villages in the islands.¹ I may

¹ "The islands" of old Goa territory are here (and elsewhere) mentioned as Tissuary, Diwary, Chorão, and Jua. (See note to the Preamble.)

add to this that, by orders issued in 1735, the 'writer' (*Escrivão*) was directed to enter the 'nemos' in consecutively paged books, under penalty of being whipped and banished for five years to Timor (equivalent to a sentence of death). The editor notes on this that the 'nemos' are often found recorded on loose sheets; the order defeated itself by its severity.

(Clause 14.) When the chief officers summon a general meeting of Gancars in the Island, all must attend or at least get a local meeting to choose a deputy to appear in their stead. At such a local meeting (*Gancaria*) every Gancar must attend, or at least an heir of an absent member. The "usual penalty" will be exacted from anyone intentionally absent.

(Clauses 22-26.) Are of less interest, having no direct relation to village constitution. They lay down rules of evidence: e.g., claims to immoveable property must be supported by written evidence, confession of judgment, or by village records. If the latter are lost, there may be a solemn oath taken in the Temple of 'Uzoo.'¹

Money loans are next regulated. A larger sum than 50 *tangas* must not be lent except on a written bond. If otherwise, the parties may agree to refer the matter to "two selected men" for decision.

Interest is allowed at one *barganim* for every six *tangas*. [One in 24, or a little over 4 per cent., if it is *per annum*; but more probably it is *per mensem*, in which case it is nearly 50 per cent.] (F.)

But interest can never be more than double the principal. [The other clause excludes, as do the Hindu law books, certain persons from giving evidence; among them children under 16, 'gardeners,' day-labourers, sons of a prostitute, variously defective persons: these, though incompetent in serious cases, may testify in minor ones.]

¹ What this means, I cannot ascertain. Mr. Whiteway has also been unable to interpret it.

XI. *Miscellaneous.*

(Clause 21.) The village headmen are liable to provide (unpaid) labour (*begāri*) from any dwellers (*pelos moradores*) in the village, to clear away bushes and weeds from the city walls and '*cavas*' (ditches?), also "to meet other necessities as occasion may arise."

(Clauses 37, 38, 39.) The village must feed the Chief Thānadār and his clerks, when visiting the place officially. Also "our factor" and his officials. Every 'peon' sent on official message is to be allowed (during his stay) two measures of rice daily and one *real* to buy betel.

(Clause 34.) Officials must not take bribes, nor accept lands, nor trade within their jurisdiction, etc.

(Clause 35.) Should the Gancar make any demands on the village for "clothes or sweetmeats, or other benefits" for himself or for any official or person, each Gancar will be liable to pay a sum equal to the whole demand from all the villages, and this sum by way of fine shall be given one half to the informer and the other half for the benefit of 'prisoners' (*e a outra para os captivos*).¹ A village writer, if in the conspiracy to make the levy, shares in the penalty.

(Clause 32.) Claims all treasure-trove for the Crown. (The Hindu law claims *half*) (D).

(Clause 31.) Disposal of a man, who is a thief, caught with the stolen property in his possession, if he "have an owner" (i.e. is a slave), he is made over to his master—by way of concession, "though by use and custom he belongs to us."

(Clause 49.) Use of the torch, palankeen, or umbrella, is a privilege requiring license of the Governor, unless it is an hereditary honour. When granted as an honour, the grant may either leave the grantee to employ his own

¹ Mr. Whiteway kindly informs me that this means either the half is to go towards the fund for redeeming captives in the hands of 'the Moors' (a frequent provision), or else to help support the Goa prisoners, who depended on charity. The former is more probable, and the clause was perhaps slipped in at Lisbon, as an improvement on the original.

servants and buy his own oil (for the torch), or may grant the oil and servants at cost of the State. Each emblem may be granted by itself—or all together—in either way.

Commentary.

General Observations. — The villages, throughout the Bombay country and the Dakhan, and Konkan generally, are in the raiyatwāri or 'severalty' form, marked by distinctive (and ancient) features, viz.: (i) The allotment of a separate (heritable) holding to every cultivating family (i.e. there is nothing in the nature of a unit estate or property shared in fractional proportions among a body of the same descent). (ii) It is marked by the existence of certain privileged holdings (*watan*) which are the reward of village service, or are also the special heritable property (along with rights of precedence) of the village officers in virtue of their position. (iii) By the influence and power of the headman (and his family). Such an officer has a real indigenous title in the local languages,¹ and is quite unlike the modern and purely official representative called 'lambardār' in N.W. India.

I make this observation because it is clear from every part of the *Foral* of 1526 that the villages (of the old Goa territory) therein described were *then* in the same form, and that every mark or feature of this constitution is mentioned. We shall afterwards see that the villages have since undergone a complete change.

As regards the Dakhan villages, I have already fully discussed² the changes which were introduced by the dominating position (at an early but uncertain date) of

¹ The Marāthi is Pātil; Gāhkwār (Karn). In other countries where the raiyatwāri form is indigenous, there are also many local names—Maṇḍal, Mānki, Gaṇḍā, etc., etc. In the northern form of joint-village no headman—properly so-called—exists, and there is no *indigenous* name or word. The (official) headman recognized by the administration is known either by the Arabic word *muqaddam*, introduced by the Moslem revenue officers, or by our (half-English) word *lambar-dār* (number-holder).

² J.R.A.S., April, 1897, p. 241 foll.

superior families, the memory of whose possession was long preserved in the name 'mirāsi' land, which continued to attach to certain parts of the villages and which indicated a certain privileged tenure, and survived long after the old 'overlord,' co-sharing, families had disappeared. No change of this kind appears in the present case; no such special lands existed, as far as any indications in the *Foral* are concerned. Indeed, I doubt whether this Dakhan peculiarity, and the distinction of 'mirāsdār' and 'upri' (common cultivator) extended so far south as (e.g.) the district of Belgām, which adjoins Goa. The distinction in the Goa villages was rather (at least in later times) between the mere contract-tenants put in by the managers, or auction-purchasers of the cultivating right in the rice lands for one harvest, and the permanent holders of heritable lands (kuḷāçāri)—a term which included both rent-payers and those who had rent-free lands ('watan,' etc.). (Kuḷā = a family paying revenue to Government.)

It was, I think, the conditions under which this group of villages grew up, as well as the Moslem system of revenue—the worst features of which the rules preserve—that prepared the way for the change which in later times came over these villages.¹ I do not mean to suggest that we possess any detailed information of the earliest or pre-Mughal Moslem system. But the system described in the *Foral* certainly differed widely from that of the older Hindu

¹ It will be remembered that the Goa territory in question had been under 'Hindu' (Kadamba) kings of Banavāsi, up to A.D. 1312. Then for some 60 years it was under early Moslem rule; after that, Hindu rule (but under Vijayanagar) was restored till A.D. 1449; when Moslem supremacy, first under the united Dakhan kingdom, and then under the separate Bijāpur ('Adil Shāhi) dynasty, was once more established. There is nothing to indicate that the villages of the 'Ilhas' are very ancient; rather they seem to have been the result of a colonizing enterprise, headed by a few energetic men who founded the first villages. And we can fairly form some general idea of time which elapsed from the founding up to A.D. 1526, by allowing time for the increase of the first four or eight villages to the then existing number of 31. Nevertheless, the *form of the village*, as exhibited in the rules, is very much the same as that of the oldest 'raiyatwāri' villages in Central and Western India that are traceable. The headman, the privileged holdings, and the revenue paid to the king, are features mentioned in inscriptions and literary references of unquestionably ancient date.

kings, and in principle represents the Moslem plan. From all we know of the 'Hindu' kingdoms and overlordships (whether of Dravidian or of partly Aryan connection) it is certain that the royal revenue was derived from a share (in kind) of the grain produce of every holding or allotment (except certain privileged ones). The share (as such) was fixed by custom, and was not increased till comparatively late times, when rulers assumed the right to take such proportion as they appointed; and even then they sometimes tried to conceal the fact.¹ In any case it depended on the harvest; it was a share of what was actually produced and no more. But the Muhammadan system (of the Dakhan Kings) had been in force about seventy-five years, of which the last ten or twelve before the Portuguese conquest represented the more defined and stricter system of the 'Ādil Shāhi kings. This system, besides assessing the revenue-demand in money, created a *liability for a total sum from each village*, which before was unknown; and it accordingly must have given the headman so extensive a power of arranging this and that holding—leasing this and charging that—that in time, although the system never permitted the headmen actually to buy up or appropriate the holdings in their own right, every plot of land (except a few favoured with freehold or fixed rates) must have been so charged with levies and imposts, that its possession was more a burden than a profit.

(A) The Portuguese form 'Gancar' in the text unquestionably refers to a governing and managing headman. It is true the Marāthi word, which is Gānwkar (or Gānwkari) means 'villager' in general; and Gooddine's Report (1852) mentions that *in the Dakhan* the term was applied to distinguish the (superior) holders of 'mirāsi' land *as well as*

¹ As (e.g.) when the Vijayanagar minister insisted on having the share paid in husked rice instead of 'paddy,' which of course largely increased the real payment without ostensibly altering the share.

the village headman ; they were collectively denominated 'the Gānwkar' or 'people of the village' *par excellence*.¹ But Molesworth notes that from about where 'Malwan' is marked on the map, the word becomes *used for the headmen only*. This change is, I believe, explained by the fact that the area of the Konkani-Marāthi language here merges into the territory where Kanarese is spoken, and in the latter Gānwkar (with the long *ā*) always means 'headman,' not 'villager.' It is *this* form that is represented by the Portuguese 'Gancar,' 'Gancares' (pl.).

The *Foral* of 1526 describes the 'headman' in all his original prominence, and with new powers. The word 'Gancar' does not (of course) etymologically mean 'Governor' or anything of the kind ; but practically that is what the headmen's function became, the 'Subjugator' of the village.

The account given in clause 1 is confessedly tentative ; but there may have been some genuine old tradition that "four men"—four brothers or associates—started the original colonization of the four islands (Tiswādi, Diwādi, Chorão, and Jūa). If so, it is quite possible that eight villages, which we may suppose to have been the first fully equipped and separately constituted groups, had the pre-eminence (clause 2).²

The headman's position, it will be observed, is made up of his special holding of *watan* land, his (mānpān or) dignity and precedence, and his authority in the village. The whole together constitute, in fact, the *watan*. This is hereditary, and therefore becomes the property of the joint-family in the next succession. And the sons are all (at least called) Gānwkar (or Pātil as the language may require). In the Dakhan we sometimes hear of each member of the family

¹ J.R.A.S., April, 1897, p. 268.

² It is curious to remark in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (in the note on Goa compiled from Dr. J. N. da Fonseca's account) it is mentioned that when Albuquerque made his entry into Goa after the conquest (March 1st, 1510) "eight leading men" presented him with the keys. But all the early historians agree that these eight were Muhammadans, so that it could not refer to the 'Gancares.'

taking the duty of office for a period, in rotation. In other cases, where the area was sufficiently large, the sons might get the village made into sections, resulting in separate villages distinguished as 'Khurd' and 'Kalān' (or 'Budrukh'). This process was known as a 'tarfbandi' under the Moslems.¹

In the *Foral* (clause 2) we are told that the number of 'Gancares,' greater or less, was a matter of custom. That is to say, that though the Gancar family all had their share in the 'watan,' it would not follow that all would exercise the official functions of 'headman.' We are left, however, to conjecture whether the villages were divided into definite sections with one man (belonging to the family) over each; and whether that person was selected, as the eldest son of each principal branch from the ancestral founder, or how. It is evident (from the later papers) that the 'Gancares' did become very numerous,² but there must have been some rule as to the limited number required to perform public duty and make the allotment of lands, etc. Probably the number existing at the time of the *Foral* which was known, but is not stated, was adhered to, in this respect.

The village writer (Kulkarni) is also alluded to as one of the village superiors. Here it is (more than once) said that he was originally appointed by the headmen, though the office once given became hereditary (and *watandār* like others). In a case like this it is quite probable that the 'writers' were called in (with or without the local ruler's sanction) by the colonizers or founders of the villages, who would (under Hindu rule at any rate) enjoy considerable exemptions from taxation and much freedom. Ordinarily, we believe the 'writer' to have been introduced, rather by the king or his local officers, to look after his revenue collections.

(B) Not only do we observe that eight villages are superior in rank, but two among the eight have some extra

¹ Cf. J.R.A.S., April, 1897, p. 254.

² Goa never knew Mahrātha rule, as the Dakhan did; had it done so, these headmen would probably have been repressed and not allowed to act in the way we shall afterwards see they did.

dignity. The whole of the facts stated point to a strong probability, that we have here a case in which the traditional "four men," or other small number of leaders, went forth with a party of colonists and set on foot an area of cultivation, which at first began with two, and soon resolved itself into eight, villages, of which the leaders and their sons were the Gāṅkwārs. As time went on, fresh patches of cultivation, with their hamlets for residence, sprang up all round, and these in time attracted their own staff of artisans, and acquired a separate existence and place in the records. Thus (in the district originally comprised in the rules of 1526) there were 31 villages, all sprung, by extension and fission, from an original parent, or rather, a small number of parents.¹

(C) I am not sure what this ceremonial reading out and writing down, of a general order or decision is. The Portuguese word *nemo* can hardly have anything to do with the Persian 'nāma'; I think it must refer to the Marāthi phrase 'nem (or niyam) lāṇeṇ,' which means 'finally to confirm,' 'set up' or 'establish' anything.

(D) The various rules under the head of 'management' show how much the system has advanced in favour of the State Treasury; particularly the rule in the case of failure of a whole village strikes us as very harsh; for here the other villages, not the treasury, are to bear the loss, although they are in no wise to blame for it.² Moreover, the rules of 'escheat' (on failure of heirs) have been largely extended to benefit the Government, and collateral succession is not recognized. Nothing of the kind was known to ancient custom.

(E) The reader will probably fail to understand what can be meant by 'profit and loss' in the yearly revenue management. Ordinarily, where the revenue is assessed on

¹ We are quite familiar with this process in Northern India, where the parent site is called *khera*, etc., and the offshoot villages, *majrā*, *garhi*, etc. See my "Indian Village Community" (Longmans, 1896), p. 276 foll.

² It is possible, however, that 'custom' may to some extent have justified the rule, if the villages, having developed out of an original central location, still regarded themselves as (in some sense) all one great village.

the whole village and properly distributed among the co-sharers (according to their constitution), as in North-Western India, the only question is of profit or loss to the cultivator or owner. And so in a Bombay raiyatwāri village, every holding bears its own assessment. The State Revenue *can* be no more than the *sum* of these assessments; and there is no question of profit or loss except to the cultivator himself—if the produce is so poor that it does not do more than barely meet expenses, and pay the revenue.

But under the method recorded as 'customary' by the *Foral*, the total amount which the 'Gancars' realize by the proper dues assessed on the several classes of heritable land may not equal the total sum for which they are made responsible by clause 4. In that case (saving only as regards loss due to war) the difference between the realized amount and the required total has to be made good by a surcharge, or further contribution demanded for such lands as are not expressly exempt. This may not, at once, be clear.

It appears from the rules that the village lands include (1) *Watan* lands of the headmen, writer, and village servants; these do not pay any rent or revenue. (2) There may be also other lands granted rent-free. (3) Also lands at a fixed assessment which does not vary, and there is no liability to any cess or surcharge. (4) There may be newly established fields, and vacant lands taken up (as arranged by the headman, clause 9), which, on the lease terms being accepted, become regular holdings. These are all 'heritable lands,' and are in effect private property. We gather from later documents that these holders of land at fixed rates, or on any permanent tenure, were called 'culacharin,' i.e. *kuḷācāri* (Mar.), meaning 'rent-payers'—those who have a fixed *status* (cf. Wilson, Gloss., s.v. *kuḷā*). (5) But a large area of low-lying and flooded rice-land is included in each village (apart from any lands of this class that happen to be private property), and this does not become the property of anyone in particular, but is put up in convenient lots to auction every year, so that the rents bid may be devoted

to meeting the State Revenue-demand in the first instance. In fact, the sum thus realized is probably the sheet anchor. If prices are high and circumstances favourable, the rice-lands may fetch such a sum that, together with the rents due on other lands, the total may more than cover the State demand, and there is a 'profit' which is distributed by a return payment to the persons entitled. Sometimes it will be the case that the total obtained will not cover the State demand; then the holders of lands that are not revenue-free, or on absolutely fixed terms, must make up the loss *pro rata*. It will be observed that the total State revenue is not 'permanently' assessed; it may increase or decrease whether by the effect of a periodical reassessment, or revision of settlement, or otherwise.

Under the later Moslem Settlements in the Dakhan, this system was not pursued: there, the headmen were equally made responsible for a total sum, but when they could not get enough out of the village to make it up, they did not formally redistribute the deficit as these rules direct, but had to pay it themselves, and were allowed to collect an annual 'mushāhara' or cash allowance, which (on the average) recouped them. It is hardly necessary to add that (under either system) great power is put into the hands of the headmen.

(F) Clause 9 is interesting as showing that the *tanga* = *ṭāṅkā* (Mar.) was a coin then in use. There is considerable confusion about the date, and the value, of the coins so called: the more so as '*tanga*' is still used in Goa, but for a copper coin = $\frac{1}{12}$ of the Goa rupee. In the latter case the word seems to be confused with '*ṭakā*,' used for copper coin generally. It is said by Grant Duff that the silver '*ṭāṅkā*' was introduced in 1637 into the Dakhan, and into the Nizām Shāhi kingdom some twenty-seven years earlier.¹ Here, however, we have a silver coin of this name in 1526. The *ṭāṅkā* is variously given as either four or nine 'māsha' of silver (1 māsha = 13 to 17 grains). It

¹ Quoted, J.R.A.S., April, 1897, p. 269.

is, however, clear that in the times of the *Foral*, the 'tanga' was a silver coin worth 60 *reals* or *reis*, and (at the then price of copper) was in value about sixteen pence. It consisted of four '*barganim*,' which appears to be the (Hindi) *bārakāṇi*. The old mediæval *ṭankā* of the Pathān Empire was divided into fractions (*kāṇi*), of which one was $= \frac{1}{84}$. And there were various small coins, one of which was the '*duāzdah-kāṇi*' (or *bāra-kāṇi*), i.e. twelve sixty-fourths. This would be nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *ṭankā*, or about 4d. in value. (See Yule & Burnell, Supplement to Glossary, s.v. *bargani*; and Mr. Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power, etc.," p. 69.)

Later History of the Villages.

There are a number of later documents, and some legislative enactments, which show, as I have already indicated, that these (originally *raiyaṭwāri*) villages have since undergone a great change. Obscure as are the details of the change, there can be no doubt as to its occurrence, or as to its general nature.

It will help to make the matter more intelligible if I call to mind the fact that in India we are quite familiar with historic alterations in the constitution of villages.

Take for example the (very common) origin of '*pattidāri*,' i.e. ancestrally-shared, villages in the North-West Provinces. They arose out of a *transformation of an earlier community*. There was once such a community—no matter how constituted—but enjoying a certain independence. But in the early days of British rule, when the idea of *one landlord* for each village or other estate was still prevalent, a revenue-farmer, or land-manager, got himself recognized, and was recorded, as *the proprietor* of the whole. In the course of some generations, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, succeeding to the inheritance, made the village into shares; they became the founders of the '*patti*,' '*thok*,' and '*ṭūla*' divisions. Within these, the co-sharers gradually multiplied, set up their managing '*pañcāyat*,' and became *the community*

—the original body having sunk to being ‘tenants,’ and *their* constitution (whatever it was) having long disappeared.¹

Or take another case — of the reverse process. In the Thānsra Tāluka of the Kaira district (North Bombay), about the year A.D. 1483, the Sultan *granted* ninety square miles of land to a number of his soldiers who had distinguished themselves at the storming of a noted fort not far off. A certain number of ‘village’ groups were taken possession of, or newly established, in this area. At first, if we may judge from the name ‘Bāragām,’ they were about twelve in number. These threw off hamlets in the usual way, and thus new villages developed. In all there were (in 1872) about twenty-seven. Originally they were held free of revenue; but the Mahrāthas had subjected them to a full assessment, and so they continued. These villages were in fact (though it was not the Bombay custom so to recognize them) ‘pattidāri’ villages, the descendants of the military grantees being the co-sharing owners (in fractional shares). At the Survey Settlement it was actually proposed to the communities that they should be (jointly) assessed at a lump sum for each village, they dividing the responsibility according to their own ancestral shares or constitutional method. But by that time the ‘Māliks’ (so they were called owing to the ownership originally granted them) had become so numerous, and the divided shares so small and in such poverty, that they feared the joint-responsibility and declined it.² The Government officers then dealt wisely with the case; they allowed each ‘house’ to hold its ‘gharkhed’ or private family land (what we should call ‘sīr’ in North-West India) revenue-free, and separately assessed and surveyed the other lands, making them ‘raiyyatwāri,’

¹ This, as a well-known fact, is the origin of a not inconsiderable number of villages (of this particular class) in the N.W.P.

² This shows how much revenue management depends on the character and customs of the people; liabilities cannot be created by administrative measures. And doubtless in Bombay the general prevalence of the *raiyyatwāri* management served as an example to these villages, making them desire it. The poverty had been largely promoted by the exactions of the Mahrātha rulers and the Chief of Balasinūr; but was also due to excessive subdivision of the land among the families.

each holder having to pay the revenue direct to the local treasury. The only distinction was that (in virtue of their original superior position) the old proprietary families were granted a cash allowance (at a rate approximating to fifty per cent. on the assessment). Thus the 'Māliki' tenure (as a special one) has disappeared; the villages became ordinary raiyatwāri villages, only that certain families have a privilege in revenue-free (inām) lands, and a rentcharge or allowance (paid through the treasury) on the other (raiya) holdings. I mention this case in some detail because in principle it represents *just what ought to be done with the old Goa villages*.

In the transformation which the villages of the *Foral* underwent, we have a greater complication. In the cases just stated the change is entirely intelligible because it directly refers to the shares or holdings in land, and to the consequent joint or separate liability for revenue. But in the Goa case, the land holdings, as such, were not affected. It was the rents and proceeds of land, not the land itself, that became the subject of the confused rights which appear at the present day.

The root of the mischief was (and perhaps still is) over assessment of the revenue, and the exaction of other dues besides. And this was aggravated by the fact that the whole revenue charge was made into one lump sum, and the headmen (according to their recognized number) were made jointly responsible to produce it somehow. It is true that the *Foral* declares this to be "the custom." But it was certainly not the old custom of the village; it was the (arbitrary) 'custom' of the Bijāpur Kings.

Nor can it for one moment be supposed that the revenue-demand was merely the aggregate of the properly adjusted, several assessments and lease-rents, duly allowing for rent and revenue-free lands, *watan* lands, and privileged holdings. It was a round sum arbitrarily made up, not of course entirely without reference to *data*, but in excess of any such total, because of the area of rice-land and other unappropriated holdings and waste land, which the headmen

were expected to bring under cultivation, if they were expert and diligent.

But in truth the revenue-demand was almost certainly liable to arbitrary increase by the harsh rules of 'escheat' and the limitation of rights of inheritance, which would cause lands bearing additional revenue to be put on the list from time to time. And we find that in 1541, the revenue- (and rent-)free grants of even the village servants were withdrawn! Moreover, from certain rules in 1735 we learn that the ecclesiastics had been in the habit of demanding tolls from the village under the name of 'alms' (*esmolas*), and of imprisoning the villagers and distraining their goods to get payment. By the orders in question this custom was prohibited, but they show that it had long existed.

Under ordinary circumstances the extensive power thus put in the hands of the headmen would have made them *de facto* owners of all the village land, or at least have made all the holders (that were not rent-free) their subservient tenants. And this would have been followed by the headmen (as revenue-farmers) dividing the revenue-liability into definite (fractional) shares, and the village lands into corresponding shares. But it does not appear that any such stage actually developed. It is indeed necessary to suppose that the Gancars had *some* method of apportioning the revenue-responsibility among themselves—either by taking fractional shares of the money total, or by allotting the area and each headman becoming responsible for the proportion of revenue that fell on his particular portion. Curiously, no mention is made of anything of this kind. Nevertheless it is certain that the Gancars had no power to sell the village lands, whether in the hands of 'culacharins' (p. 281) or otherwise. They devoted themselves, therefore, to getting the largest total proceeds from rents of leased lands, auction-rents of rice-lands, dues and levies from hereditary landholders, etc., etc. That such landholders remained in existence is certain, since 'culacharins' are mentioned in the latest papers.

As long as matters went tolerably well, these total proceeds (supplemented by others to be mentioned presently) would make a sum somewhat larger than the revenue-demand; at least there was always the hope that it would do so, or could be made by good management to do so. Consequently the headmen, either with a view of saving themselves trouble, or being under the necessity of raising money on the security of the future collections, began to *sell shares* in the prospective proceeds of the village to persons who were neither headmen, nor village residents, nor landholders. In one village, it is noted that one person bought up the whole of the income; in another, there were some hundreds of purchasers of shares in the proceeds, contending with as many Gancars.

In 1604 some ineffectual efforts were made to prevent such sales.

The purchasers of shares in the proceeds of land taxation were called 'cuntocar' = (I suppose) to khūṇṭakār (Mar.). In Hindi, 'khūnt' means a share in land; but in Konkan-Marāṭhi 'khūṇṭa' means a 'peg'—hence a lot or share marked out or defined for purposes of taxation.

It is almost impossible to explain further how these 'shares' arose or on what they are based. The Portuguese authorities give no clue: they speak of them as 'tanga shares,' or as we might say 'rupee shares.'¹ In Northern India nothing is commoner than to find a whole village treated as 'one bighā' or 'one rupee,' and then the shares are expressed in the customary subdivisions in the scale of land-measure or of money as the case may be. Thus we have a 'biswa' share, or a 'four-ana' share, meaning in the one case $\frac{1}{4}$ and in the other $\frac{1}{4}$, and so on. This arose when people had no idea of the 'vulgar fractions' of our arithmetic.

But in Goa the 'shares' are certainly *not fractions of land or rights in land*: they appear, as I said, to be fractions of

¹ Mr. Whiteway refers to the "Oriente Conquistado," vol. i, 171; but the suggested explanation there offered is quite meaningless. Other writers frankly confess their ignorance.

the estimated or prospective income derivable either from certain specified divisions or plots or allotted claims (*khūṇṭa*) of the village, or of the income derived from several different *heads of collection*.¹ Perhaps it is both. We know that in the Dakhan villages (under the Moslem system) there were two main heads of collections—(i) the various rents and cesses taken from the cultivated land-holdings (*kālī*), and (ii) those taken from the village-site in connection with houses, shops, village trade, and export, etc. (*pāṇḍhri*). If something of the kind became customary in the Goa villages, it would be quite natural. And it is not difficult to imagine that the income from each main division might be again classified under various sub-heads and separately dealt with. The land-income would be that from the fixed rents of the *kuḷāçāri*, from the auctioned rice-lands, from the vacant holdings, from the leased lands, and (very likely) from several imposts on the free lands. Thus the income under each head might be ‘farmed’ in (few or many) portions to as many ‘sharers.’ I only suggest this as possible under the circumstances of the case. Whatever, then, the nature of the ‘*cuntocar*’ or sharer’s interest, there must soon have been an *impasse*. The ‘sharer’ had no control over the management of the cultivation or the arrangements for leasing lands, etc., from which his profit was to be derived; the ‘*gancar*’ had parted (bit by bit) with every vestige of the income he once derived from the lands (and other sources), which he was nevertheless alone empowered to manage. The landholder with his fixed rent, or his ‘lease,’ had nothing to say to either. Up to 1735, the *collections under various heads* (sic) were sold by auction to the *Gancar* (in the village) who made the highest

¹ This is suggested by references to different kinds or classes of income, e.g., ‘*tangas de gutoga*,’ ‘*tangas de raxy*’ (which latter is said to include certain items, as *recamo*, *vantem*, *serodio*). It is impossible (and the dictionaries give no help) to find what either these distorted native or the Portuguese words mean. ‘*Gutta*’ (or *Gutaka*) in Marāṭhi (by the way) means a monopoly or sale, for a fixed annual payment, of a right to certain variable amounts from a given source. ‘*Raxy*’ (*Rākhi* or *Rākshi*) might mean some tax levied for protection of the place against enemies.

bid.¹ A bailiff (*saccador*) was also appointed to go round and collect the actual payments; and *he* got the post (and might be an outsider) as the person who offered the *lowest* bid at auction, i.e. would accept the smallest personal remuneration for the work of collecting. In 1735 the orders (Cap. 3) permitted (at last) that the sharers should be allowed to bid at the (annual) auction, but (to save appearance of altering the rule) *through* a Gancar. Some further changes were made; but not till about 1850 were the 'sharers' allowed any voice in the management. When this was conceded, the 'headmen' as such, having nothing in the way of interest except in their hereditary holdings (and those perhaps much encumbered), ceased to have any distinctive position.² In 1858 they petitioned that they might be restored to their former rights. Nothing, however, could be done, and they gradually dropped out of the records, the more recent papers containing no reference to them. Dr. J. N. da Fonseca says expressly "there are now no headmen." Meanwhile efforts were made to reconstitute some kind of 'community' out of the new material—the 'sharers' and others, and the landholders who still had various interests. Some of the sharers held their right in the form of a share in the profits (whatever they might be) in the particular collection in which they had an interest. Others had been able to commute their interest to a cash pension of fixed amount; others held a 'lease' or farm (of certain items of collection) at a fixed sum in perpetuity.

The confusion was enough to puzzle the wisest administrator, and unfortunately the whole had been attempted to be regulated by orders which were drafted and dealt with by European lawyers who evidently possessed little or no knowledge of the village tenures and native customs.

¹ He would then have to account to the various 'sharers' for the money each was entitled to; and if he was fortunate in his bid he would find the actual collections sufficient to satisfy the revenue and the sharers, and have a little over for himself.

² Evidently the 'sharers' had to be responsible for the revenue among themselves; or some official saw the revenue payment taken, before the 'sharers' were allowed to touch the balance.

In 1882 the curious experiment was tried of making (by law) the whole body of interested 'sharers' into a kind of joint-stock company. Some, who had fixed 'pensions' (in lieu of profits), retained them; all others had to commute their rights into a certain number of shares of Rs. 10 each (fractions not being allowed). Apparently over a large part of the village lands no separate possessory rights remained.¹ The lands, or rather the dues leviable on them, were the 'capital' of the joint-stock association, *who also owned all the ploughs and tools and cattle*. I have not seen any details as to how the actual cultivation of the land was carried on, and what was the *status* of the persons who worked the fields, whether they paid annual rents or gave a share of the grain, or what. Presumably the rents and other dues of all kinds would be brought to account, the revenue charges first paid and the profits (if any) divided among the pensioners and shareholders.

As might be expected, this plan failed to work; and in 1897 permission was given for the *desamortização* (which I suppose means dissolution) of the joint-stock business, on a resolution of the 'sharers' being passed to that effect. In that case the villages were to be cadastrally surveyed, and the several holdings put up to auction.

We do not possess any details of how this is to be carried out, and it is of course too early to predict results.

But one thing may be confidently stated: the only possible foundation for a permanent arrangement is to *restore the raigatwāri constitution*, i.e. to make a careful cadastral survey, and to *assess on every holding* a proper revenue-demand, which it must pay, without any 'extras' and without any joint-liability. The best plan (if it were not thought impossible) would be to borrow from the Bombay Government (who alone possess the really competent staff) a good Settlement officer and body of experienced land-classifiers to do the work.

¹ What with vacant holdings, the unappropriated rice-lands, the resumed grants, and the escheated lands, the area actually held by hereditary cultivators (with a certain customary assessment to pay) must have become quite a minor portion of the whole area.

The question of the rights of the 'sharers' would have to be settled by commuting uncertain claims for a fixed amount, to be met either by taking over the hereditary right in the (vacant) holdings, or having a certain allowance paid through the treasury, the revenue-demand being adjusted on this supposition. Perhaps certain sharers might be recognized as 'superior occupants' entitled to a (defined) rentcharge on this or that holding or survey number. Thus the villages would return to being orderly 'raiyat-wāri' villages, as they were at first. And perhaps some descendants of the old Gānwākārs and Kulkarnīs could again take office as headmen and accountants, under proper rules to prevent any right to the emoluments or to the authority becoming again shared among a number, or being frittered away or alienated.

ART. XII.—*The Story of the Death of the last Abbasid Caliph, from the Vatican MS. of Ibn-al-Furāt.* By G. LE STRANGE.

AT the end of January of the year 1258 A.D., after a siege of more than a month, the Mongol army stormed and took possession of Baghdad; then, on or about the 18th of February following, the thirty-seventh and last Caliph of the House of Abbas, Al-Musta'ṣim-billah, was by order of Hūlāgū put to death. Concerning the manner of his death the accounts differ; unfortunately there has come down to us no narrative by an eye-witness of these events, for the only really contemporary historian, the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, was a native of India and wrote at Delhi.

About the year 1300 A.D. three independent, but substantially identical, accounts of the death of the Caliph were made public in Europe, these being written severally by Marco Polo the Venetian, by Joinville the Frenchman, and by Hayton the Armenian (from whom Sir John Mandevill's notice is taken); and in all three we have the well-known story how the Caliph was starved to death surrounded by plates of gold,¹ an account which has been further popularized by Longfellow in the poem of '*Kambalu*.'

For purposes of comparison it may be convenient to quote this story as narrated by Hayton, whose work is perhaps less well known than that of either Marco Polo or Joinville. He was, it will be remembered, an Armenian baron who, about the year 1305 A.D., wearying of warfare and politics, left his native land, became a Premonstratensian

¹ Joinville merely says that the Caliph was shut up in an iron cage, but implies that he was finally left by Hūlāgū to starve.

monk in Cyprus, and next journeying to Europe came to Avignon, where he was favourably received by Clement V. At the request of the Pope, Hayton composed and dictated his Oriental History: it was first written down in French (*Les fleurs des hystoires de la terre Dorient*), and a Latin version having been made from this, the work was presented to Clement V in 1307 A.D. About the year 1525 this 'Cronycle' was translated into English by Richard Pynson, and printed by him in a small folio, black-letter, for Edward Duke of Buckingham.¹

"And than Halcon commaunded that the Calyf with all his treasoure sholde be brought afore hym. And than he sayd to the Calyfe, 'Knowest thou nat that all this tresour was thyn?' and he answered 'Ye.' Than sayd Halcon unto hym, 'Wherefore dyde you make no good ordinance & prouysion for to defende your landes from oure power?' And than the Calyf answered hym, he thought that the olde women had ben sufficyent to defende the lands. Than sayd Halcon to the Calyf of Baldach, 'Bycause that thou art maister and techer of Mahometz lawe, we shall make the fede of these precieuse tresour and richesesses that thou hast loued so moche in thi lyfe.' And than Halcon commaunded that the Calyf sholde be put in a close chambre & that some of his tresour sholde be layd before hym, and that he sholde eate of it yf he wolde. And in the same maner the wretched Calyfe endede his lyfe, and neuer sythe was Calyfe in Baldache."

Joinville and Marco Polo, as already said, in substance narrate this same story of how the Caliph was left to die surrounded by dishes of gold and gems; and in the veracious pages of Sir John Mandevill the account has become popular

¹ A copy of this rare book exists in the British Museum Library, and for the following transcript (beginning col. 1, folio xv *recto* of the same) I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the Department of Oriental MSS. in the British Museum, as also for the bibliographical notes given above. It is curious that until the middle of the present century the work of Hayton had not existed in his native Armenian language, so that the countrymen of the author during more than five centuries had to read the book in the old French or in one of the numerous European translations. In 1842, however, an Armenian version was made of this History of the Tartars, and printed at Venice, by the monks of the well-known Armenian convent on the Island of San Lazzaro.

all the world over. This story appears also to be well known in other Armenian writers, but among Moslem historians it is rather conspicuous by its absence in their narratives of the destruction of the Caliphate by the Mongol hordes. Thus it is *not* to be found in the pages of the contemporary *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī* (1260 A.D.), nor is the story mentioned by Abu-l-Faraj (1286), Fakhrī (1300), Rashīd-ad-Dīn (1300), Hamd Allah Mastawfī (1330), Ibn Khaldūn (1380), or Suyūṭī (1500).¹ In so far as I am aware the earliest allusion to the story by any Moslem author is that to be found in the pages of Waṣṣāf, who, about the year 1300, wrote in Persian a verbose and extremely rhetorical history of the early Mongol sovereigns of Persia. Waṣṣāf, in most flowery Persian, interspersed with Arabic couplets, makes a long story, which is to the effect that after Musta'sim had surrendered Baghdad, the Mongols placed gold coins before the hungry Caliph on a dish, and when he declined eating them, an interpreter by order of Hūlāgū reproached him for crass folly in not having spent some of this useless wealth in raising troops to defend his capital. Then, according to Waṣṣāf (and all the Moslem authors agree in this), instead of being starved to death, the Caliph was, by order of Hūlāgū, rolled in a carpet and trampled on until life was extinct, the shedding of his blood being thus avoided.²

In the catalogue of Oriental MSS. in the Vienna Imperial Library, compiled in 1865 by Professor Flügel, a notice will be found (vol. ii, p. 46, No. 814) of a voluminous chronicle composed by Ibn-al-Furāt, who died at Cairo in 807 (1404 A.D.). Nine volumes of this chronicle exist at

¹ G. Weil in his *Geschichte der Chalifen* makes no mention of the anecdote, nor does Sir W. Muir, who follows him. Major Price in his *Muhammadian Dynasties* (ii, 221) gives the story as reported by the late authority of Khwānd-amīr in the *Habīb-as-Siyār*.

² *Geschichte Wāṣṣāf, Persisch herausgegeben und Deutsch übersetzt*, by Hammer-Purgstall, Vienna, 1856, pp. 77-9 of the text and 75-6 of the translation. This Persian account is reproduced from Waṣṣāf, without acknowledgment, by both Mirkhwānd writing about the year 1500 A.D. (*Rawḍat-aṣ-Ṣifā*, Bombay lithographed edition of 1266 A.H., part v, p. 75) and by Khwānd-amīr some thirty years later (*Habīb-as-Siyār*, Bombay lithographed edition of 1271 A.H., part iii, section 1, p. 55).

Vienna, dealing with events between the years 501 and 799 A.H.; but unfortunately the series is not complete, and after the fifth volume, which covers the years from 600 to 624 A.H., one or more sections are missing. Professor Flügel, however, was apparently not aware of the good fortune which has preserved to us one (at least) of these missing volumes among the MSS. of the Vatican Library, where, in the Catalogue of Oriental Codices compiled by Angelo Mai (Rome, 1831), it is described (p. 607) under the No. 726 *Arab.* For convenience this MS. has been bound up in two parts, but it is paged continuously throughout, and deals with the events of the years from 639 (not 633 as erroneously printed in the catalogue) to 659 A.H.¹ This Chronicle of Ibn-al-Furāt is especially rich in details of the Crusading period, and the Vienna MS. has already been made use of by Michaud in his *Histoire des Croisades*; further, it may be worthy of notice that the Vatican MS. (f. 378a) ends with a long description of the Fortresses of Syria and Palestine, and how these frequently changed hands from Christians to Moslems, and back again, an account which would possibly repay a careful examination by anyone interested in the history of the Crusades.

Ibn-al-Furāt was born in Cairo in 735 (1335 A.D.), and, it will be remembered, that the line of phantom Caliphs descended from the Abbasids of Baghdad had had their residence in Egypt under the Mamlūk Sultans, since the installation in nominal sovereignty of the Caliph Al-Hākīm by Sultan Baybars in 661 (1262 A.D.). Therefore, although

¹ I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. H. F. Amedroz, to whom I am indebted for having called my attention to this MS. last year when we were in Rome together for the Thirteenth Orientalist Congress; and he has laid me under no inconsiderable obligation in generously giving me his transcript of many pages of the MS. made by him before my arrival. Also I must take occasion to record my gratitude to the Reverend Father F. Ehrle, S.J., Librarian at the Vatican, who afforded me every facility for examining and copying the MSS. in his charge. The present copy of Ibn-al-Furāt (namely the nine volumes at Vienna and the two in Rome) purports to be an autograph, and the part preserved in the Vatican has in it many blank pages as though left for additional matter that the author never had time to fill in. Further, the Vatican MS., to judge by a note on the last page, would appear to have at one time belonged to the historian Makrizī, who was some thirty years junior to Ibn-al-Furāt and must doubtless have known him in Cairo.

Ibn-al-Furāt must have written his chronicle fully a century after the sack of Baghdad by Hūlāgū, he may very well have met in Cairo, at the court of the Egyptian Abbasids, those whose fathers or grandfathers had originally fled to Cairo from Baghdad at the time of the death of Mustaʿsim. Be that as it may, his account of the Mongol siege of Baghdad, though lacking in exact topographical details, is full of anecdotes of the last Caliph and his advisers; also we here get (so far as I know), for the first time in an *Arabic* chronicle, the story of Mustaʿsim, left fainting for lack of food, being surrounded by dishes of gold and gems.

After narrating the chief events of the siege (Vatican MS. cited above, ff. 190a-195b)—and Ibn-al-Furāt mentions nothing that is not well-known from the writings of Rashīd-ad-Dīn and other writers more nearly contemporary than himself—our author proceeds to state that in the first month of the year 656 the city of Baghdad was finally stormed, and the Caliph with his sons having surrendered, these were brought out and lodged in a tent within the lines of the Mongol camp. An anecdote is next given, at some length, about a certain white bird that came to roost on the tent where the Caliph was imprisoned, and what Mustaʿsim replied to Hūlāgū's enquiries on the subject of the said bird: this though edifying from a Moslem point of view is quite devoid of historical interest, and so need not be quoted. The story of the death of the Caliph is then given, and the following is a translation of the text (f. 196b):—

“Then Hūlāgū gave command, and the Caliph was left a-hungering, until his case was that of very great hunger, so that he called asking that somewhat might be given him to eat. And the accursed Hūlāgū sent for a dish with gold therein, and a dish with silver therein, and a dish with gems, and ordered these all to be set before the Caliph al Mustaʿsim, saying to him, ‘Eat these.’ But the Caliph made answer, ‘These be not fit for eating.’ Then said Hūlāgū: ‘Since thou didst so well know that these be not fit for eating, why didst thou make a store thereof? With part thereof thou mightest have sent gifts to propitiate

us, and with part thou shouldst have raised an army to serve thee and defend thyself against us.' And Hūlāgū commanded them to take forth the Caliph and his son to a place without the camp, and they were here bound and put into two great sacks, being afterwards trampled under foot till they both died—the mercy of Allah be upon them."

To explain the more immediate cause of the order for execution, Ibn-al-Furāt gives another account, narrating how the Caliph and his son Abu Bakr were brought before Hūlāgū,¹ who rising to his feet seated the Caliph very honourably beside him on the throne, Abu Bakr standing near by as his father's chamberlain. Now the young man was not as humble by temperament as was the Caliph, and when Hūlāgū began publicly to reproach Musta'şim for not having taken steps in time to ward off the evil that had now come on his people and his religion—as (said Hūlāgū) a true king of the Moslems should have done—the youth Abu Bakr lost patience, and crying out, "Is it for thee, O enemy of Allah, thus to browbeat the Commander of the Faithful?" forthwith spat in the face of Hūlāgū. On which the Mongol chief, naturally becoming wrath, ordered both his prisoners off to execution, which, says Ibn-al-Furāt, according to one account was carried into effect by strangling.

A general massacre of the inhabitants of Baghdad followed, lasting 34 days, or some say as long as 40 days (ff. 196a, 197a), and the Mongols then set fire to the capital. The number of the slain is reported to have been in excess of 2,330,000; and Hūlāgū was only dissuaded from the complete annihilation of Baghdad and its people by the advice of his general Kitbughā, who pointed out that if some of the population were not spared, money and provisions for the Mongol army could not be collected, whereby

¹ The name of the Mongol chief is generally given by Ibn-al-Furāt under the usual Arabic form of *Hūlākū* for *Hūlāgū*; in this anecdote, however, the name is spelt *Hulāwūn* or *Hulāwūn*, which I believe is unusual in Arabic or Persian authors.

great loss of wealth in the future would thus ensue. On which Hülāgū ordered the flames to be extinguished, and granted quarter to all those of the inhabitants who were still left alive (f. 200*a*, *b*). Various anecdotes are then given by Ibn-al-Furāt. One, at some length (f. 201*a*), relates how a company of Fakīrs, theological students and men of the Khānikāhs (Moslem convents), all dressed in white assembled on the Bridge of boats at Baghdad just as Hülāgū was departing, and proceeded to devote themselves to death, by martyrdom, seeing that their master the Commander of the Faithful had already thus suffered. Twice over Hülāgū sent his chamberlain to dissuade them, telling them that by order of the great Kān, Changīz Khān, non-combatants were to be spared, and so bidding them go their ways in peace. They insisted, however, that death was unavoidable, and that martyrdom was most desirable at the hands of those who had slain their Caliph. Whereupon, the chamberlain having returned with their second answer, the chronicler adds that Hülāgū "smiling ordered them all to be slain, and they were shot to death with arrows, the mercy of Allah be upon them."

It may be mentioned that Ibn-al-Furāt cites a number of contradictory notices (f. 198*a*, *b*) as to the exact date of the putting to death of Musta'ṣim, a matter on which certainty is unattainable, and indeed is of no great importance. Further, in the account of the plundering of Baghdad Ibn-al-Furāt states (f. 196*b*) that Hülāgū sent for the Staff and Mantle of the Prophet Muḥammad (which then existed, it would seem, in the treasury of the Caliph), and ordered these both to be burnt in a dish (*ṭabaḳ*), their ashes being subsequently thrown into the Tigris. According to the chronicler, the Mongol chief did not on this occasion act from mere impiety. "For (said he) I have not burnt these regarding them as of no importance, nay rather I have burnt them to keep them undefiled, since none now hath the right to wear the Mantle or to carry the Staff; and even I, according to our law, am also not fit to make use of either of these things."

This presumably was after the death of the Caliph, and if the anecdote be true it would appear somewhat to invalidate the authenticity of the Staff and Mantle of the Prophet, now preserved at Stamboul, which is used at the inauguration of every new Ottoman Sultan, who, as all know, claims to be the true Commander of the Faithful. Perhaps, however, it may be that the Prophet Muḥammad left behind him more than one Staff and Mantle for the edification of true believers, and the proper use of his Caliph and Vicegerent, whether he may live at Constantinople, Cairo, or Baghdad.

ART. XIII.—*Contributions to the History of Aḥikar and Nadan.* By M. GASTER.

THE history of Aḥikar and his nephew Nadan forms part of Eastern popular literature. When publishing my history of Roumanian popular literature seventeen years ago (Bucureesti, 1883) I devoted a special chapter to the Roumanian versions of this history (pp. 104–114). I was the first to recognize the connection between the Roumanian and Slavonic versions and those contained in the Arabian Nights. I then drew attention to the intimate relation between this legend and that which has entered the Greek life of Æsop. Since that time scholars have paid much attention to this legend, especially as through Meissner's studies it is being considered as one of the lost Apocrypha mentioned already in the Book of Tobit.

The whole material has now been collected under the title "The Story of Aḥikar, from the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Slavonic versions, by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewis. London, 1898." In the Introduction (pp. vii–lxxxviii) the attempt is made to reconstruct the old Hebrew form of Aḥikar, especially in Chapters V and VI. Before examining this hypothesis, and many of the points touched upon in that Introduction, I will first give a direct contribution to the text itself by translating the Roumanian version. I have selected for this purpose, out of a number of manuscripts mentioned by me in my *History of Roumanian Literature* ("Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie," ed. Groeber), ii, 3, p. 387, the version contained in my manuscript No. 90, written 1777.

THE ROUMANIAN VERSION.

The History of Arkirie, the very wise, who taught his nephew Nadan in matters of wisdom and learning, that he should have sense and philosophy and good knowledge.

In the days of King Sanagriptu there lived in the land of Rodu (Doru) a man named Arkirie. This very wise Arkirie adopted a nephew, the son of his sister, of the name of Anadan (for he had no children). He fed him with white bread and honey and good wine, and taught him philosophy. And he said to him :

1. "My son, I teach thee first : Enter into no business with the mighty, nor buy anything from them, nor buy stolen goods, lest thy own goods perish with them.

2. "My son Anadan, honour thy father and thy mother, so that they should not curse thee, and let thy goods remain blessed and thou eat and rejoice in them (cf. Akyr. 25).¹

3. "My son Anadan, when thou servest a wicked master, do not tell him that he is wicked and that he should have mercy on thee, but do what he orders thee.

4. "My son, do not talk in the presence of thy master, for thou wilt err and he will hate thee.

5. "My son Anadan, go to church on each holiday, and on Sundays, for God will feed thee (cf. Akyr. 33).

6. "My son Anadan, wherever thou seest a man sad and in sorrow crying, go to him and comfort him, and remind him that he will also die (cf. Akyr. 41).

7. "My son, when thou reachest a high position, then bow before everyone, for with thy wisdom thou wilt reach a higher place still.

8. "Be not hasty in thine anger lest thou repent afterwards (cf. Akyr. 97).

9. "My son Anadan, whatever thou wishest to obtain from God, pray continually, for in time God will grant it to thee.

¹ The references in parentheses are to the Slavonic version in the above publication of Conybeare, etc.

10. "My son, keep thy hand from theft; do not murder, and do not speak evil (cf. Akyr. 119).

11. "My son Anadan, flee from unchastity, especially from married women, for thou wilt lose thy head (cf. Akyr. 119).

12. "My son, listen to the wise man, though he be poor, for that is the way in which God acts; one day he gives to one and the other day to the other.

13. "As long as thou livest, beware from digging a pit for others, for thou art sure to fall in it.

14. "A wise man listens (to words), but the fool, even when thou strikest him, will never learn anything (cf. Akyr. 49).

15. "My son Anadan, take no bribes, for bribes blind the soul and make thee lose it, and darken the eyes of man (cf. Akyr. 53).

16. "My son, better be served by a righteous slave than by a wicked brother (cf. Akyr. 61).

17. "It is better to lie on the gridiron than to live with a wicked wife, and do not confide thy advice and thy faith to anyone (cf. Akyr. 68).

18. "My son Anadan, when thou speakest to thy master let thy mouth be locked with three locks—one on the heart, and the other on the mind, and the third on the mouth—for when thou once hast spoken, the word cannot be caught back either on horse, or by wind hounds, or by the hawk.

19. "Again, my son Anadan, honour and support the good and the wise, though he be only wise in his way and not rich.

20. "My son Anadan, if thou hast a wicked neighbour do not neglect him, for God will have mercy upon thee, and he will not be able to harm thee.

21. "My son Anadan, be not a liar, for a lie first goes to the bottom as heavy as lead, and at last it floats like a leaf on the water (cf. Akyr. 74).

22. "My son, it is better to carry stones with the wise than to feast with a fool.

23. "My son, honour thy brothers and thy friends, lest he speaks nicely in thy presence, but behind thy back he will hurt thee and smite thee.

24. "My son, if anyone throws stones at thee, throw bread, for the bread will come back to thee and the stone will return to him who throws it.

25. "My son, it is better that a wise man beats thee than that the fool honours thee.

26. "My son, when thou sittest at other peoples' table do not sit high up, for other people and greater people will come and move thee to a lower place; but when thou sittest at a lower end, and when once they have called thee up, they will no more move thee down.

27. "Nor shalt thou invite anyone to a stranger's table.

28. "Do not sit too long; better sit a little and let them regret that thou dost not tarry longer.

29. "When thou art invited come properly dressed, otherwise better stay at home and let them regret thy absence, instead of going unprepared, for he wishes to honour thee, and thou puttest him to shame.

30. "My son, do not go out in the night without arms, for thou knowest not whom thou shalt meet.

31. "My son, when thou startest on a journey, carry thy own food with thee, and count not on that of thy companions, for thou wilt remain hungry (cf. Akyr. 78).

32. "My son, do not start alone on a journey, and on the way do not eat all thy food, relying upon thy companion, for when thy food comes to an end he will not give thee; (for fruit in a stranger's sack get easily bad and rancid).

33. "My son, if anyone give thee good advice listen to it, for it will be very useful to thee; it will be like fresh water from a pure fountain to a thirsty man.

34. "My son, do not go to other tables uninvited, and

35. "What thou dost not like for thyself do it not unto others.

36. "My son Anadan, take care of the top of the sack and not of the bottom, for the bottom is also the end."

When he had instructed him in all the philosophy and wisdom and knowledge, Arkirie took his nephew Anadan and brought him to the King Sanagriptu. Bringing him to Court, Arkirie said: "Honourable King, I will present my nephew Anadan that he serve your Majesty, for I have grown old, and am not able to serve any longer." And the King Sanagriptu, in reply, said: "I am very pleased to fulfil your wish, Arkirie." And Arkirie said unto the King: "May it be thy gracious will to appoint my nephew Great Logothet." And he was appointed to that post, and it went well with him, and he was greatly honoured at Court.

But Anadan harboured evil thoughts in his heart, and he thought how he could destroy his uncle Arkirie, so that he should get all his property. So he wrote a false letter without the knowledge of the King, and he wrote as follows: "I, Anadan, in the name of the illustrious king Sanagriptu, send greetings and good health to my beloved friend and father, the wise Arkirie. The moment when thou receivest this letter assemble the warriors from that part of the country and come as fast as thou canst, for the king is in great trouble." When Arkirie read this letter he at once gathered his hosts, and started to go with all his hosts to the King. When Anadan knew that his uncle had approached the place, he took the king by the hand and led him to a high tower and showed him the army. The king was greatly astounded, and said: "What can this mean?" Then Anadan said: "There is my uncle Arkirie, who has risen in rebellion against thee." And the king said: "What am I to do to save myself from this great danger?" And Anadan said: "When he will have come much nearer I will go out and meet him, and with good words I will persuade him to come with me, and I will bring him to thee." And the king said: "If thou bringest him, there will be no one greater than thee in this realm." And the king said, "Go."

And Anadan then went and said: "Greetings to Arkirie, to my father, welcome in health. The king is waiting for thee, for he is oppressed with dangers from many quarters."

And he kissed his hand and he repeated : "Greetings from the king." Arkirie said : "Hail unto thee, my son Anadan ; and how is the king ?—is it well with him ?" Anadan replied : "He is in great troubles, and he wishes thee to come to him as quickly as possible." And Arkirie replied : "With pleasure." So he got up and went to the king as a faithful servant, not knowing anything. Anadan made obeisance to the king with his uncle, and the king said : "Is it right that thou shalt come with hosts against me ? My father and I have been kind to thee, and there was no one more honoured in the kingdom, and now thou desirest to kill me, but instead of that thy punishment will overtake thee." Arkirie replied : "I know nothing of it, my lord." The king replied : "Why hast thou acted in that manner against me ?" And the king said to his counsellors : "How shall we punish him according to his deserts ?" Not one of them answered, but Anadan said : "The punishment shall be that his head be struck off and carried one hundred feet away from his body." And the king said to the great executioner : "Go and cut his head off."

And Arkirie said to the executioner : "Remember the kindness which I have done unto thee, and I pray unto thee speak to the king on my behalf, and tell him Arkirie prays that he be led to his own house to suffer there the punishment, so that his wife and his slaves may weep over him and bury him." And the executioner went to the king and repeated his words. And the king said : "Take him to his house and put him to death." So they brought him to his house. On the second day they sat down and feasted together, and Arkirie said to the executioner : "Remember—and it is right that man should remember the good that has been shown to him—that I have shown friendship unto thee, and now has the time come to return kindness to me. Put me not to death. There is a man in prison who is like myself ; strike off his head and bring it to the king." The executioner complied willingly with his request, and struck off the man's head and returned to the king. Arkirie made an underground dwelling in his

house, and there he lived for nine years, no one knowing anything of it with the exception of his wife. Anadan asked now from the king the houses and property that belonged to Arkirie his uncle. The king gave them to him. He went to the house of his uncle, and he began to beat the servants and slaves, and he held great feasts and dances over the grave of his uncle. And many other such things. Arkirie heard all this and suffered.

In another country there lived a king by name Pharaon. When he heard that Arkirie, the philosopher, had been killed, he sent a messenger to Annagriptu (I. Sanagriptu), saying: "I bid thee know, that the moment thou seest this my letter, thou shalt send me some workmen, for I wish to build a castle which shall be neither in heaven nor upon earth, and these workmen shall come, neither walking on foot nor riding on horseback; they shall be neither dressed nor naked. If thou wilt not do as I wish, then gather thy hosts for battle." When Sanagriptu saw this letter he was greatly disturbed and wondered how to do it, for he had no one to counsel him, and he said to his counsellors: "If Arkirie had been alive, I should have had some one to advise me, but you have caused me to kill him, and now I am sure to lose my country." And all the counsellors were greatly vexed and wondered what to do. Then the executioner said: "O illustrious king, if anyone would bring Arkirie back alive, what wouldst thou do to him?" And the king replied: "There shall be no greater man than him in my whole kingdom." So he went and brought Arkirie from his underground cell. When they brought him out, his hair reached to the ground, and his nails were like scythes, and his eyes were closed, for the hair of his lashes and eyebrows covered them completely; and they brought him to the king.

When the king perceived him he greatly rejoiced, and said: "O Arkirie, what am I to do, as the king Pharaon has sent a missive asking me to send master-workmen to build a castle which shall be neither in heaven nor upon earth, and those masters shall be neither dressed nor naked,

and they shall come neither on foot nor on horseback." Arkirie replied: "Be comforted, O king, and rejoice, for I will accomplish this thing, but give me ten days grace until I shall have recovered the sight of my eyes." The king granted his wish, and after the ten days Arkirie came to the king and asked him to give him two eaglets. He took these eaglets with him and entered a boat, taking the master-workmen with him dressed in fisher-nets, and so they came to the king Pharaon.

When they reached the place the king did not recognize him, and he asked them, "How did you come?" And Arkirie replied: "Neither on foot nor on horseback, and now, Pharaon, be ready for to-morrow." On the second day Arkirie took a boy and put him in a high bedstead (a cage), and he tied the two eaglets to that bedstead, and the two eaglets began to fly aloft, for the boy kept in his hands an iron spit with meat on the top of it. He showed it to them as if he were willing to feed them, and the eaglets were very hungry, as they had been kept for three days without food. The boy then cried: "Bring lime and stones, for the workmen are ready, and we wish to build the castle in the heights—neither in heaven nor upon earth." And Arkirie said unto the king: "Give orders to the people to carry up lime and stones, as the workmen are waiting for work." The king wondered at it, and he said: "In truth we are at fault now, as we cannot carry up the lime and stones."

The king then recognized that it was Arkirie, and he said unto him: "I want you to make me a rope of sand." Arkirie went and bored a hole through the wall of a room, and in the morning when the sun rose the rays of the sun penetrated the room through that hole, and Arkirie said to the king: "Send and tie the foals up quickly with that rope, so that I may twist another." And the king wondered and said, "Thou art truly the philosopher Arkirie!" and he said unto him, "I am it"; and he told him all that had happened to him, and how his nephew had spoken evil against him.

He returned then from that place, and came back and made obeisance to the king, and said: "I wish you to deliver up to me my nephew Anadan that I teach him my philosophy, for I have hitherto not taught him sufficiently well." And the king said, "Go and take him." And he got hold of him by the chest and brought him to his house.

And he made four iron staffs and four clubs of wood with nails sticking out of them, and he put Anadan down and began to beat him. And Anadan said: "Forgive me, my father, and let me be the meanest of swineherds, only let me live." But Arkirie said: "No, my son, thou hast acted towards me in the same manner as the wolf acted when he went to the teacher to be taught; for whilst the teacher said A B C D the wolf said: 'For the lambs' and 'for the sheep' and 'for the goats' and 'for the kids'; in the same manner hast thou acted towards me, my son."

And he began to beat him. And Anadan said: "Have mercy on me, and I will be a shepherd." And Arkirie said: "Thou hast acted towards me as the wolf who followed the sheep and met the shepherd, who said to him: 'Happy journey to thee, wolf.' The wolf replied: 'Thank thee.' And he asked him: 'Whither art thou going so fast?' And the wolf said: 'I follow the track of the sheep, for an old woman had told me that the dust of the sheep was wholesome for the eyes.' In the same manuer hast thou acted against me."

And he began again to beat him, but Anadan said: "Have pity on me, and I will groom thy horses." But Arkirie said: "No, my son, thou hast acted towards me like a man who, leading an ass on the road, tied it with a loose rope. The ass broke the rope and ran away. On his way he met the wolf, and the wolf said unto him: 'Happy journey unto thee, ass!' And the ass replied: 'Unhappy it will be, for the man tied me up with a rotten rope, so that I broke it and ran away, and he did not tie me with a good rope.'" And Arkirie continued to beat him until he died.

Thus far the Roumanian version in this manuscript, which is distinguished by some peculiar features from all the other versions known. Whilst some of the riddles are omitted like that of the Peculiar Tree, we have here, on the contrary, more details concerning the master-workmen which had to be sent to Egypt. The source for this text is probably Slavonic, but here again the differences are very marked between this version and that published by Jagic and reprinted in the English translation in the above-mentioned book (pp. 1-23). The proverbs and maxims are less numerous than in the Slavonic, and a large number are missing altogether from the Slavonic. The Roumanian text thus reveals a much more primitive form of this legend in the Slavonic, or maybe in the Greek original, than has hitherto come to light. The incident connected with the flying of the boy in the cage or bedstead is here also much fuller than in the Slavonic text, and presents striking resemblance to the ancient Solomon legends with which this part of the history is undoubtedly connected. Nor should it be forgotten that this text is merely one out of a number of similar texts, of which I have given a short description in my book on Roumanian Popular Literature, and recently in my History of Roumanian Literature in Groeber's "Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie," ii, 3, p. 387. Although all these MSS., and the printed texts published by Anton Pann (1842) rest ultimately upon one Slavonic or Greek original, yet there is no absolute identity among them. Each text differs from the other, either through the omission of some minor incidents and similes at the end of the tale or in the maxims and sentences, of which one contains a larger, the other a smaller number, and some again have new maxims inserted which are missing in other versions. These changes are sometimes radical, and yet they have evidently taken place within the last two or three centuries, as none of these MSS. is older than the eighteenth century.

The fact that even in one literature, and within a comparatively short period, profound changes have been

introduced into it, is of no mean importance for the history of this tale. Similar changes have undoubtedly occurred also in the other versions of Aḥikar, and it is more than doubtful whether we have in the versions that have come down to us, all of a comparatively recent origin, the old and primitive form of the "Aḥikar" legend. The process of continual change is not limited to one period or to one circle alone. This is the rule for all popular books, and any conclusions that are derived solely from one or more versions, or even from all combined, must fall short of the truth so long as this factor is being ignored. In this change only the frame, i.e. the history of the hero, remains as a rule the abiding factor. The incidents are either amplified or altered according to the fancy of the copyist, and according to his greater or smaller amount of knowledge. The most fluctuant element is the gnomical—the maxims and proverbs that float about, as it were, in the air, and are eagerly caught up by the scribes to popularize the tale with the listeners for whom it is intended. These bear the imprint of the immediate environments; for they must have the local colour if they are to be retained by the copyist or translator. The figurative element will live longest in the East, the pregnant antithese will be appreciated everywhere.

I do not intend discussing here the history of the European proverbs. It suffices to point out the profound change which has taken place in the Greek proverbs. The Byzantine and modern Greek differ from the old not merely in form, but in tendency, as Krumbacher has convincingly shown. They resemble much more the Oriental conceptions and are also of a figurative character. In fact, they are identical with the Aḥikar type, which in its turn resembles the old Hebrew 'mashal,' the maxims of the Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Sirach. The Oriental proverbs have in their transmission from the East to the West a history of their own. Mutual borrowing can be followed up here no less clearly than in the case of tales and apologues. This branch of comparative folklore has, however, as yet scarcely

been touched upon in spite of the great work of Wander and others. How far the East, and in speaking of it in this connection I limit myself to the Christian and Muhammedan East—is indebted to the West, i.e. Greece, and *vice versa*, can only be matter of conjecture. In each country scores of witty sayings will have crystallized at one time or another round one prominent figure renowned for sharpness of wit and keenness of spirit. Collections of such proverbs have then been transferred from the one to the other. The similarity in many an incident and in a good number of maxims between Solomon, Aḥikar, Æsop, and Loqman, is due to these causes of identification and adaptation from one local hero to the other. In fact, the bulk of the final portion is taken over bodily from the old cycle of Solomonic legends and adapted to the Aḥikar cycle. The same has happened to individual maxims and proverbs. The route they take is not easy to follow. One single example must suffice to show how such maxims have come from the West to the East, to be enriched and amplified there, and to begin a new journey through the length and breadth of Europe.

It will at the same time disclose the true origin of the Ethiopic collection, which the editors do not seem to realize.

Honein b. Isaac translated in the ninth century from various languages—Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew—into Arabic a large collection of such maxims. It has deeply influenced European and also Oriental paroemiology. In the eleventh century already it was translated into Hebrew, and about the same time or a century later into Spanish. It forms the basis of Mubashir's collection, which in its turn is the basis of the Spanish "Bocados de Oro," translated then into French and English, not to speak of other translations dependent on either of these compilations (v. Steinschneider, "Uebersetzungen," p. 348 ff.). Among the component parts of Honein's collection we find also the so-called "Will of Loqman" and a goodly number of parallels to Aḥikar. Steinschneider maintains now that the Ethiopic text is borrowed from this compilation, and thus the theory of the

editors, who believed in an independent Ethiopic version of Ahiḳar, falls to the ground.

In this transmission from literature to literature the links are often missing. Parallelism is not sufficient proof for determining the possible priority of one text over another. Nor is it by any means clear, because in some versions of the Book of Tobit, Aheiaharos and Nadan, and only the ingratitude of the latter, are mentioned, that it refers to the story in the form in which it has been transmitted. In the short reference to him in Tobit, not a single allusion is made to the teaching and to the maxims of Ahiḳar. I see in the 'story' of Ahiḳar the combination of two independent sets of tales. The first part of the tale—the adoption of Nadan and the treason of the latter—is one independent tale, whilst the 'wisdom' of Ahiḳar is another, and it has been amalgamated with the former at a later period. The first is known only in connection with Ahiḳar and Nadan, no other name having ever been substituted for either.

There is no parallel known to this tale in any other quarter. Wherever this tale occurs it is always associated with the same names—copyists' errors in one of the Greek texts of Tobit notwithstanding. Not so, however, with the second part, containing Ahiḳar's journey to Egypt for the purpose of solving some riddles set by the king to the master of Ahiḳar, and the successful accomplishment of his task. The very same incidents occur in the life of Æsop, and Loqman has been credited with identical exploits. But all these are merely the late reflexes of older cycles of legends clustering round the name of Solomon, the oldest embodiment of Oriental wisdom. The Queen of Sheba puts such riddles to him, according to ancient legends; they recur also in the recital of the riddles put to the same king by Hiram of Phœnicia. He is also flying through the air in the same manner as the boy in the legend of Ahiḳar. This legend has afterwards been transferred to Alexander the Great. All these ancient sages are also credited with great wisdom, and the 'Will' or last ethical exhortation is the concluding portion of the narrative in each case.

I see, therefore, in this part of the Ahiḱar legend, which is common to so many reputed wise men, an older and at the same time an independent part of it. The same applies for many of the maxims and ethical principles put into the mouth of Ahiḱar. Their source must be sought in the collections connected with names, such as Solomon, Æsop, etc. Very much depended on the translator or copyists of the 'story.' They played often the rôle of authors, altering, omitting, and introducing such maxims as suited them best. Many a popular proverb has thus been introduced which was of a totally different origin. The one would favour Biblical reminiscences, the other look to the Qorân for inspiration, and a good many to other collections of proverbs and maxims.

How numerous such collections, e.g. of Greek proverbs and maxims, have been can be gathered from the very rich bibliography recently published by G. Polites in connection with his publication of the Neo-Greek proverbs. Such proverbs were easily taken over by another and incorporated into his work, to be borrowed anew from the latter by a third compiler, and so forth. To give again a modern example. Negruzzi published in 1852 a collection of Roumanian proverbs, into which he had incorporated verbatim almost the whole of the maxims of 'Arkirie' without even mentioning him! Pann, again, introduced other popular proverbs into his second and subsequent editions of Arkirie!

I adduce these examples because we can verify the sources. In the light of proven facts we are justified to assume similar procedures for ancient times, and we thus learn to guard against rash conclusions drawn from similarity between maxims or between single similes and incidents.

It needs hardly pointing out that under such circumstances, before formulating any opinion as to the age and origin of the Ahiḱar legend, the first thing to be done is to try and establish the primitive form. All the MSS. containing the story of Ahiḱar are of comparatively modern origin. They differ among themselves very much, and show undoubted traces of early indebtedness to the Bible in its widest

sense, and to many extraneous collections of maxims and apophthegms. An attempt to reconstruct a problematic Hebrew original is, to say the least, premature; and the attempt to penetrate behind the modern form with the intention of finding a book contemporary with the Psalter or with the Gospel narrative, as made in the Introduction, is not warranted by any of the facts hitherto adduced to strengthen this hypothesis.

I must dwell at some length on this point and on the relation which is presumed to exist between Aḥikar and Tobit. Much is made in the Introduction, p. xlviii ff., of the sentence that occurs in Tobit, iv, 10—"Alms doth deliver from death"—and the editor labours to prove the possibility that in an older form much of the almsgiving of Aḥikar may have been mentioned, but which is now missing. The difficulty is to be met, then, by the identification of 'righteousness' and 'alms,' both expressed by the Hebrew word 'sedaqah.' He takes pains to explain the advice of Tobit by means of finding also in Aḥikar "a suggestion of a confusion between 'righteousness' and 'alms.'" The passage in Tobit is, however, merely borrowed verbatim from Proverbs, x, 2, or xi, 4, in which we find the same words repeated twice: "but righteousness delivereth from death." In my edition of the Hebrew Tobit this very verse is found agreeing verbatim with Prov. xi, 4, thus dispelling any lingering doubt. This quotation has since become a popular Hebrew proverb, exactly with the same meaning as in Tobit and in Aḥikar, 'alms' taking the place of 'righteousness.' This change in the meaning of the Biblical proverb is due to the change of the meaning in the word 'sedaqah' which has taken place in post-Biblical times. The Rabbinic literature abounds with reference to 'almsgiving,' and the regular word for it is only 'sedaqah.' With this derivative meaning the word entered the Qorān. Its appearance with that meaning among the sayings of Tobit, and especially among the maxims of Aḥikar, proves with absolute certainty its late origin. The change had already taken place, and the proverb had become popular with the *altered* meaning

attached to it. Even now the sentence is written on the poor-box among the Jews, and it is repeated on occasions of burial, when the people are appealed to to give 'alms,' for "alms deliver from death."¹ There is nothing in it, therefore, that should "refer to the experience of Aḥikar," as is maintained in the Introduction, p. liv, and no doubt can be entertained that the borrowing is entirely on the side of Aḥikar.

Turning now to the parallels to the Psalms as given on p. lvii, the following sentence from Aḥikar is considered to be parallel to Psalm cxli, 4:—Aḥikar: "O my son, be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him." Psalm: "Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity, and let me not eat of their dainties." Much nearer, at any rate, is the following quotation from Proverbs, xxiii, 6: "Eat thou not bread with him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainties." It is significant that the next translation of Aḥikar agrees apparently better with the Greek version than with the extremely difficult Hebrew original. Much more interesting is the third example adduced by the editors. Aḥikar: "For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets traps shall be caught in them." This is said to be a parallel to Psalm cxli, 10: "Let the wicked fall into their own nets, whilst that I withal escape." It has 'escaped' the editors that we have in Aḥikar merely the transcript of Psalm vii, 15: "He that makes a pit and digs it, falleth into the ditch which he has made."

These few examples show that, far from the Psalms "containing an actual memorial of Aḥikar," the very reverse has taken place. The sentences in Aḥikar proclaim their youth by the form in which biblical reminiscences are found among them. The question may now be asked whether the references to Aheiaharos in the Greek versions of Tobit belong to the original form of that text? The oldest Hebrew version extant (published by me) has no

¹ v. Tendler, "Spruchwörter Deutsch-juedischer Vorzeit," No. 858.

reference whatsoever to Aheiaharos or to Nadan; and the Text of Jerome, which stands in close relation to this old Hebrew, has only one solitary allusion to this name. This is probably due to the influence of the Old Latin utilized by Jerome, which in its turn represents that Greek tradition which is found also in the Peshitto. Ilgen already in his commentary to Tobit pointed out that the two passages in which Aheiaharos occurs are probably due to a late interpolation. They interrupt the flow of the tale, and must therefore be of a different origin, introduced, as I believe, into the tale of Tobit in order to strengthen the moral weight of the ethical teaching contained in the 'Will' of Tobit.

All this tends to diminish the probability of a Hebrew original of the story of Aḥikar, readily assumed by the editors. Not a single trace of the first part of Aḥikar has thus far been found in the Hebrew literature. Numerous parallels to the second part exist, as remarked above, but they are independent of Aḥikar; though a far larger number of parallels to the maxims can be found in Hebrew than those few given by the editors.

Hebrew paroemiology offers a vast material, which has hitherto not yet been utilized. The comparisons should not be limited merely to such coincidences which find their reason and explanation in the fact that they derive from the Bible, which is a source common to both. There are other collections in which parallels to Aḥikar will be found. But which is the primitive source? An answer to this question must be reserved until a complete translation of some of the more important collections will have been published by me, especially of those that go under the name and authority of Judah the Prince, Elieser the Great, and "The Canopy of Elijah" ascribed to Elijah.

In most of these collections the sayings are arranged in numerical groups exactly in the manner in which they appear at the close of Aḥikar's teaching, which undoubtedly is an imitation of those old 'Wills.' Such groups are found also massed at the end of a book called "The Sayings of

the Fathers," by Rabbi Nathan, an extremely old compilation, dating probably from the fifth century. We find thus the following saying in "Maaseh Torah," ascribed to R. Judah, *sub* No. 4: "The sages say the following four sentences: 'The fool will then become wise when a black man rubbing with a sack will become white; the young will then be possessed of knowledge when the ass will walk up a ladder; the daughter-in-law will live peacefully with her mother-in-law when the kids will dwell peacefully among tigers; and when a white raven will be found then also a woman without blemish'" (cf. Akyr., No. 82; Khik., No. 83; Ahik., No. 62; Haiq., No. 59).

From the Will of Elieser the Great: "My son, do not talk idle talk in the school-house, do not scoff at everything, do not scoff at everybody" (cf. Khik., No. 57).

"My son, honour the poor and assist him secretly, feed him in thy house, and turn thine eye away when he eats and drinks, for he is hungry and would leave off eating" (cf. Akyr. 81).

"My son, do not reveal thy secret to thy wife, be faithful and true to all; do not reveal thy secret to thy friend when thou art contending with him no more than when thou art at peace with him" (cf. Akyr. 68. 75; Haiq. 53; Khik. 59. 74).

"My son, do not cook in thy neighbour's pot (euphemism for 'do not marry a widow')" (v. Khik. 40).

"Be patient in anger" (Akyr. 97).

"My son, do not be without children, teach them the Law" (cf. Ahik. 28; Haiq. 28; Khik. 20. 35).

"My son, do not wander about alone, nor be alone a judge, or judge and witness in one" (cf. Ahik. 27. 56; Akyr. 27; Haiq. 27; Khik. 19).

"My son, be not a neighbour to the wicked, and do not associate with the slanderer"; and "My son, do not sit in the company of the slanderers and of the evil-tongued" (cf. Haiq. 19; Khik. 90).

"My son, rejoice not when thy enemy falls, lest God sees it and it displeases Him" (cf. Ahik. 17. 60; Khik. 11. 97; Haiq. 58).

"My son, beware of a woman that is not worthy of thee, for she is sure to ruin thee" (cf. Akyr. 15; Ahik. 19. 72; Khik. 13; Haiq. 8).

"My son, love the wise and run after them, know thy Maker, live in peace with everyone, and speak the truth" (cf. Ahik. 12. 31; Khik. 6. 89; Haiq. 14).

These few examples suffice to show that many more parallels could be found in Rabbinic literature, though this parallelism proves very little for the Hebrew origin of Ahikar.

ART. XIV.—*On an Ancient Block-print from Khotan.* By
A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, Ph.D., C.I.E. With two
Plates.

IN December last I received from Captain H. H. P. Deasy a small cylindrical box containing a block-print, which, as he wrote to me from Yarkand in April, 1899, he had obtained, apparently, not long previously in Khotan.

In general appearance the box (see Plate I) much resembles one which belongs to the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities, and which I have described in my Official Report. (See Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Extra-Number for 1899, p. 108 and pl. xv). Captain Deasy's box is rather larger. Its measurements are : height, $7\frac{3}{8}$ " ; diameter at mouth, externally $4\frac{5}{8}$ ", internally $3\frac{3}{8}$ " ; thickness of wall, $\frac{5}{8}$ " ; diameter at bottom, externally $5\frac{3}{8}$ ", internally $4\frac{1}{8}$ ", the wall sloping slightly upwards ; thickness of projecting figures, $\frac{1}{4}$ ". It is made of wood, and turned out of one piece. The wall is cracked in two places, close to each other, one crack extending right from top to bottom. All edges are rounded off ; there is nothing sharp-cornered in the whole box. Round the bottom of it there runs a band, projecting $\frac{1}{4}$ " and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high, incised with an inscription which runs round three-quarters of the circumference, just avoiding, fortunately, the two cracks, which go through the blank one-fourth. On this band, as on a platform, there stands out, from a countersunk surface, a row of eleven rudely carved human figures, placed close together, and just filling the whole of the circumference. They only

differ in the arrangement of their arms, which is as follows, beginning on the right of the longer crack :—

The first, fourth, and eighth men have their arms hanging straight down.

The second and tenth men hold their hands over their stomach, the (proper) right above the left.

The third holds them similarly, but the (proper) left above the right.

The fifth, seventh, and ninth have their (proper) right hand placed on the stomach, and their left arm hanging down straight.

The sixth holds himself similarly, only reversed, the left hand on the stomach and the right arm hanging down.

The eleventh has only one arm, the (proper) left, which hangs down straight. There is nothing to show that the eleventh figure ever had a second arm ; the second (shorter) crack runs up, from the bottom of the box, to its neck, through the counter-sunk space upon which the missing arm would have stood ; but there is no mark of any fracture to be seen.

The cranium of the second, seventh, and ninth figures is marked with parallel incisions to indicate hair. On the remainder of the figures these marks are omitted, the cranium being left quite smooth, like the rest of the body of all the figures. The bottom of the head of the second figure is marked with similar strokes to indicate a beard.

Over the heads of these figures, there is a series of five roughly circular knobs, with a diameter of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are placed, at equal distances, above and between the heads of figures 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, 7 and 8, 9 and 10. Above the eleventh figure, there is no knob. Accordingly there is a longer blank interval, of about 4",

in the countersunk space, between the fifth and first knobs, corresponding exactly to the blank interval in the band below the figures, where there is no inscription.

The faces of the knobs are carved as follows: No. 1 with an inscription, Nos. 2-4 with human features, and No. 5 with the device or monogram (shown in Plate I, fig. 2) which is also found in certain pages of the block-print book. The lower part of the face on No. 4 is also marked with strokes to indicate a beard; these are wanting on the two other faces.

The box has no lid, nor does it appear to have ever had any. It is a regular *capsa*.

The long inscription (Plate I, fig. 4) at the bottom of the box consists of fifteen (or perhaps sixteen) words, written in characters which resemble Uigur.

The short inscription on the knob, written in the same characters, and apparently consisting of four words, is shown on Plate I, fig. 3. The device on the knob is shown in the same Plate, fig. 2, also on Plate II, fig. 11.

The block-print measures $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The lines run parallel with the narrower side, and there are from nine to nineteen lines on a page, though the usual number varies between twelve and sixteen. They also vary very much in length, and are often printed disorderly, both in point of direction (being out of parallel) and interval. The material is paper, of the same kind as that on which the books and rolls of the Ninth Set of the British Collection are printed. (See my Report, pp. 47, 109, 110.) It is a very thin, almost transparent, tough paper, of even texture, and of a yellowish or creamy tint. The first leaf is torn in two; of four other leaves (Nos. 5, 44, 45, and 70) about one-quarter is torn away and missing. Altogether there are seventy-two leaves, all separate; therefore 144 pages. Printing commences on the second and ends on the last page. There is, however, inside the book a page, the 44th, which is blank; and it is, therefore, probable that the leaf to which it belongs, the 22nd (= pp. 43 and 44), originally formed, or was intended to form, the end of the book, and has only been misplaced.

in binding the book. For one would naturally suppose the book to commence and end with a blank page, as is the case with the similar books of the Ninth Set of the British Collection. The book is bound with three stitches, along one of its narrow sides, so that it opens like a European book. The material used in stitching is thickly crusted with muddy sand. It is either a skein of thread, or a squashed piece of split reed or of some other fibrous plant. In many places the book is almost illegible. This is partly owing to the circumstance that all the leaves are covered with a very thin muddy layer of fine sand, in which the book with its box had evidently been buried for a long time. The sand can be washed off; when this is done, the print, which is made with an indelible ink, is seen more distinctly. But the print itself in many places is very indistinct, the reason apparently being that on account of the extreme tenuity of the paper the type-block was only applied to it with the lightest of pressure to prevent the impression showing through on the reverse, the result of which was that the finer lines of the type often did not ink the paper. On the other hand, occasionally the pressure was so strong that the outlines of the type are not only blotched on the right side, but show through on the wrong side of the paper. As the text consists of formulas which are repeated over and over again, it is possible by a careful comparison to determine, with much probability, the correct form of each symbol. It is in this way that the facsimiles, which are shown in Plate II, have been prepared by me with the help of tracing-paper.

The text printed in the book consists of fifteen lines, as shown in that Plate. Of these, *primâ facie*, lines 1-12 present the same script, while lines 13 to 15 appear to be in a different script. Accordingly there would seem to be two different scripts represented in the book.

Lines 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, 7 and 8, 9 and 10 are always found printed in conjunction, except when occasionally a line stands by itself near the margin of a page, and where evidently the companion line is simply omitted for want.

of space. These lines, accordingly, form pairs, each of which constitutes a separate formula. The two lines, 11 and 12, do not form a pair; they are always printed separately: thus, on p. 18, line 11 is printed six times along with lines 1 and 2 (i.e., with formula i); and on p. 95, line 12 is printed five times, along with line 13, also five times. The three lines, 13-15, also, are always printed separately. Accordingly the five lines, 11-15, constitute five different formulas. Altogether, therefore, the fifteen lines make up, between them, ten separate formulas.

From this circumstance it may be assumed that the text of the book is printed from ten separate type-blocks, one block for each of the ten formulas. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the symbols which constitute the double-lined formulas i to v always stand in exactly the same relative position to one another, as I have ascertained by measuring the intervals between the lines of a pair as well as those between the several symbols of each line with a pair of compasses. It is clear, therefore, that there must have been five blocks, carrying each two lines of type, and five other blocks, each carrying only one line of type. That no single page is printed from one single block, is apparent from the fact that the arrangement of the lines (or formulas) is not alike on any two pages. The following are typical cases to illustrate the apparently planless way of distribution of the formulas over the pages:—

TABLE I.

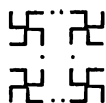
| No. of page. | Lines of formulas | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Lines on page. |
|--------------|--------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | |
| 120 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 10 | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 122 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 8 | 7 | 13 | 15 | ... | ... | |
| 128 | 13 | 7 | 8 | 15 | 15 | 1 | 2 | 12 | 7 | 8 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 13 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 110 | 11 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 25 | 14 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 14 | 11 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 12 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 102 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 2 | 15 | 6 | 5 | 15 | 6 | 5 | 13 | ... | ... | ... | |
| 132 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 15 | 12 | 15 | 12 | ... | ... | ... | |
| 16 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 14 | 5 | 6 | 14, 15 | 5 | 6 | 15 | 5 | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 77 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 13 | |
| 57 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | |
| 60 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | Total lines of formulas. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Total lines on page. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 8 | 11 | 16 | 17 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 7 | 10 | 17 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | |

All the ten formulas are never printed on any single page. The highest number that I have noticed on any page is eight, and the lowest, one: see pp. 60 and 120 in the preceding table. Between those two extremes the number constantly varies. There is only one other page in the book which contains but one formula, viz. p. 92, and it is again the eighth formula (l. 13) which is there given. There are only six pages (2, 6, 18, 57, 89, 96) which give only two formulas, viz., formulas iv and vi, or iv and ix, or vi and viii, or vii and viii, or viii and x. I have noticed only one page with eight formulas, viz. p. 120, which gives formulas i, ii, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x; and there seem to be only three pages (111, 122, 128) which contain seven formulas, viz., formulas i, iv, vi-x, or ii-iv and vii-x, or i, iv, vi-viii and x. The formulas which occur most frequently are No. iv (ll. 7, 8), vi (l. 11), vii (l. 12), viii (l. 13), ix (l. 14), and x (l. 15). Formulas ii (ll. 3, 4) and v (ll. 9, 10) are found very exceptionally; the former occurs only fourteen times, the latter only twelve times, in the whole book. Formulas i (ll. 1, 2) and iii (ll. 5, 6) are also of rather rare occurrence; the former is found twenty-three, the latter forty-two, times. Formulas vi-x are peculiar to Captain Deasy's book; so is the monogram or device (Plate II, fig. 11) which appears on a certain number of pages. None of these is found either in the two books or in the two rolls which are comprised in the British Collection, and which are described in my Official Report as constituting the Ninth Set of block-prints. Those four documents contain only the formulas i-v, there denoted ix¹, ix², ix³, ix⁴, and ix⁵. They are shown in photo-etched facsimile on plate xvi of my Report, but unfortunately they can be seen only very indistinctly. They are shown much better in the Plate accompanying the present note, which is prepared from inked tracings on transparent paper.

The device (Plate II, fig. 11) is found on twenty-two pages, printed in different places on the page, as shown in the following list, in which the places are defined with reference to the inner margin of the page adjoining the binding. It

occurs in the left lower corner twelve times, viz., on pp. 6, 16, 24, 43, 53, 60, 62, 107, 114, 119, 123, 132, and in the right lower corner, twice, on pp. 93 and 103, and in the right upper corner, once, on p. 48. In the remaining cases, viz., on pp. 7, 17, 25, 36, 37, 69, 100, it is placed in the middle of the page; that is to say, on p. 17 it stands in the centre of the page, on p. 7 in the middle of the left-hand margin, and on pp. 25, 36, 69, and 100 in the middle of the bottom margin, while on p. 37 it occurs four times, side by side, along the bottom margin; in fact, seeing that the left-hand corner of p. 37 is torn away, it may have here stood five times. There is no system apparent either with regard to the number or the place. But it is quite possible that the leaves do not stand in their original order in the existing book; one leaf certainly does not stand any longer in its proper order;—what is now the twenty-second leaf (pp. 43 and 44) must, as I have already pointed out, have once stood at the end of the book; and it may be noted that its printed side, p. 43, is marked with the device. It is not impossible, therefore, that originally the position of the device may have followed some sort of serial order.

The device has some resemblance to one shown on plate iii, fig. 76, of my Official Report on the British Collection. The latter belongs to a signet ring, and is made up of four countersunk svastikas placed diagonally. One diagonal pair turns to the right, the other to the left; and the two pairs join their central arms, thus:



The lines of the first and second formulas measure $2\frac{1}{4}$ ", and as the width of the page is $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", it admits rather more than two impressions of the formulas, placed side by side. As a rule, there is no margin whatever. Thus a line of the page might consist, e.g., of two full impressions of the first line of the first formula *plus* a portion (say one-third) of a third impression. A similar remark applies to formulas

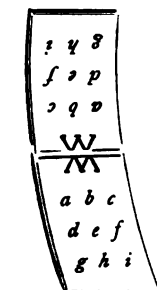
ix and x, which measure about $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", and of which nearly three complete impressions go to one line of the page. The formulas iii and v measure about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ", and of these one full impression and about one-half of a second go to a line of the page. It is nearly the same with formulas vii and viii, which measure $4\frac{1}{4}$ " and $3\frac{3}{4}$ " respectively. Formula iv measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ ", and it only admits one full impression and two symbols of a second within the width of the page. Formula vi measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", and with careful adjustment of the block it can only just be printed within the space of the page; not unfrequently, however, the whole or a portion of one of the terminal symbols is omitted.

There is no difficulty in determining what are the terminal symbols of each formula. The printing is not all carefully done, and when two or more impressions of the same formula go to make up the lines of the page, the terminal symbols of the adjoining impressions often overlap one another, while all the other symbols preserve an invariable fixed interval. It follows that those two symbols which overlap one another or vary in their interval, must be the terminal symbols. Moreover, in exceptional cases only one impression is placed within the width of the page, the remainder being blank; or the blank is filled up by a different formula. Thus, on p. 53, one full impression of formula iii and another full impression of formula x are placed side by side to make up the lines of the page, the two formulas between them measuring exactly $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". Again, pp. 92, 104, and 105, one full impression of formula viii is placed in the middle of the page, the rest of the page-lines being blank; on p. 84 the same occurs with regard to formula x. Such cases absolutely determine the terminal symbols of the respective formulas. When once the latter are recognized, it is seen that, as a rule, the impressions are placed so as to begin near the margin of the page. This, of course, one would naturally expect to be the case; but, by itself, it is not a sufficient guide for the determination of the terminal symbols, because the printing is not done very carefully, and not unfrequently the terminal symbol or several of them have

missed printing. Thus, e.g., on pp. 104 and 120, the lines of the page are made up of two fragments of formula iv.

It is far more difficult to determine what is right and left, top and bottom, of the formulas. One great difficulty lies in the manner of the printing. The same formula is not always placed in the same position on the same page. For example, on p. 101 the first formula occurs three times; once it is placed in the position shown in the Plate, but twice it is reversed. The third formula occurs three times on p. 82, twice in the position shown in the Plate and once reversed. On p. 4 the fourth formula occurs three times, twice in the position of the Plate, but once reversed. This variation is particularly frequent in the case of formula vi. Again, the formulas do not always maintain the same relative position towards one another on different pages. Thus, on pp. 29, 79, 82, 128 both the formulas i and iv hold the position shown in the Plate, but on pp. 41, 90, 104, 121, 131 formula i stands as in the Plate, while formula iv is reversed. On p. 65 the three formulas v, vi, and vii equally stand as shown in the Plate, but on p. 85 formula v is reversed, while formulas vi and vii are as in the Plate; and on p. 120 formula vii is reversed, while formulas v and vii stand as in the Plate. I might cite numerous other instances of a similar kind, but those given will sufficiently show the difficulty with which one has to contend.

I have tried the following plan. It seems natural to assume that, in reading, the book was held as shown in the woodcut, i.e., so as to have always the opening towards the reader, and the stitched back away from him. The lines of print run parallel to the narrower side, as indicated by the letters *a b c*, *d e f*, *g h i*. At the side of the opening they extend to the very edge of the page; in fact, occasionally the edge cuts through a line of print; while at the side, near the back of the book, there is always some blank space, occasionally as much as an inch in width.



This circumstance seems to point to the top of the page

being at the inner side of the book, and to confirm the assumption that, in reading, the book is held as above explained. Holding the book, then, in this position, I examined all those pages in which the formulas i, ii, iii, and v are found, which formulas, as I have already stated, only occur exceptionally in the book. The number of these pages is forty-five. I examined also twenty-six other pages, taken at random. The total of pages thus examined is seventy-one, just one-half of the total of 142 printed ones. The result of my examination is shown in the subjoined Table II, where by 'upright' position is meant the position shown in the Plate.

TABLE II.

| Formula. | Number of pages in which the formula occurs. | | | | No. of times it occurs. | |
|----------|--|----------|-------|--------------|-------------------------|----------|
| | Upright. | Reverse. | Both. | Total pages. | Upright. | Reverse. |
| I. | 16 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 18 | 3 |
| II. | 7 | 5 | — | 12 | 8 | 6 |
| III. | 14 | 12 | 2 | 28 | 26 | 14 |
| IV. | 22 | 19 | 9 | 50 | 55 | 45 |
| V. | 5 | 6 | — | 11 | 7 | 7 |
| VI. | 16 | 11 | 13 | 40 | 50 | 37 |
| VII. | 16 | 9 | 6 | 31 | 28 | 18 |
| VIII. | 53 | 5 | 5 | 63 | 208 | 37 |
| IX. | 30 | 11 | 7 | 48 | 68 | 22 |
| X. | 31 | 11 | 2 | 44 | 63 | 17 |

This table discloses some very striking differences, especially in the case of the first and eighth formulas. The proportions of 1 : 16 (or 3 : 18) and 5 : 53 (or 37 : 208) clearly suggest that the reversed impressions are simply

misprints. And considering further that the whole book is printed in a most slovenly manner, it does not seem improbable that all the reversed impressions are misprints, even in those cases where the proportion between the uprights and reverses is not so striking. This table would, therefore, seem to determine what is the top and the bottom of the formulas ; and they are shown in my Plate in accordance with its indications.

As to the question of what is right and left, i.e., whether the formulas commence on the right-hand side and are to be read from the right to the left, there is only the following indication. As a rule the pages are printed up to their very edges, so much so that often the edge shows half a symbol. Only in very exceptional cases there is a slight margin left blank, measuring about one-quarter of an inch. Holding the book as before explained, this margin always appears on the right-hand side. It seems reasonable to assume that the margin marks the commencement of the printing ; and it follows from this indication, combined with the previously explained one which determines its upright position, that the script of the formulas must be read from the right to the left. In accordance with this finding, the symbols composing the several formulas are numbered in my Plate.

The exact number of the symbols, however, which make up the first formula is not quite certain. I have numbered thirteen in the first and twelve in its second line ; but many of the symbols consist of disjointed marks, which would, no doubt, form distinct connected symbols, if the impressions were more perfect. I have not been fortunate enough, however, to discover a single instance of a thoroughly well-printed impression. My numbering, therefore, should only be taken as a provisional one. In the case of all other formulas, I believe, my numbering is practically certain. Formula ii has eight symbols in the first and seven in the second line. The corresponding numbers on formula iii are thirteen and fourteen ; in formula iv, thirteen and twelve ; and in formula v, thirteen and fifteen. In the second line of formula iv, the two parts of what I have counted as the

seventh symbol may possibly form two distinct symbols. Of formulas vi to x, which consist of one line each, the respective numbers are, 15, 11, 22, 8, and 11.

Of the two scripts represented in the ten formulas, that seen in formulas i to vii seems to consist of ideograms or phonograms, verbal or syllabic, rather than alphabetic characters. Thus, No. 5 in the second line of formula ii and No. 2 in the second line of formula v look exactly like a leaf; and there are also other suggestive figures. A few symbols are clearly repeated: thus, No. 7 in the second line of formula ii and No. 5 in the first line of formula iii are the same; so are probably No. 2 in the second line of formula ii and No. 8 in the first line of formula iii. On the other hand, the symbols composing formulas viii to x appear to be truly alphabetic, though I do not know to what alphabetic system they may belong.



PORTION OF THE THIRTEENTH EDITION FROM GIRNAR.

J. R. A. S.
APRIL, 1900.

ART. XV.—*A new fragment of the Thirteenth Edict of Piyadasi at Girnar.* By ÉMILE SENART, Hon. M.R.A.S.

My learned colleague and friend, Professor Rhys Davids, in the course of his recent travels in India, found at Junagadh two fragments that had broken away from the Girnar Rock. One was in the museum; the other was lying on the floor by the rock, and has now been removed to the museum. They belong to the Thirteenth Edict of Piyadasi. It will be remembered, in fact, that only a part of this tablet was found *in situ*. I am all the more obliged to him for the friendly confidence with which he asked me to present them to our colleagues of the Royal Asiatic Society, because, unless I am mistaken, the study of them will enable us to introduce important corrections into the reading or interpretation of several passages.

Truth to tell, only one of these fragments appears to be of real importance; it is the one of which I have now in my hands an excellent photograph, a reprint of which accompanies the present notice. The second, very much broken and effaced, is smaller, and on a slab extending over only eight lines with about six characters on each. I only know its contents from a simple and partial sketch, but it contains characteristic indications sufficient to assign it without difficulty to its proper place in the body of the inscription.

It is the left side, the beginning of the edict, which has disappeared from the rock; it is therefore to these beginnings of lines that our fragments belong; the first to lines 1-11, the second (in the part of which I have a sketch) to lines 8-12. The latter I am inclined to put very close, if indeed

it does not actually fit on with it at the end, to the right of the first. This will be clear at once from the transcription which I shall give presently.

In order to group together all useful indications, I think it will be well—first, to enclose within brackets all that belongs to the small fragment; second, to reproduce, after transcribing the new parts, the first words (printed in italics) in which the actual text, as known and transcribed in the various reproductions of the edicts, goes on; and third, to indicate within parentheses, before and after each part of the new line, the approximate number of *akṣaras* which are still wanting and await further discoveries. I say ‘approximate’ for two reasons. One is general: we can only found such calculations on the collation of the parallel versions; now, although the essential identity of the various copies cannot be doubted, we must always reserve the possibility, nay the likelihood, of a few variations. The other reason has to do only with the twelfth, the last, line: the only legible character on the small fragment may have belonged to either of two contiguous words; I have taken it as belonging to the second, but the appearances which lead me to this conjecture are too slight to inspire me with any great confidence. However, in any case, this is too secondary a question to detain us longer.

- (1) (21) *ño kalimgā v.j.*
 (19) *ḍhe sataśahasramātram°*
 (2) (22) *sayo devānampriyasa v.j.*
 (19) *vaḍho va°*
 (3) (18) *ṣ bāmhanā va samanā va añe*
 (21) *sā mātāpitari°*
 (4) (25) *abhiratānam va vinikhamana*
 yesam vāp (22) ḥāyañātikā
 vyasanam°
 (5) (21) *ṣ sti ime nikāyā añatra yo nesa*
 (19) *mhi yatra°*
 (6) (22) *srabhāgo va garumato devā-*
 nam ṣ (24) na ya sakam°

- (7) (22) cate tesaṃ devānaṃpiyasa ?
 (21) *saṭabhūtānaṃ achatim*^o
- (8) (26) ladho . . naṃpriyasa idha
 [. savaṣu ca .] (21) *yonarājā
 param*^o
- (9) (29) idha rājavisaṃyamaṃhi yo[na-
 kambo .] (17) *māhapirimdesu*^o
- (10) (25) ? dhamānusaṣṭim ca dhama
 [anuv. ? ya ?] (20) *vijayo
 savathā*^o
- (11) (24) m̐priyo etāya a[. ya ayaṃ
 dhammal .] (16) *m̐ vijayaṃ mā*^o
- (12) (30) [. . . . ki .]
 (15) *ilohikā ca*^o

Line 4. These first words call for no special remark, as the new characters fill in, just as one would expect, a part of the lacuna. I would merely observe that here the *va* is perhaps, and even probably, followed by the *anuscāra*, *vaṃ* = *va*. Compare my "Inscriptions de Piyadasi," ii, 331. It seems certain, by way of compensation, that the required *anuscāra* has been omitted at the end of *vinikhamāṇa*.

Line 5. The phrase in question here is couched in the following terms at Khālsi—I accept the most recent transcription of Bühler (Epig. Ind., ii, 464): *Nathi cā se janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānaṃtā yeneṣa baṃhmane cā samane cā nathi cā kuvāpi janapadasi yatā nathi manusānaṃ ekatalasi pi pāsādasi no nāma pasāde*. The text of Mansera (ibid.) would correspond exactly, as far as it is preserved, with that of Khālsi, and the part which our fragment takes in would be represented by *nasti ime nikaya a . . yeneṣa*. At Shahbaz Garhi the phrase is cut short by an inadvertency of the graver.¹ I had translated: "There

¹ I do not know why Bühler (Epig. Ind., ii, 471, note) seemed so adverse to admitting a material error on the part of the graver. As the phrase stands at Shahbaz Garhi, it is halting, abrupt, and hardly explainable. I can only adhere to my first conviction ("Inscriptions de Piyadasi," i, 297).

is no country where there are not found congregations such as brahmanas and śramaṇas, and there is no (place) in any country where people do not profess the faith of some sect or other." Bühler translates: "And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these brahmanas and ascetics (are divided); and there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone." We took *ānamitā*, he, as = *anantāḥ*, I, as = *ājñaptāḥ*: we were both wrong, and it is *anatra*, *añatra*, that is to say *anyatra*, which ought to be understood; this the fragment from Girnar states distinctly. It proves, moreover, that the *ye* which follows in the other versions, being here represented by *yo*, does not stand, as Bühler thought, for the first syllable of the instrumental *yena*, but, as I had supposed, for the nominative *yaḥ*, here in its usual Pāli orthography, there under its Māgadhi form. As to my idea of correcting *nesa* into *esa*, already condemned to all appearance by a comparison with Mansera, it is altogether set aside by our fragment.

This being premised, *anyatra* can only be taken as a preposition implying 'outside of,' 'independent of,' the word it governs—according to rule in the ablative, and sometimes in the instrumental, in Buddhist language—being included in the relative *yaḥ*. The simplest way would just be to understand *nesa* = *no* (*naḥ*) *esa*, and to translate "such congregations, independently of the (congregations of) brahmanas and śramaṇas which exist among us." But I have great hesitation in admitting this very exceptional sandhi which would convert *no esa* into *nesa*, and especially in believing that the king would have employed the simple word 'us' to indicate his dominions in distinction from territories beyond. The only other alternative is to take *nesa* = *na esa*, and *na* as a negation; a redundant negation, certainly, and an involved, though not, I think, inadmissible, construction. It would recall in some measure such an inexactitude of language as the Greek οἱ ἄλλοι ξένοι (compare Krüger, Griech. Sprachl., 50, 4, 11), that is to say, "the others who are foreigners," instead of "others, foreigners," to

express simply 'foreigners.' Such awkwardness of style would not be strange in the rather halting and inexperienced prose of the edicts. The sense, at any rate, is not doubtful, and as I feel justified in maintaining my first interpretation against the secondary modifications which Bühler proposed, I should translate: "There is no country where such congregations are not found, even besides brahmans and śramaṇas, and there is no (place) in any country where men are not attached to some sect."

Line 6. The adverb *aja* seems to have been wanting in this version: one cannot be certain that this was by accident; the sense is not affected by its omission to any appreciable extent.

Line 7. The passage to which this fragment belongs has not yet been quite satisfactorily explained. Our text, by rejecting after *vucate tesam* the genitive *devānanāpiyasa*, necessarily upsets the explanation of Bühler, who thought the stop ought to be supposed before *vucate*. On the other hand, if we break up into an independent proposition the words *vucate tesam devānanāpiyasa* or *devānanāpiyasa vucati teṣam*, what can one make of these two genitives side by side? I conclude that the words (I am taking the text of Shahbaz Garhi) from *anutape* to *tesam* compose a single sentence, and, modifying one or two meanings in which I think Bühler is undoubtedly wrong, I translate the whole passage thus: "And the (savages of) the forests who are in the territories of Devanampriya, even these he treats kindly and tries to bring them back to good ways,¹ and they are told that even the might of Devanampriya is based on repentance;² let them therefore repent (of their crimes) and let them not be (instead of being) chastised." The context explains immediately afterwards how this conduct

¹ The signification of *nijhatti*, *nijhapeti*, appears to me firmly established, not only by the comparison of Delhi iv, 17, 18; viii, 8 (compare my notes), but by the literary use, as in *Milinda-pañha*, Trenckner's edition, 210, 1; 8. These words could in fact be translated fairly exactly by 'conversion, to convert.'

² An allusion to the *anusaya* of the commencement (*anusaya*, *anutāpa*, *anutrāpa* are practically equivalents), to the regret which the outrages of which Kalinga had been the scene had caused the King, a regret which is put forward as the starting-point of the edict and the cause of his own conversion.

arises naturally from the desire which the King professes to proscribe all violence, even in the name of punishment.

Line 9. To the reading *hidalāja visavaji* of Khālsi, *hidaraja viṣavajri*, . . . *raja viṣavajri* admitted by Bühler for Shahbaz Garhi and for Mansera, our fragment opposes a new reading which seems very different: *idha rājavisayamhi*. It is perfectly straightforward and clear. I hasten to remark that the other readings can be brought into line with it without doing them violence, but that the contrary proceeding is impossible. From the first, I read *visavasi* at Khālsi, and the very facsimile which Bühler has published fully confirms me in this opinion; the width of the lower hook, which extends to the right beyond the middle hook (ㄣ), entirely bars the reading *ji*. As to Shahbaz Garhi, to refer to our only positive document, the special drawing which Bühler has tried to give of the corresponding letter (ZDMG., xliii, 168), one sees that it is, to say the least, quite as easy to interpret it as = *si* as = *jri*. I lay no stress on Mansera, for here we have no further authority than Bühler's reading, and he owns himself that the group is not distinct. To sum up, it is *si* which the parallel versions, some certainly and others probably, have for the concluding syllable. As to the preceding one, it appears likely that Khālsi has *va*; for the copies in Kharoṣṭhī, the confusion between *y* and *v* is very easy, especially with such a flowing execution and on such friable stone; there is therefore at least great room for doubt. Even supposing a common reading *visa(ṣa)vasi* to be certain, there are sufficient instances in the spelling of the edicts of the substituting of a *v* for the etymological *y* (I will only mention the desinence *evu* for *eyu*, normal or sporadic) to authorize us in interpreting with full confidence *visavasi* = *visayasi*, *visayamhi*, and in Sanscrit *viṣaye*. We get by this the advantage of doing away, in the Kharoṣṭhī versions, with the substitution, not perhaps inadmissible, but certainly less normal, of an *ṣ* for a different sibilant, *ś* (according to Bühler). The pretended proper names *Viśa* and *Vajri* (Vrji) ought to be definitively struck out. The same holds

good of my *Henas* or *Hūnas*, and of Bühler's *Hidas*; they must be relegated to the oblivion from which they should never have emerged. The *idha* of Girnar proves incontestably that in the same way *hida* is only the equivalent, quite well known indeed, of the Sanscrit *iha*. At Girnar, the *j* of *rāja* is not accompanied by the mark of *a*, and I have no doubt that we must likewise read *lāja* at Khālsi. Even were it otherwise, the *a* would be simply one error the more among so many other analogous ones: we are obviously face to face with the compound *rājaviṣaye*, that is, "here, on the King's territory," the "King" being of course Piyadasi himself, who always speaks of himself thus in the third person.

The locative connects the locution with the expressions following *yonakambojesu*, which are in the same case. Thus it is evident that the two *evameva* which Bühler's punctuation—before *hida*—left oddly side by side in one clause, ought to be separated; the first concludes the previous enumeration, the second commences a fresh one, presented in a different grammatical relation: "and the same here in the King's territory, among the Yavanas and the Kambojas."

Line 10. The *anusvāra* grammatically necessary at the end of *sastimi* appears to be visible on the stone; only the dot which expresses it has coalesced with the upper part of the *ti* by a fracture into which it has run. The *ca* is wanting in the other versions, but it is perfectly natural, *dhammānusastimi* being co-ordinate with *dhammavutani vidhānam*.

These observations will suffice, I hope, to show the deeply interesting nature of the new fragment, short as it is, and how greatly we are indebted to Professor Rhys Davids for having brought it to our knowledge.

[NOTE.—I take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude felt by European scholars to His Highness the Nawāb and to













his able and courteous Diwān, for the enlightened interest they show in the venerable stone, and the care they have taken, and still take, to preserve it from further injury. A roof or canopy has been erected over it; and this is now being replaced by a more substantial and ornamental structure. It is to the Diwān that we owe the photograph here reproduced. He has promised to send us also one of the second fragment; and also of fragmentary inscriptions of a later date still existing on the adjacent rocks.—R.H.D.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN.

*Leiden.**February 3, 1900.*

DEAR SIR,—In his interesting article in the January number of this Journal, "Sumerian or Cryptography," Mr. T. G. Pinches refers to several tablets on which the Sumerian language is mentioned (p. 94). Among those there is a small fragment which might as well be called "tantalizingly incomplete," as Mr. Pinches says of another fragment quoted by him a few lines earlier, and it is not less interesting than this one. The fragment belongs to the Tablet K. 14,013 (1413 is a misprint), and is given thus in Bezold's Catalogue, p. 1354 :

1. 5     
 „ 6       

Mr. Pinches proposes to translate: "(below was) Akkad, above (was) Šu(mer)," but admits himself "that the disposition of the adverbs may, in reality, be the reverse one, namely, 'Akkad is above, Šu(mer below),' " which, he adds, "would, perhaps, be better according to Assyrian syntax." I think so too. Thus, we ought to combine *eliš* with *Akkadû* and ANTA with the lost non-Semitic equivalent, as being the most probable. If so, what can then be meant by the sentence? Not, of course, what Mr. Pinches supposes, namely, a statement of the relative situation of the 'districts' Akkad and Sumer. In that case a D.P. or

S. for 'land' could hardly be missed. Besides *Akkadā* could never signify the country of Akkad. If we consider that the lines belong to a bilingual religious text, they can only have the object of informing the reader that the upper lines are written in Akkadian, the lower in Sumerian, and we may then supply a verb, let us say *šatru*, SAR at the end, and perhaps the word *Lišānu* before *Akkadā*. And the consequence would be that the non-Semitic language of Babylonia was called Accadian, the Semitic language Sumerian, and that the grand old Hincks was right after all, at least as to the first name.

I know that my hypothesis has no great chance to be at once accepted by the great majority of Assyriologists, but this is no reason for me to keep it to myself. Long before my attention was drawn to the above fragment I had come to the same conclusion on other grounds, which cannot be explained in this letter. I hope to be able to do so elsewhere. What I now only wish to state is, that Mr. Pinches, though I agree with him in the main, was wrong in thinking that our tablet refers, not to languages, but to countries.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

C. P. TIELE.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

P.S.—After the above was written, I remembered that Dr. Weissbach, in his "Die Sumerische Frage" (Leipzig, 1898, p. 174, n. 2), is also of opinion that the fragment K. 14,013 refers to languages, though he thinks the lacunae must be filled up in this way :

[KITA EME TILLA-KI] ANTA EME-KU

[Šapliš] ak-ka-da-a e-liš šu[meri] . . .

and so comes to the conclusion that the non-Semitic language was called Sumerian, the Semitic Akkadian. But, then, why did not the scribe write *akkadā* just under EME TILLA KI, for which there was plenty of room? Let us hope that the discovery of a more complete text referring to the two languages may help us out of the dark.

2. NEPAL MSS.

SIR,—In the last number of this Journal (p. 163) mention was made of certain palm-leaf fragments discovered by me in the Mahārāja's library at Kāthmāṇḍu, and now lent by the kindness of His Excellency, through the good offices of our Council and of the Government of India, for my use in London.

Pending negotiations for the publication of more detailed notes and fully edited extracts (accompanied, I trust, by adequate reproduction of the photographs which I am making), the following brief notes may be of general interest :—

Buddhist-Sanskrit fragments of about the sixth century.
10 leaves.

- (1) *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*. Two passages. 3 broken leaves.
- (2) A collection of Mahāyāna-sūtras.

Colophon of one : *mahāyāna sūtrād = Ratna ketu parivartāt = pañcamo lakṣhaṇa-parivarta*.

I have not succeeded in identifying the *Ratna ketu parivarta* as a separate work.

- (3) One leaf of a work on the *lokadhātus*.

Another bundle contains—

- (1) *Vinaya-piṭaka — Cullavagga*. End of Kh. iv and beginning of v. 4 leaves. North Indian writing of about the ninth or tenth century. The first Pali MS. found in India itself.
- (2) One leaf of a Mahāyānist Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa. The Sanskrit for *kammavāca* is *karmavacana*. Eleventh century (?).

Other interesting fragments are—

Daśabhūmika-sūtra, the earlier and shorter recension of *Daśabhūmiśvara*, one of the 'nine dharmas' of Nepal.

Very regular 'North-Eastern' Gupta writing of the seventh century. 49 leaves, probably containing nearly the whole¹ of the work.

I find that in the Kanjur it is not this, but the longer recension that is preserved.

Abhisamayāṅkārē-Prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra (-*Kārikā*-) *vierth*. Haribhadra's² commentary on the introductory portion (by Maitreya-nātha, Camb. Cat., p. 144) of the *Pañcaviṃśatisah. Prajñāpāramitā*. 9 leaves out of 35, including an interesting colophon. Circa saec. xiv.

An interesting commentary not identified. 8 leaves only, without title. The only Buddhist-Sanskrit work known to me besides the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* that quotes from the Brahmanical literature (e.g. *Upanisads*), as well from the literature, both Sanskrit and Prakrit,³ of Buddhism.

I find also a few leaves each of the following works—

- (1) *Divyāvadāna*, eleventh century, with a few interesting variants from the printed text, which Miss Ridding has collated.
- (2) *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, fragments of three MSS. besides these noted above.
- (3) *Gaṇḍavyūka*. 4 leaves in rather archaic hand.
- (4) *Bhadracariprañidhāna*.⁴ 3 leaves.

In non-Buddhistic literature the chief fragments are—

Kātantra: sūtras with a *bhāṣya* not identified. Ff. 13, saec. xiv.

¹ As far as I can judge without the help of leaf numbers, of which all save one are broken away.

² A similar and much longer commentary by the same author is spoken of in Professor S. Lévi's recent "Rapport," p. 16 [83]. (Acad. des Inscr., Jan. 27, 1899.)

³ In my recent paper at the Rome Congress I spoke of the specimens of Buddhist Prakrit (chiefly Apabhraṃśa) preserved in the *Subhāṣita-saṅgraha*, an anthology which I hope soon to publish.

⁴ The Society's MS. of this work appears to have been missing for some years past.

36 leaves of a grammatical work (commentary on a dhātu-pāṭha ?).

Commentary (not all in Sanskrit) on the Haramekhala, a known work on divination. By Māhuka, pupil of Durgaya. Calls itself (f. 3) a *proyoga-mālā*.

Siddhayogēśvari-tantra.

Commentary on *Dakṛṇava-tantra*.

C. BENDALL.

3. PURIFICATION BY RUNNING WATER.

DEAR SIR,—Purification by means of running water played a great part in the ceremonies of the Essenes, in the cult of the Dea Syra at Hierapolis, and in the religion of the Mandaites, who have retained much of the faith of their Babylonian ancestors. Manes appears to have laid stress upon it; and we have biblical illustrations in the story of Naaman and in the practice of St. John the Baptist. Wishing to know how far the idea was purely Syrian or had Babylonian analogies, I consulted my friend Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, and he has sent me a note which appears to me worthy to find a permanent place in the records of the Journal. I need hardly add that baptism in running water was only one of the modes whereby men were purified from sin or defilement in ancient Babylonia. The peculiarity of the cults I have noted above consists in the exclusive adoption of this method of purification, and in the fact that baptism must be in a running stream.—Yours truly,

J. KENNEDY.

Feb. 27, 1900.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

“PURIFICATION BY RUNNING WATER.”

In Chaldean mythology there was a goddess especially associated with purification, to whom running or tidal water was sacred. Her name was *Nin-a-kha-kud-du*, explained as

Belit egubbil, "Mistress of the waters of purification." In K. 157 we have a valuable passage: *ana me telelte ana me ella ana me Nin akha kuddu*, "To the pure waters, to the holy waters, to the waters of Nin.A." In K. 111 she is especially associated with Ea, the lord of the Ocean (*absu*), where we read, "by the charm of Nin.A., by the incantation of Eridu, the incantation of the deep and the noble charm of Eridu, which fails not." In another fragment, K. 2573 and K. 9274, 15-17, we have her again alluded to as "the pure lady, the traverser of the channels." She was also the goddess of the waves of the sea. In an incantation she is associated with the river-god, the god Naru 𒀭 𒌷 𒊩; and we have the passage *ina kibir Naru ellipse*, "in the bed of the holy river (destroy them)." The name 𒀭 𒌷 𒊩 𒌷 𒊩 𒌷 𒊩 is composed of *Nin* = lady + *a* = water + *kha* = holy + *kud* = channel + *du* = goes.

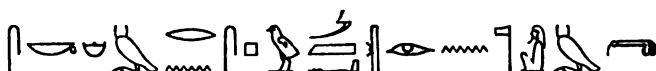
In a magical fragment we have the *mie mute*, "waters of death," mentioned, and in the tenth Tab. of the Nimrod Epos, 70. 3, we read *mie mute qatta la iltapit*, "waters of death which cleanse not the hands"; there was also a well or spring of death referred to in R. iv, 26: *mie buri sa qata la ilput*, "waters of the fountain or well which cleanse not the hands." In contradistinction to this there was the *mie naqbi ellutim*, "the waters of the holy fountain," in which the tree of life grew, and the waters of which were poured out for Istar in the underworld, where we read, "sprinkle Istar with the waters of life (*mie napiste*) and lead her from me (*Allat*)."

The cleansing power of tidal or running water is shown by Gilgames being told to bathe *seven* times in the sea, "and may the sea carry away his leprosy": see my article on Leprosy in the *Babylonian Record*. The fountain of life was called *Sukhal-ziku*, "the grotto of Life." Those sacred bathing-places were common, and are represented on the Ballawat gates; these were situated at the head waters of the Tigris, the river Zubnat, now the Tebeneh Su."

In the Deluge tablet we read, "take him to the place of purification"; and in the tablet of the Sun-god from Sippara we read, "he purified himself, and washed his mouth with the purification of Ea on the banks of the Euphrates."


EGYPTIAN NOTES.

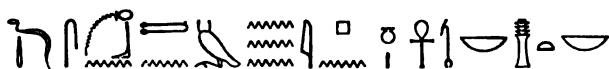
The passage referring to the baptismal purification of Hatshepsu at Deir el Bahari and that of Amenophis III at Luxor is:



Sek hem ren. s. pu maā ar en neter em bah.

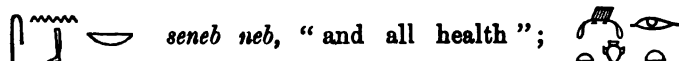
"For of old her name was that which truly (was) made of god in the former time."


Then a god is represented pouring water over her head from a vase shaped in form of , and saying:



t'et . sebu-na-ten em mu apen nu ankh uas neb tet neb.

"He says to her, 'I make thee ceremonially pure with this water, which is all life, power, and all stability.'"



aut arit, "of divine foods." The word  sebau occurs in many texts as making ceremonially pure.

I have not been able to copy the inscription of Amenophis III, but it is much the same.

4. THE EARLIEST OCCURRENCE OF DEVANĀGARĪ IN PRINTED BOOKS.

SIR,—In my article on the Origin and Early History of Chess, printed in the January number of the Journal for 1898, I note on p. 136 that in Hyde's *Historia shahiludii*, published in 1694, seventeen Sanskrit words are engraved in Devanāgarī, adding that this is probably the earliest instance of the use of that character to be found in any printed book. Soon after the appearance of my article I received a postcard from Professor Th. Zachariae, of Halle, referring me to a Dutch botanical work published at Amsterdam in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Having looked up the book in the Bodleian Library, I wrote a note about it for the April number of the Journal for 1898. But I mislaid the slip, and only found it again a few days ago. The work in question consists of twelve large folio volumes describing in Latin the plants and trees of Southern India, and illustrated with numerous plates, which, considering the time at which they were produced, are remarkably fine. The title is *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus adornatus per Henricum van Rheedee tot Drakestein*. The first volume is dated Amsterdam, 1678, and the last 1703. The introduction to the former contains a plate in which eleven lines of Sanskrit are engraved in Devanāgarī characters. In this the three Pandits who assisted the author in his work give their names (Raṅga-bhaṭṭa, Vināyaka-panḍita, Āpū-bhaṭṭa), and mention the date as *Śālivāhana-śāka* 1597. The author seems to have understood the meaning of the era, though he transliterates the name incorrectly; for he explains the date with the words *qui apud nos est* 1674 (for 1675). The name of the author appears in some of the volumes as Rheedee van Draakenstein. In the first volume of his work we have the occurrence of Devanāgarī sixteen years earlier than in Hyde's book. It is not likely that any earlier instance will be found.

March, 1900.

A. A. MACDONELL.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

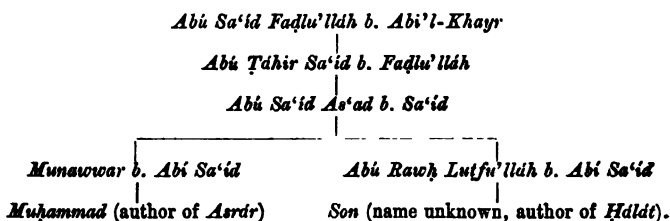
THREE RECENT RUSSIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERSIAN SCHOLARSHIP. By Professor V. ZHUKOVSKI and Captain A. G. TOUMANSKI.

The continually increasing importance of the contributions made to Oriental, especially Persian and Turkish, studies by Russian scholars, and the fact that these are now generally written in the Russian language, render a knowledge of that tongue more and more indispensable for serious students. Lacking this accomplishment myself, I have been fortunate enough to find in my friend and colleague Mr. Ellis H. Minns a willing and competent coadjutor, by whose help I have been able to acquaint myself with the gist of the introductory remarks prefixed to the three important publications of which I propose to give here a brief account. Two of these are connected with Súfiism, and consist of two separate biographies of the early and celebrated Persian mystic Shaykh Abú Sa'id ibn Abi'l-Khayr; while the third deals with the Bábí doctrine, and comprises the text and translation of the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*, or "Most Holy Book," in which Bahá'u'lláh summed up his teachings, together with sundry other Bábí documents, and a learned Introduction. The former are contributed by Professor Zhukovski, the latter is the work of Captain Toumanski, whose fruitful investigations into Bábí history and theology are already well known to all those who interest themselves in these subjects.

I. *Professor Zhukovski's Texts.*

These two volumes, both treating of the life, deeds, and sayings of Shaykh Abú Sa'id b. Abi'l-Khayr (d. A.D. 1048-9), differ materially in size. The smaller text, based on the unique British Museum MS. (Or. 249 : see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 342), comprises only 6 + ¹/₂ pages, and is entitled *Hálát u sukhunán-i-Shaykh Abú Sa'id Faḍlu'lláh b. Abi'l-Khayr al-Mihani*; the larger, based on the St. Petersburg and Copenhagen MSS., contains 14 + ¹/₂ pages, and is entitled *Asraru't-tawḥid fi maqámátí'sh-Shaykh Abi Sa'id*. For the sake of brevity we shall speak of these by the abbreviated titles of *Hálát* and *Asrar*.

The relation of these two books is carefully examined by Professor Zhukovski, who comes to the conclusion that the former was one of the sources of the latter, and that both were written by great-great-grandsons of the Saint who is the subject of these memoirs, the author of the *Hálát* being probably a son of Abú Rawḥ Luṭfu'lláh, while the author of the second is known to be Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar. Their relation to one another and to the Saint is shown by the following genealogical tree:—



The *Asrar* is dedicated to the Ghúrid king Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Sám (d. A.H. 599), and, since the death of Sanjar (A.H. 552) is mentioned in it, must have been composed between these limits, that is, between A.D. 1157 and 1202, while the *Hálát* must be placed a little earlier. Both texts are of primary importance for the early history of Šúfiism, since, as the editor shows, they are amongst the sources of Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár's *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya'*,

as well as of the *Nafahātu'l-Uns*, Jāmi's later and better-known Biographies of Saints. Premising that, alike in point of typography and critical accuracy, the texts leave nothing to be desired, we must, in this necessarily brief notice, confine ourselves to a short statement of the chief points touched on in the introductions prefixed to each.

The unique MS. on which the *Hálāt* is based (dated A.H. 699 = A.D. 1299) must be familiar to most of those students of Persian palaeography who frequent the British Museum. Unfortunately, owing to its almost complete lack of diacritical points, as well as to its damaged and worm-eaten condition, the MS. is singularly illegible. Professor Zhukovski, in working on the photograph of the original which he caused to be made for him, was, however, able to correct and restore the text by means of the *Asrār*, in which a great portion of its substance, as well as what appears to be its proper title, are included, so that eventually an almost complete restoration of the work was successfully effected. The editor has very wisely preserved the orthographical and grammatical peculiarities of the text, the chief of which are noticed on pp. 5-6. They closely correspond with those to which I called attention in my article in this Journal (July, 1894, pp. 417-524) on *An Old Persian Commentary*, and, indeed, with all Persian texts dating from an epoch anterior to the Mongol invasion (middle of the thirteenth century of our era) which have not been modernized by later scribes.

In the Introduction to the *Asrār*, Professor Zhukovski insists on its importance, *first*, as an early prose monument of the Persian language; *secondly*, as one of the oldest monographs on Šúfi saints; *thirdly*, as presenting a singularly clear and graphic picture of dervish life at that period; and *lastly*, as one of the primary sources of those general biographies of the holy men of Islām which alone have hitherto been generally accessible. He further points out the careful and critical methods of the author, the rigorous *isnáds* by which he vouches for his statements, and his almost exclusive use of contemporary authorities, known

to him either by oral tradition or by memoranda contained in notebooks. The only book properly so called which he used seems to have been the above-mentioned *Hálát*. Of the two MSS. of the *Asrár* used by the editor, the Copenhagen Codex is also of a respectable antiquity, being dated A.H. 711 (= A.D. 1311), so that here also we have many interesting archaisms, of which the most remarkable are discussed at pp. 7-8.

The importance of these two texts (or rather three, since another, entitled *Risála-i-Hawrá'iyya*, is appended to the *Asrár*) is very great alike from the literary, the historical, and the philological points of view, and we only regret that space does not permit us to accord them a notice proportionate to their merits. All students of Persian literature will unite in a cordial expression of gratitude to Professor Zhukovski for having rendered available to them two books of such capital importance.

II. Captain Toumanski's edition of the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*.

Both of the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*, the most important of the scriptures received as divine revelations by the Bahá'í Bábís, and of the diligent and eminently successful investigations of Captain Toumanski of the Russian Artillery, who has recently supplemented the information collected during his long sojourn at Askabad ('*Ishq-ábád*'), that centre of Bábí activity, by a visit to Persia undertaken with the special object of investigating this matter, I have repeatedly had occasion to speak in my books and articles on the Bábís. Captain Toumanski's original researches and discoveries were almost contemporaneous and coextensive with my own, although in the publication of results he, impeded by other and more urgent duties, was to some extent forestalled by myself, to whom greater leisure and immunity from interruption was, through no merit on my part, vouchsafed. The extremely generous manner in which he speaks of my work in this field affects me, therefore, the more deeply,

and impels me, before speaking of his excellent and scholarly work, to offer this tribute of personal gratitude for an appreciation which, coming as it does from one of the greatest authorities on this subject, has, I confess, caused me the very keenest pleasure.

The text of the *Aqdas* published by Captain Toumanski is based chiefly on the selection of Bahá'í scriptures lithographed at Bombay in 1892, which is to be regarded as canonical and official, and of which the contents are fully described at pp. xxviii-xxxvi of his Introduction; but it has been carefully collated throughout with the MS. noticed by Baron Rosen in vol. vi of the *Collections Scientifiques* (p. 243), which was obtained by Captain Toumanski during his sojourn at Askabad in 1890. I hope, when I have had time to collate his text with my own MSS., and another which the generosity of the Leyden Library has temporarily placed at my disposal, and to work through the translation and notes (which, based on the high authority of several eminent Bábís, notably the learned Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáýagání, will doubtless throw a new and abundant light on many points hitherto obscure), to discuss in greater detail this portion of the book, as well as the subsidiary documents for the illustration of the *Aqdas* which it contains, but for the present I must confine my necessarily brief remarks to the clear and excellent Introduction (pp. iii-xlvi) by which the volume is prefaced.

A considerable portion of this Introduction is historical, and traces the developments of the Bábí movement and doctrine from the obscure period which immediately succeeded the Báb's death (A.D. 1850) to the schism between the Ezelís and Bahá'ís, and thence onwards to the death of Bahá'u'lláh on May 28, 1892. This sketch is no mere recapitulation of facts already known, but contains much new and important material drawn both from Bábí documents not previously accessible, and from official reports of Russian consulates. Amongst the latter attention is specially called to that on pp. xvii-xviii, dated from the Russian Consulate at Tabríz, December 11, 1866 (old

style), which affords remarkable confirmation of the statements contained in the *Ezelí Hasht Bihisht* as to the assassination at Tabriz of Áqá Sayyid 'Alí 'Arab the Ezelí by Shaykh Ahmad the Bahá'í. The examination of the assassin, who made no concealment of his deed or its motives, before Mírzá Qahramán the *Mushir-i-Lashkar* and the *Mujtahid* Hájí Mírzá Báqir, is described, and in addition to this we are given the text and translation of a most remarkable and characteristic letter of instruction found on the prisoner, a document so curious that it would well deserve to be reproduced here, did space permit.

The periods during which the Bábí exiles resided at Baghdad (A.D. 1852–1862 or 1863), Constantinople (summer or autumn of 1863), and Adrianople are treated with great fulness and skill, and many hitherto obscure points (notably the causes which led to their expulsion from the first and last of these places, and their final banishment to Acre and Cyprus) are made clear. Attention is also called to several important epistles and other documents, which, though known to exist, have not yet been seen or obtained by any European investigator. Of these, the earliest of Bahá's epistles or manifestos, written in the garden of Najíb Páshá near Baghdad, on the eve of the Bábis' departure for Constantinople, and entitled *Shamsu'l-Kalimát* (p. xv), is one of the most notable. Of the subsequent documents emanating from Bahá, the order of the more important, and as far as possible their dates, are carefully determined.

As Captain Toumanski is dealing exclusively with Bahá'í literature, he naturally says but little of Subh-i-Ezel, whom, however, it is satisfactory to note, he regards (p. vii) as "in all probability the legitimate successor of the Báb," who "remained the faithful preserver of the primitive doctrine." At the same time he recognizes the superior influence and force of character of Bahá, whose development of the ethical side of the hitherto confused, dreamy, and unpractical doctrines of the Báb he appraises in a brief but well-worded paragraph (p. xlviii).

Of the rare and precious record of the early Bábí movement (down to 1852, when the author was put to death at Tíhrán in the great persecution consequent on the attempted assassination of the late Násiru'd-Dín Sháh) by Hájí Mirzá Jání of Káshán, hitherto known to us only by the two Gobineau MSS. (of which one is incomplete), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,¹ Captain Toumanski was fortunate enough to secure a new MS., written in July, 1874 (p. v, n. 1 *ad calc.*), with the help of which it may perhaps be possible to establish a satisfactory text of this most important history. He hazards a conjecture, however, that this book was at a comparatively early date (before the compilation of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*) subjected to purposeful manipulations by one or both factions of the Bábis. The passage cited by Captain Toumanski on pp. viii-ix is, at any rate, wanting in the Paris MS., and is rendered very suspicious by the occurrence of the formula **جل كبريائه** after the name of Bahá, who, in the Paris Codex, is generally spoken of simply as "the brother of His Holiness Ezel" (**اخوي حضرت ازل**), or "His Excellency the Brother" (**جناب اخوي**). Captain Toumanski's MS. is defective, but fortunately only in the earlier part, of which we already have a second text in the Paris MS. No. 1070, so that we shall no longer be dependent for any part of the text on a single MS.

In concluding this brief notice, we offer Captain Toumanski our sincere thanks and congratulations for the notable service which he has rendered to all students of Eastern religions by the publication of this excellent book.

E. G. B.

¹ The complete MS. is numbered 1071 and the incomplete one 1070 of the *Supplément Persan*. The latter contains only the first third of the book, and was written in A.H. 1279 (= A.D. 1862).

ASIATIC STUDIES. By Sir ALFRED C. LYALL. (London: John Murray, 1899.)

This is a republication of essays written during the last twenty-five years. They treat mainly of religion and politics in the Far East, with the writer's usual knowledge and charm. This notice only has to do with the religious questions raised in reviewing the works of Max Müller, Frazer, Jevons, and Miss Kingsley. It is unsatisfactory to find it doubted whether the history of religious development can be reconstructed by the study of existing beliefs. This opinion, however, is modified by an admission in other passages that the morphology of religious beliefs can be arrived at by the comparative method, which is in fact occasionally used in these volumes. In the author's words the highest mystery may lie latent in the lowest fetichism, and cannibalism have a remote connection with religious dogma. Mr. Tylor and Mr. Spencer certainly would not endorse the suggestion that their works contained almost everything that can be safely and soberly written on primitive culture. These very studies show the progress since made.

The worship of the dead, or, as Mr. Tylor calls it: *manes worship*, is one of the subjects which need the least supplementing since *Primitive Culture* was published. The very important part this cult may have played in early spirit worship is well explained in one essay, giving recent examples of the evolution of deities from the spirits of dead men in India and China. Mr. Tylor fully describes the similar European custom, which confers official promotion after death by rites of beatification and canonization. An unedifying instance took place near Naples not long since in a sort of popular cult of a noted dead brigand. A tree was shown to the writer in Ceylon as the home of an ancestor's spirit. Here is rudimentary matter which may very well have been part of primitive religion, of ghost and other spirit worship, transmigration and totemism.

The objection to Mr. Jevons' explanation of Totemism, as a degenerate revelation, are well stated. Mr. Frazer's remarkable study of Totemism meets on the whole with approval. Notwithstanding some reservations the author seems to admit virtually the view taken in the *Golden Bough* that nature worship, especially in the form of worship of the spirit of vegetation, was one of the chief factors in the evolution of religion and custom. An objection is made that the important share of human deification is not brought out in that book. The reason may be that Mr. Frazer did not think it within the scope of his work to consider all the varieties of animism. Probably it was the earlier cult, and the two may have interacted to a great extent as the author believes; Hinduism exhibits them both contained in the same religion.

The Euhemeristic doctrine is to some extent skilfully rehabilitated by the author, but it biases his judgment. Without proof he suspects Osiris, Isis, Attys, Adonis, and the Arician priest to represent real persons, and is inclined to consider evident allegories as only "parasitical superstitions." In the cases of fused cults mentioned by the author, the deified man, on the contrary, is the parasite. He supports his argument by depreciation of the stores of first-hand trustworthy material collected of late years. It is inaccurate to describe them as largely made up from old books and modern hearsay, jokes, and tales, invented to satisfy curious travellers, nonsensical fables, and idiotic barbarous notions. The comparative method enables the student to easily detect misstatement or imposture, and he is unlikely to find many barbarous notions unworthy of his attention.

The meteorological theory of mythology advocated by Mr. Max Müller meets with little favour from the author. The ethnological school are unjustly accused of only substituting another form of nature worship. Its doctrine is decidedly eclectic.

The author suggests that a belief in Transmigration may have been borrowed by savagery from Buddhism. Probably

he had Hinduism as well in his mind, for the belief existed in India before Buddhism arose. Mr. Tylor, among other writers, shows it to be a common savage dogma; it is a marked feature of Totemism. Therefore, in the absence of good contrary evidence it is to be taken as an instance of a "similar species . . . springing up spontaneously out of congenial soil . . . independently of transmission," to use the author's words in another connection.

The author shares Mr. Frazer's opinion that the origin of Taboos is to be found in "maxims of common prudence," an explanation adequate to the facts. Mr. Jevons' mystic view of it as a sort of categorical imperative is therefore rightly rejected.

Witchcraft is treated in two essays. Magic, defined as primitive science, is held to be its special characteristic, and a later development than spirit worship, just as science follows observation of facts, and as ritual is a product of the belief in the existence of spiritual beings. In the earlier essay he considers religion and witchcraft to have always been in a state of incessant war; but in the latter one he seems inclined to accept Miss Kingsley's conclusion that in West Africa they were originally indistinguishable. When religion had differentiated itself witchcraft was the residuum. Mr. Jevons calls it at one time a survival; at another time he speaks of it as a degeneration, rather inconsistently, but in keeping with his underlying theory of a primitive revelation. He recognizes more fully than Sir Alfred Lyall how much they have acted and reacted on one another; magic being sometimes sanctioned by religion, or even taken into its organization. According to Mr. Rhys Davids, Lamaism is a contemporary illustration of this mixture. The conclusion is that the only practical ground for distinction is the common and doubtful one of orthodoxy and morality, as indeed the author seems finally to admit.

A reasoned opinion on the vexed question of a primitive belief in a supreme moral being would have been interesting. The subject is brought to mind by the author's remark that

neither the peoples of India nor those of West Africa consider the Creator, or First Cause, to be a useful object of worship, because since he created the world he has taken no farther trouble about it. He simply exists. The Indian belief, however, hardly represents the Vedic thought. It may well be even older.

J. B. ANDREWS.

THE BRIDE'S MIRROR, OR MIR-ĀTU-L :ARŪS OF MAULAVI NAZIR-AHMAD. Edited (in Roman type) by G. E. WARD, M.A. (London: H. Frowde, 1899.)

The Bride's Mirror is a girl's book with a moral. It narrates the follies, the silliness, and hasty temper of a young wife—Asghari; the incidents are familiar, and the reflections commonplace; but the language is simple and free from affectation, perhaps because it is the work of a father writing for his children. It therefore forms a good textbook for learning Hindustani, while it supplies an introduction to the everyday life of a Mahomedan household: reasons which have led Mr. Ward to adapt it to the use of English ladies working in zenanas, and to expend upon a mediocre work the labour usually devoted to a classic. The text is printed in Roman characters; a free translation is given of the Preface—always the most difficult and ambitious part of a Hindustani composition; grammatical notes and an elaborate vocabulary complete the work. The book differs from most Hindustani manuals, not only by the nice accuracy of its scholarship, but by the glimpse it affords of Mr. Ward's studies in the science of language. Note, for instance, his explanation on p. 224 of the difference between Oriental and Western methods of thought—how the one unconsciously specializes from the general, the other generalizes from the individual; or, again, how it happens that the imperative mood precedes the indicative, and the vocative comes before the nominative. For such stray crumbs we are duly thankful; and, indeed, the pains which

Mr. Ward has bestowed upon the transliteration, vocabulary, and notes, deserve nothing but praise.

The arrangement of the vocabulary is the only point that raises a doubt. Although the text is in the Roman character, the vocabulary follows the order of the Persian alphabet. The question is a difficult one, and it really serves to show the insurmountable perplexities inherent in every system of transliteration. Mr. Ward must have bestowed much thought upon the matter, and doubtless adopted the present arrangement upon sufficient grounds; but the value of a vocabulary depends largely upon the readings with which it can be used; and we may safely predict that only seriously minded students will grapple with the eight-and-forty signs or combinations of letters which must be mastered before the vocabulary can be consulted. The labour devoted to the key might be much more profitably devoted to the original script. In any case the key to the transliteration ought to have been printed as a preface to the vocabulary, and not as an appendix to the introduction. Mr. Ward complains that few Englishwomen in India take any pains to acquire the vernacular. An Englishwoman's Hindustani is usually limited to the imperative mood; and Mr. Ward's transliterations will scarcely smooth her onward path, if she falls into a lexicographical bog at the end of the volume.

The most original and the most interesting part of the work is the introduction. It is there that Mr. Ward discusses his particular theories and airs his pet heresies. Hindustani, says Mr. Ward, the vernacular of Hindustan, is a single language, one and indivisible; but Pundits and Maulavis, writing under Government patronage and stimulus, have employed two scripts, and thus made believe to create two vernaculars. Well, there is a certain modicum of truth in Mr. Ward's account of the genesis of Hindustani literature, but few persons will admit that there is only one vernacular in the upper valley of the Ganges, and still fewer will agree in the conclusions drawn by Mr. Ward. The vernacular of the peasantry throughout the greater

part of the country is Hindi—a language of many dialects and grammatical forms, and with a well-known literature that has existed for centuries. Urdu, the *lingua franca* created by camp-followers and Mahomedan converts, is comparatively recent, and so far from fixed that a resident of Delhi will find himself a stranger among the Mahomedans of Madras or Bombay. The anarchy of the eighteenth century did not favour literary efforts, and the language has acquired a literary and therefore a fixed form for the first time in the nineteenth century. Masters of style, like Sir Syad Ahmad, have shown that it can be written with clearness, simplicity, and grace. At the same time the language of a Mahomedan noble of Delhi or Aligarh differs from the language of a Gorakhpur or Behar peasant a good deal more than the language of an Oxford don does from that of a yokel of Somerset. There are two vernaculars, not one.

Mr. Ward's plea for transliteration in the Roman character is based partly upon the battle of the Persian and the Nagari scripts and partly upon motives of convenience. The system of transliteration which he has adopted is the one usually received, but with two modifications. The hamza he makes with a dash —, the ain with a dash and a dot —. His objections to the ordinary system are good, and the alterations seem open to no reproach except that of novelty. But Mr. Ward's essay on transliteration is by no means confined to such minor details; he plunges deeply into the first principles of phonetics and the history of articulate speech. We have heard of a gentleman who had a craze about the initial *yod*; like King Charles's head, it turned up in everything. Mr. Ward carries on a crusade against all the vowels, but especially against that sorry maid of all work, the vowel *a*. A vowel, we were taught in our youth, could be pronounced by itself, but Mr. Ward explains at length that this is wrong. To pronounce a vowel by itself is an impossibility; it is always preceded by a mute consonant. In England, according to Mr. Ward, consonants are merely regarded as supporters of the vowels;

in India the vowels represent "the motion" of the consonants. And the general history of vowels shows that while they originally followed consonants, they came in time to precede them. Into these high regions of linguistic speculation we dare not enter, although we might remark that inasmuch as certain articulate sounds (commonly called vowels) have a distinct musical or harmonic value, and others (commonly called consonants) have not, it is well to distinguish the two by separate appellations. It may be that the one cannot do without the support of the other; but Mr. Ward's speculations on the subject appear to be based in the main upon his Semitic studies. The question assumes a practical shape in the matter of spelling. The Semitic languages, since they usually employ biliteral roots with fixed vowels, have a consonantal script. Aryan languages abound in trilateral roots with altering vowels, and are written syllabically. For Hindi, an Aryan tongue, we have an almost perfect medium in the Nagari alphabet, spelled syllabically. Persian and Urdu are also Aryan, although overlaid with Arabic; and they are furnished with a Semitic, i.e. consonantal, script, which happens to be convenient, but theoretically fits them very ill. The question is how to represent the Nagari and Urdu scripts in the English language—a language which is spelled with little regard to sound. Now we may aim at one of two things in any system of transliteration. We may adopt a system of conventions by which we can at any moment replace the original script. The most recent German method of transliterating hieroglyphics is an instance in point. It is a mere algebraical notation. Judged by this standard, Mr. Ward's transliteration is defective, since he omits the final *h* in Persian words after a short vowel. Or we may attempt to reproduce the sounds of one language in terms of another. Every such attempt must be merely approximate at the best; for every language calls into play a different set of muscles—a different accent, different modes of drawing the breath. To teach a living language a living master is required. Mr. Ward's transliteration

will smoothen the path of the beginner, but it will neither supersede the necessity of a teacher nor the labour of acquiring an Oriental script. We would advise every student of the book to work with the original as well as with the transliteration. If he masters the book, he will have a fair knowledge of the language; if he can read the script, he will possess a key to the literature.

J. K.

MASPERO'S "STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS": Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. 1896.

In the Volume of the Journal of our Society for 1895 I reviewed the First Volume of M. Maspero's noble and epoch-making Book; it was entitled the "Dawn of Civilization." The Second Volume, known by the name given above, appeared, at least in its English dress, in 1896; the Third Volume, known by the name of "The Passing of the Empires," appeared last year, and carries the reader over a period of five hundred years from 830 B.C. to 330 B.C. These dates are fairly certain, but no attempt at Chronology is given in the two earlier volumes. The sequence of events is carefully built up on the testimony of Inscriptions on Metal and Clay, and is based upon Dynasties. Not a line of trustworthy contemporary Historical Narrative is forthcoming. We have a sample of the state of affairs in the Hebrew Books, in which Chronology as we understand it, did not exist.

These three lordly volumes of 800 pages each, large quarto, amply illustrated by Photographs inserted in the page, were composed and published in the French Language by a French Scholar, and Excavator, of all his contemporaries by his talents, opportunities, and industry, the most competent. But all three volumes have had the privilege and honour of being translated into English by an accomplished lady, who has laboriously edited them, each page being submitted to M. Maspero; and this Volume in its English dress has had the further advantage of being edited by an English

Scholar, of all the most qualified for the task, Professor Sayce. I write with familiarity with the subject, as I had the honour on my first visit to Egypt in 1843 of being in the company of Professor Lepsius, and have had the pleasure of the acquaintance of M. Maspero and Professor Sayce for a quarter of a Century, and have read nearly all their publications.

It is no light matter to work your way through these colossal volumes: I have accomplished the task in two, and in my eightieth year propose to grapple with the third at the close of the current year. The three branches of the great subject, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, are very familiar to me in the separate works published by other authors; but this combined treatment of the whole Region betwixt the Tigris and Nile has a strange fascination, and brings the entire subject before the reader as if History were reflected in the slides of a lantern. Each narrator of the Chronicles of a separate Region is tempted by his reasonable devotion to his own subject to exaggerate the merits and fortunes of his particular Heroes; but in these quasi-cosmopolitan pages we find impartial notices of all, who resembled each other in nothing else, except in their ceaseless love of Conflict, Ambition, Cruelty, and Lust for Plunder.

The Second Volume, "The Struggle of the Nations," which I now pass under review, is divided into Seven Chapters: the subject of each is worth recording.

I. The first Chaldean Empire and the Hyksos in Egypt. The part played by Syria in the Ancient World. Babylon and the first Chaldean Empire. The dominion of the Shepherd Kings or Hyksos in Egypt.

II. Syria at the beginning of the Egyptian Conquest. Nineveh. The towns, civilization, and religion, of Syria. Phenicia.

III. The Eighteenth Theban Dynasty. Thutmosis I. Hatshopsitu and Thutmosis III. Amenothos III. Worship of the fiery Disk or Atonu.

IV. The reaction against Egypt. The Nineteenth Dynasty. The Empire of the Khita or Hittite, in Syria and Asia Minor. Seti I and Ramses II, the great Sesostris. Minepthah and the Israelite Exodus.

V. The close of the Theban Empire. Ramses III. The Theban city after the Ramessides. Manners and Customs, and Population. The predominance of Amon and his High Priest.

VI. The rise of the Assyrian Empire. Phenicia and the Northern Nations after the death of Ramses III. The first Assyrian Empire. Tiglath Pileser I. The Arameans and the Khita.

VII. The Hebrews and the Philistines. Damascus. The Israelites in the Land of Canaan. The Judges. The Philistines and the Hebrew Kingdom. Saul, David, Solomon. The defection of the Tribes. The Twenty-first Egyptian Dynasty.

The discoveries of the last half-century have had one result in stripping the Hebrew tribes of the false glamour of importance, with which Mediaeval Europe had clothed them: one only allusion to their existence has been found in the Inscriptions of Egypt. With regard to the much vaunted Temple of Jerusalem, Maspero remarks (p. 747): "The limited knowledge of the Hebrews doubtless led them to consider their temple as unique in the world: as a fact it presented nothing remarkable either in proportion, arrangement, or in the variety and richness of its ornamentation and furniture. Compared with the magnificent monuments of Egypt and Chaldea, the work of Solomon was what the Hebrew Kingdom appears to us among the Empires of the ancient world—a little temple suited to a little people." Whatever it was, it was not the work of indigenous Hebrew builders, but the idolators of Phenicia were employed in the construction.

It is strange that oblivion and darkness should have closed over both Mesopotamia and the Valley of the Nile

during the period of Greek and Roman influence. Such a book as the one which I now notice, could not have been written fifty years ago, when I first visited Egypt. The fate of Babylon and Nineveh was harder even than that of Thebes and Memphis, yet no Nations of Antiquity had taken such pains, by a wealth of Inscriptions in the Hieroglyphic Ideographs and Cuneiform Syllabaries, to perpetuate their history. We have to thank Professor Maspero for this interesting and instructive Volume.

March, 1900.

R. N. CUST.

MITTHEILUNGEN DES SEMINARS FÜR ORIENTALISCHE SPRACHEN
an der Königl. Friedrichs Wilhelms-Universität zu
Berlin. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr. E. SACHAU.
Jahrgang ii, pt. 2. Westasiatische Studien; redigirt
von Professor Dr. A. Fischer und Dr. K. Foy. (Berlin
and Stuttgart, 1899.)

The volume contains a series of essays, each of which merits attention. Dr. H. Lüderitz gives a collection of Moroccan proverbs, together with a commentary in the North Moroccan dialect and a German translation.

Professor Sachau, Principal of the Seminary, has contributed a study on the sect of the Ibādhite Mohammedans in Oman and Eastern Africa. His article is all the more welcome as comparatively little is known about them, and the information to be derived from Al Shahrastāni is very scant and not always reliable. The interest attached to Ibādhite doctrines is not only historical, but also actual, as they still count many adherents both in Asia and Africa. The Ibādhites, who take their name from Abd Allāh b. Ibādh, are in reality but a group of the dissenters who are comprised under the more general term of Khārijites, with whom they originated, and who sprang up after the assassination of the Khalifah Othmān. Having been scattered by Aliy in the battle of Nahrawān (658), they disseminated their belief during the subsequent years in six

differing forms, only two of which have left any trace, viz. the puritan *Asrāqiyya* (whose doctrines were revived in the last century by the Wahhabīs) and the less fanatical *Ibādhīyya* (also called *Wahbiyya*). They were centralized by the above-mentioned Abd Allāh, who lived during the reign of the Khalifah Merwān I (died 685) and his successor Abd al Malik (died 705). The sources hitherto available for the study of Ibādhite doctrines have now been extensively supplemented by the abstracts given by Professor Sachau from the *Kashf Al Ghumma*, a work which contains a full history of the Ibādhite movement up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It contains two very instructive letters from Abd Allāh to Abd al Malik, of which a translation is to be found in this article. This is followed by a discussion on the religious tenets of the Ibādhite belief, which offers some very interesting points of comparison with the Sunnite creed.

The next article, by W. Barthold, concerns Russian works on Western Asia. Dr. K. Foy contributes three articles, two of which treat on Turkish philology.

Dr. G. Kampffmeyer's very profound essay treats on the Bedouin dialects of Central Africa. Although the Arabic dialects spoken on the shores and islands of Asia and Africa have already been philologically investigated, those in the heart of the dark continent have had little attention paid to them. Even the large work of S. W. Koelle ("Polyglotta Africana") is barely more than nominally known to students of Arabic. Dr. Kampffmeyer has reprinted from Koelle's lists the portions relating to the Arabic dialects of Shōa, Wadai, Adirār, and Bērān, and attached his own researches to them. In the latter he also discusses ethnographical questions, and gives valuable information on the wanderings of Arab tribes throughout Africa. An intimate acquaintance with the dialects spoken in the Sūdān is of special importance at the present time, and the comparatively greater facilities now open to students cannot fail to bring to light very interesting facts. Not only will it be possible to enlarge Koelle's lists compiled half a century ago, but also to gain important

historical results. Not less interesting is it to observe that Arabs, beside occupying nearly the whole territory along the Nile, invaded Africa on two parallel routes on both borders of the Sahara. Dr. Kampffmeyer's suggestion that the immigration of (Southern) Arabs into the Sūdān took place independently from that which gained Northern Africa for them has much to recommend it. It coincides singularly with Dr. Glaser's theory regarding the early settlements of Southern Arabs in Abyssinia ("Die Abessinier in Asien und Africa," 1895), the only difference being that the immigration of the latter took place at a much earlier epoch than either of the two others.

Dr. A. Fischer contributes two articles on Moroccan weapons and the accentuation of Moroccan words. To Persian studies are devoted two articles by Drs. L. v. Mutius and Oscar Mann. Dr. J. Horovitz gives a short notice on an alleged work by Al Wāqidi. Finally, Dr. Julius Lippert has a lengthy review on Houdas' edition of the Chronicles of the Sūdān by Abderrahmān b. Abd Allāh b. Imrān b. Amir al Sa'di.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

GLIMPSES OF OLD BOMBAY AND WESTERN INDIA. By JAMES DOUGLAS. (London, 1900.)

In this book the author of "Bombay and Western India," published in 1893, gives us some more of his historical sketches and papers on events and life in and about Bombay in old and more recent times. They are quaintly and interestingly written as usual, and, in a variety of subjects, put on record many scraps of more than half forgotten history, for in India, where the European inhabitants are so often changing, personal recollections do not generally go back many years, and events are liable to be soon forgotten. As the author says in the preface, "Bombay is a city of temporary habitation. Men and women come here and go away, and the place that knew them knows them no more. There is little of the continuity of tradition

from father to son." But places change as well as men. Many buildings are swept away, and formerly well-known places so altered as to be forgotten, in the course of only a few years of city improvements. Works, therefore, such as those of Mr. Douglas are welcome to all who think of Bombay and Western India with happy memories, and are interested in the history of the establishment of the English in those parts and the progress of the '*Urbs prima in India*.'

In each of the divisions of the book, viz., Social, Banks and Merchants, Roads by Sea and Land, Clubs, Biographical and Historical, papers well worth reading will be found, such as "Bombay Domestic Annals, A.D. 1800-1893," "Bombay before Joint Stock Banking," "Across India in a Palkee," "Aquaviva of Salsette," "People whom India has forgotten."

It is hoped that this book will not be, as stated by the author, the last stone which he will heave on to the cairn of Old Bombay.

O. C.

RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS OF THE GREEKS, PHOENICIANS, AND BABYLONIANS. By ROBERT BROWN, JUN., F.S.A., M.R.A.S. (Williams & Norgate, 1899.)

This is a really interesting book, in which the author has brought together a mass of material concerning the researches of the ancient nations named on the title-page into the wonders of the starry heavens. The value of the work consists, however, not only in the amount of material brought together, but also in the suggestive remarks that it contains concerning the origin of many of the signs of the constellations, and also the etymology of many an obscure and doubtful name.

In reading through his list of authorities, the wide reading of the author is at once evident. He has dived not only into the ancient Greek works on the subject—in itself no light task—but has also studied what Indian and Arabic

works on the subject have to say. The wedge inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia have likewise provided him with many a comparison, and the coins of the ancient world have given him many a type — indeed, he is able to state that every constellation-figure except Orion is represented on the coins of the ancients.

Though much has been learned from the astrological tablets of Babylonia concerning the origin of the constellation-figures which we have inherited from the ancients, there is still much to learn and much to revise and correct before we can say that we know even approximately the true derivation of each. Of course, it is not to be supposed that every constellation-figure had a Babylonian or even an Oriental origin, for some of them are late, and were invented by the Greeks. This is shown by the constellation of the Tress, to which Mr. Brown calls special attention. The hair of Berenice, the queen of Ptolemy Euergetes, was made into a constellation about 243 B.C., "by the united efforts of Kónón, the astronomer of Samos, and Kallimachos, the Alexandrian grammarian-poet."

Most, if not all, of the other constellation-figures, however, are Eastern, and originated either with the Phoenicians or the Babylonians (the Akkadians or Sumerians may be regarded as included in this term). Thus, the constellations of the Serpent, Cepheus, Perseus, Andromeda, etc., are apparently of Phoenician origin, whilst others, such as the Eagle, Lion, Scorpion, etc.—in fact, most of the Signs of the Zodiac—seem to be of Babylonian origin. There is so much, however, in Assyro-Babylonian astronomy that is unclear, that it may be regarded as certain that many of the ideas at present current upon the subject will have to be changed or modified with the fuller knowledge of the ancient Akkadian tablets referring thereto.

Full use has been made of the discoveries of Epping from the tablets copied by Strassmaier, and these have been duly worked into the laborious study that Mr. Brown has published. For the solid basis laid by the late Father Epping, S.J., Assyriologists will always be grateful. The translation of

a number of tablets of late date written to a large extent—in most cases entirely—in abbreviations, was a triumph of perseverance and thought, whilst the working out of the ephemera and lunar tables by him was a marvel of patient and painstaking research.

Whilst praising the work of Mr. Brown on account of the bringing together of so much material bearing upon ancient astronomy, it grieves me that I cannot follow him in much of what he says concerning the statements of the Assyro-Babylonian tablets bearing upon the subject. To compare (p. 193) DA-AI-NU-TSI-ru¹ ("Judge supreme," W.A.I., IV, xxviii, 1, Rev. l. 6) with Dionysos is bad enough, but when DI-WU-NIS-I ("Judge-great-of-men," = the Sun-god, the grape-giver," W.A.I., II, lx, No. 2, l. 40) is put forward as another derivation of a form of the same word, one feels inclined to protest. The passage referred to, which is said to contain this form, has nothing of the kind. In reality the name of the god quoted is Silim-munzal (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶), and is thus to be transcribed on account of the translation, *Nabû, ilu mušta-barrû salimu*, "Nebo, the god forecasting peace," which accompanies it. Then, again, is the determinative prefix used for 'star' in later times in Babylonia, 𐎶𐎵, really to be pronounced *te*? Jensen has shown that the character here reproduced had also the value of *gal*, and the dialectic form of *gal* is *mul*, a homophone of *mul* meaning 'star.' 𐎶𐎵 is only, therefore, a character replacing 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *mul*, 'star,' 'constellation,' on account of its having fewer wedges and taking up less space. To all appearance, the constellation 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, mentioned in the tablet 83-1-18, 2434, is only the original form of the later 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, the constellation Taurus, an abbreviation of 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, earlier 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, the (apparently double) constellation of "the constellation

¹ In reality two words, *dānu giru*.

In these the constellation *Maštabbagalgal*, "the great twins," is, he says, reduplicated, though the change of position indicated cannot apply to them. It is noteworthy that here, again, we have another instance of a double constellation, afterwards, to all appearance, united in one, for the so-called "Te-tablet" gives the sign for the month Sivan (represented by the character *sig*, an abbreviation of the Akkadian *Sega* already referred to) as *Sib-zi-anna* and *Maš-tabba-galgal*, "the shepherd of the life of heaven" and "the great twins." It is not improbable that we may see, in the shepherd here referred to, the Sun-god Tammuz, smitten (as the Assyrian text has it, W.A.I., II, 49, l. 46) with the sword (*ina kakki mahṣu*).

But to go fully through a work of this nature would require more time, and what is of still greater importance, more space, than I have at my disposal. The book is worthy of notice, and full of suggestions, on the Babylonian side as well as on every other. It has one great merit, and that is, that the references are generally given in full. On the other hand, there is one thing that is greatly needed, namely, an index, though, as the present is only the first volume, this want will probably be supplied when the work is completed.

T. G. PINCHES.

AĪYĀDGĀR-Ī ZARĪRĀN, SHATRŌIHĀ-Ī ĀĪRĀN, AND AFDIYĀ VA-SAHĪGIYĀ-Ī SĪSTĀN. Translated, with notes, by JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A. (Bombay, 1899.)

In this volume Ervad J. J. Modi, who is a good Pahlavi scholar, presents his fellow-countrymen with a Gujarāti transliteration of three short Pahlavi texts, each accompanied by Gujarāti and English translations, with many useful notes. The three texts are a Memoir of Zarīr, the brother of king Vishtāsp and commander-in-chief of his army, a Memorandum of the Cities of Iran and their traditional founders, or rebuilders, and a Memorandum of the wonders and greatness of the land of Sīstān. Mr. Modi has also

added a reprint of his English articles about the Cities of Iran from the Journal of the B.B.R.A.S., and a map, showing the positions of the Cities mentioned.

These short treatises are the first three contained in an old Pahlavi codex, preserved in the library of the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamaspasana at Bombay, which was written A.D. 1322; and it appears, from a colophon, copied in the middle of that codex, that the first half of the texts was copied from an old Broach MS. written A.D. 1255.¹

The Memoir of Zarīr gives an account of the origin, progress, and result of the holy war, or war of the religion, into which king Vishtāsp was forced, shortly after his conversion to Zoroastrianism, by the interference of Arjāsp, king of the Khyōns, who objected to that conversion; but Vishtāsp intrusted his reply to his brother Zarīr, who handed a defiant dispatch to Arjāsp's envoys, proposing a battle, to be fought two months later on the plains near the jungle of Hūtōs and the Mūrv of Zaratūsht, a locality not easy to identify with certainty.

On this plain the armies of the two nations met, in fabulous numbers, at the appointed time; and, after a desperate battle, in which the Iranians lost most of their champions, including twenty-three brothers and sons of Vishtāsp, the Turanian army was utterly destroyed, and Arjāsp returned home alone, maimed and crippled, riding on a mutilated ass.

When Professor W. Geiger (now of Erlangen) translated this Memoir into German in 1890,² he pointed out several striking resemblances between its statements and those contained in Daqīqi's account of the same war in the Shāhnāmāh, which must have been derived from some Pahlavi Zarīr-nāmā then existing. It does not follow that this Memoir of Zarīr, found in India, is the same work as

¹ A.Y. 624. The two ciphers, representing 600, have been eaten away by moths in the old codex, but a copyist, writing in A.D. 1721, found one of these ciphers still legible, and wrote A.Y. 324; this would, however, be far too early.

² *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. Classe der k. b. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu München*, 3 Mai, 1890; pp. 43-84.

that Pahlavi Zarīr-nāmak which formerly existed in Persia ; but it may possibly consist of memoranda taken from that Zarīr-nāmak.

It is evident that the compiler of the Memoir wished to preserve the Pahlavi traditions of this holy war, but the most valuable result of his work is that he has also preserved some Pahlavi forms of names, that connect their modern Persian equivalents, which occur in the Shāhnāmah, with their original forms in the Avesta Yashts. Thus the Pahlavi Zarīr can also be read Zargar, which can be traced to the Avesta Zairivairi (Yasht xiii, 101). The Av. Bastavairi (ibid., 103) has become Pahl. Bastvar, afterwards corrupted into Nastūr in the Shāhnāmah, by wrong pointing. The Av. Spentō-dāta (ibid.) has become Pahl. Spend-dāt, afterwards corrupted into Isfandyār in Persian. And the Av. Frash-hām-vareta (ibid., 102) may be Pahl. Frashāvart, otherwise Frashāgart.

The Memoir of Zarīr is an appropriate title for this treatise, as it is chiefly devoted to his warlike deeds, and, after his death, to those of his young son Bastvar. A colophon, which Mr. Modi has not translated, is appended to the original Pahlavi text of this Memoir, in which the writer of the codex explains that he copied this text from a copy made by his great-great-uncle from the Broach MS. of A.D. 1255 mentioned above ; that is, he gives the old copyist's name, but not his date.

The memorandum of the Cities of Iran mentions more than fifty by name, and alludes to as many more. The names of their founders are evidently based upon such traditions as survived the Arab conquest ; though the final founding of Bagdād by Abū Jāfar, surnamed Davānig, may very possibly be an addition to the original memorandum by some copyist. The translation seems fairly correct, though some doubts might be entertained about §§ 19, 24, 31, if they were not dissipated by satisfactory explanations in the author's articles in the Journal of the B.B.R.A.S. In § 20 the cipher which is read "*ten* hundred" means "*one* hundred" in most cases.

In §§ 47, 53 there occur some interesting particulars about the Jewish wife of king Yazdakard I, first noticed by Darmesteter in his *Textes pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*. § 47 informs us that "the cities of Shūs and Shūstar were built (or rebuilt) by Shīshīn-dūkht, the wife of Yazdakard, son of Shahpūhar, as well as daughter of the Rēsh-galūtak ('chief of the exile'), the ruler of the Jews; she was also mother of Vāhrām-i Gōr." § 53 also states that "the city of Gaī (ancient Ispahān) was built by the accursed Alexander, son of Filipōsh; there was a settlement of Jews there in the reign of Yazdakard, son of Shahpūhar, brought by request of Shīshīn-dūkht, who was his wife." No doubt Shīshīn is a transcriber's variant of the Hebrew woman's name Susannah, as Mr. Modi mentions; and "the lily" was improved, as a name, by the Iranian addition of *dūkht*, converting it into "the lily's daughter."

The memorandum of the wonders and greatness (or protectiveness) of the land of Sīstān is a shorter treatise, which enumerates, among the advantages of this land, its possession of the Avesta river Haētumant, the lake Frazdānava, the sea Kāsava, and the mountain Ushidarena; its being the scene of the birth and education of the last three apostles, and of the resurrection; also the land of the Kayān dynasty, and refuge of the descendants of Airyu for ten generations; likewise the locality of Vishtāsp's early promulgation of the religion, assisted by Zaratūsht and Sēnō of Bōst. In Alexander's time it was the refuge of many of the faithful, and the preserver of some Nasks which are not clearly defined.

The translator has done his tedious work with good judgment and success, and there now remain untranslated only two or three texts of any length in this old codex, and these are more curious than important.

E. W. WEST.

VEDISCHE MYTHOLOGIE, VON ALFRED HILLEBRANDT.
(Zweiter Band, Breslau, 1899.)

The comprehensive treatment of Vedic mythology begun by Professor Hillebrandt in 1891 with *Soma und verwandte Götter*, he now continues in a second volume, which treats of the deities Uṣas, Agni, and Rudra. No other Sanskritist can be said to be so well equipped for a task like the present one. For to the very extensive acquaintance with Vedic mythology proved by his published works, Professor Hillebrandt joins an unequalled knowledge of ancient Indian ritual. Such knowledge, which furnishes much valuable material to the mythologist, the author of the present volume draws upon at every turn in illustration or corroboration of his conclusions. This very familiarity with the ritual literature, however, seems in some cases to have suggested identifications which remind one of those occurring in the Brāhmaṇas, and which lack the support of substantial evidence. Such, for instance, is perhaps the explanation of the "path of the gods" (*devayāna*) and that of the fathers (*pitṛyāna*) as the northern (*uttarāyana*) and the southern (*dakṣiṇāyana*) course of the sun respectively (p. 82).

The introduction, meant for both the present volume and for the third, which has yet to appear, contains many observations well worthy of consideration. The main principle which the author follows in his researches is, as he tells us, to interpret the Veda as much as possible from itself and, in so doing, to avoid starting with a theory (p. 11). Classical Sanskrit or Pāli, no less than Anthropology, should, he adds, be treated only as auxiliaries, not as guides. He does not agree with those scholars who, in consequence of a somewhat exaggerated reaction against the methods of comparative mythology, tend to efface the boundary-line between Sanskrit literature and the Veda. And, indeed, the Rīgveda cannot be said to be a purely Indian work in the same sense as, for instance, the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa was after two thousand years of

national development. For the Rigveda, standing at the beginning of that development, must necessarily have contained much that was not Indian among its inherited material. The closely allied mythology and cult of the non-Indian Avesta is consequently capable, in many instances, of shedding more light on cognate points in the Rigveda than the indigenous literature may be able to do after the transforming influences of two thousand years and more. The gap between the Rigveda and the Brāhmaṇas is already considerable; how much greater must be the gap between it and the later literature after the lapse of another millennium?

As for comparative mythology, Professor Hillebrandt expresses the belief that we can expect very little help from that quarter. In deciding mythological questions he has, therefore, never allowed the etymology of the names of gods to exercise any influence. Even if correct—and of this we can rarely be certain—the etymology is, in most cases, mythologically useless. The meaning it furnishes is, as a rule, so general that it may designate a number of different things, and therefore gives no clue to the individual character of the god in question. Thus, if we did not otherwise know that Sūrya means the sun, the etymology could not tell us.

Professor Hillebrandt adheres to the view that the Vedic gods are nearly all personifications of natural phenomena. He is unable to accept the view which recognizes a number of abstract deities, such as the 'Stimulator God' (otherwise the solar deity Savitr), or the euhemeristic interpretation which assumes the apotheosis even of racehorses in the Rigveda.

Professor Hillebrandt half apologizes for his standpoint not being new. More harm is, however, done by advancing novel theories based on insufficient evidence, or by accepting them without adequate criticism, than by adhering to old ones till they have been clearly rendered untenable. Within the limits indicated, the author, at the same time, takes up a good many new positions, some of which are certain to

be assailed with sharp criticism. Such, for instance, is his interpretation, in the first section, of Uṣas as not only the dawn of the single day, but as the beginning of the year. He has, however, made a distinct advance in this section towards establishing various points which have hitherto been doubtful. Thus he makes it clear (pp. 35–39) that the cows of Dawn never mean morning clouds in the Rigveda (cf. my *Vedic Mythology*, p. 47, last line but one). The evidence he adduces on pp. 41–42 makes the view very probable that Sūryā is really a mythological synonym of Uṣas, and not the Sun regarded as a female. His conclusion (pp. 44–47) that Night and Morning are meant by the two wives of Vivasvat (the Sun), in two much-disputed stanzas of the Rigveda (X, 17, 1–2), seems to be more probable than any other interpretation hitherto advanced. The second, Saranyū, is here described as “of like aspect” (*savarṇā*), and as becoming the mother of the Aśvins. These statements are illustrated by the passage relating to the Indian Dioskouroi quoted by Yāska in the *Nirukta* (12, 2), where it is said that one of them is the son of the morning twilight, the other the son of the dawn. That Saramā is the mythological equivalent in the Rigveda of Saranyū and Uṣas (pp. 48–50) is also probable. Professor Hillebrandt further seems to be clearly right in identifying with Dawn the Virāj (the effulgent One) of the Atharvaveda, whose two calves rise out of the sea and who is brought into connection with the sacrifice. This conclusion is, I may add, confirmed by the Rigveda, where Dawn is said (I, 113, 2) to have a shining calf (the sun), and Sun and Moon are alluded to as going round the sacrifice like playing children (X, 85, 18).

The main part of the book (pp. 57–178) is devoted to the Fire-god, Agni, whose cult has been uninterruptedly maintained in India for more than 3,000 years down to the present day.

It is generally acknowledged that the three sacrificial fires of the later Indian ritual were known to the Rigveda, though the only one of their names occurring there is Gārhapatya.

Professor Hillebrandt endeavours to prove that the two names of Agni, *Narāsaṃsa* and *Vaiśvānara*, are used in the *Rigveda* to designate the *Dakṣiṇa* or Southern (p. 105) and the *Āhavanīya* or Eastern Fire (p. 114) respectively; but his arguments do not seem to me to be at all convincing. He is more successful in showing that each of the three sacrificial fires represents one of the forms of Agni, the sun being the *Āhavanīya*, while the terrestrial Agni is the *Gārhapatya* and the aerial Agni the *Dakṣiṇa*. He points out how the explanations of the later texts, as well as the ritual practice, support this conclusion (p. 99). The latter is further borne out by the shapes of the fireplaces described in the *Śulva Sūtras*. The shape of the *Āhavanīya* is square (= heaven), that of the *Gārhapatya* is round (= earth), while that of the *Dakṣiṇa* is generally described as like a half-moon or a bow (= air). It is natural to suppose that each was meant to represent the form of one of the three worlds. The *Dakṣiṇa* fireplace must therefore have been intended to represent the shape of the air as an arch, and not, as Professor Hillebrandt thinks, to symbolize the moon.

The latter view is due to his theory that the third or aerial form of Fire is not lightning, but the moon (p. 95). That the poets of the *Rigveda*, by their frequent references to Agni in the aerial waters, meant lightning, is not only a very natural inference, but is the regular opinion of the native interpreters. *Vidyut*, the ordinary name for lightning, could, as a feminine word, hardly have been personified as a form of fire; the poets of the *Rigveda* therefore contented themselves with speaking of "Agni in the waters" or the "Child of Waters." That the lightning issuing from the rain-charged cloud constituted a form of actual fire, was a matter of constant experience, and was symbolized in the ritual by using the wood of trees struck by lightning to kindle the sacrificial fire (p. 85). How much more probable, then, it is that the water Agni should mean lightning, and not the moon, with which heat and burning are never associated in the *Veda*, and which, on the contrary, is typical of cold in the later literature. Not only are the aerial Agni

and the Child of Waters (Apām napāt) the moon to Professor Hillebrandt, but also the gods Bṛhaspati and Yama. In connection with the water Agni, I cannot help thinking that Professor Hillebrandt is right in disagreeing with Geldner's opinion (*Vedische Studien*, ii, p. 271) that the submarine fire of the later mythology was known to the Vedas. There can be no doubt that that notion was historically connected with the Vedic Agni in the aerial ocean, and arose from one of those numerous misinterpretations of ancient mythology which brought down celestial phenomena to the lower world, and which, for instance, transformed the heavenly Varuṇa into an Indian Neptune.

The chapter on Agni concludes with the discussion of mythological families associated with the fire-cult. In my *Vedic Mythology* (p. 143) I had inclined towards the interpretation of the Angirases as originally demi-gods; but after what Professor Hillebrandt says (p. 169), the balance of the evidence seems to me now to favour the view that they were once a real family as well as the Bhṛguṣ (p. 173).

The last chapter (pp. 181–208) deals with the god Rudra. Here a considerable amount of evidence is adduced which at all events narrows down the possibilities of correctly interpreting the original character of this deity. It is pretty clear that the theory which recognizes in Rudra the chief of the souls of the dead, finds no direct support from the Rīgveda. It is also sufficiently evident that the special connection of Rudra with mountains is not Rīgvedic, but is a result of that later mythological tendency to localization which appears, for example, in the case of the Gandharvas and Apsarases, and of which there are so many instances in the Avesta. Professor Hillebrandt has collected a large number of passages (p. 194) showing that all our later Vedic texts declare Rudra to be a form of fire, and of fire in its 'terrible' form. This evidence appears to strengthen the conclusion at which I had arrived several years ago, that Rudra "originally represented not the storm pure and simple, but rather its baleful side in the destructive agency

of lightning" (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 77). In discussing this view Professor Hillebrandt remarks (p. 198) that Rudra, though the father of the storm-gods, need not himself be a storm-god. This observation is perfectly correct, but only with certain reservations. For instance, when Dawn is called the daughter of the Sky, it is clear she is not identical in character with her father. But when Rudra is the father of the Maruts in the sense of being their chief—they are often called Rudras—the case is different. And that the father in this case, as a matter of fact, resembles the sons, is, I think, sufficiently apparent from the material collected in my *Vedic Mythology*. Professor Hillebrandt himself concludes (p. 196) that the angry Agni-Rudra is the god of the hot and rainy season, the most dangerous time of the year. If he means that this is the primary character of Rudra, I cannot help believing that such a notion is not in accord with the mode of thought of the Rigvedic poets.

Till reading Professor Hillebrandt's book I had never clearly realized how Rudra's name came to be changed in the later mythology. Passages which he quotes show that direct mention of Rudra's name began to be avoided in the Brāhmaṇas. Stories are here told of his having been nameless at first, and only afterwards having received from Prajāpati the numerous appellations by which he is known. Among these Śiva doubtless became fixed as his regular name, because this was his most euphemistic epithet.

The book ends with an appendix on Soma (pp. 209–240), in which the author defends against various attacks the lunar theory put forward by him in the first volume. As is well known, the ordinary view is that the god Soma represents in the Rigveda a personification of the terrestrial plant and juice of the daily ritual, just as Agni is a personification of the sacrificial fire. It is further usually held that, according to the old and regular Rigvedic notion, the celestial Soma, being the counterpart of the terrestrial beverage, is drunk by Gods and Manes in the highest solar region, but that the transition to the later belief is to be found in the mystical allusions of some of the more recent

hymns, in which the celestial Soma is beginning to be localized in and identified with the moon. For in one of these later hymns (X, 85, 3) this identification is alluded to as a secret known only to Brahmins. The development of this notion probably went hand in hand with the separation of the world of the gods, associated with the sun, from the world of the Manes, now connected with the moon, which we find in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

Professor Hillebrandt, on the other hand, holds that the god Soma is the moon in every part of the Rigveda, the terrestrial plant being only a symbolical representation of the luminary, and the manipulation of the plant on the sacrificial ground being only a mimicry of celestial processes. The moon, according to him, is the centre of Vedic belief and dominates ancient Indian thought, the sun occupying only a subordinate position in it. His theory as thus formulated in the previous volume he now slightly modifies with reference to the position of Agni. For he now says: "With Agni Soma dominates Indian thought" (p. 212). Having collected the evidence on the subject of Soma in the Rigveda with considerable care, and having reflected on it with a good deal of attention, I am still constrained to regard the received theory, old though it be, as the more probable. Thus the roaring of Soma (like that of Agni) seems to be more easily explained as a hyperbolical description of the sound of the flowing Soma, than as an attribute of the moon. The case for the latter view is not much strengthened by stating the mere fact that a certain savage tribe speaks of the moon as roaring. For that tribe very likely regards the moon as some kind of animal to which roaring is natural. Even the sun does not roar in the Rigveda, though explicitly recognized as a form of Agni. Yet, I believe, it would be easier to explain Soma, from the Rigveda itself, as the sun rather than the moon. For Soma is often described in words applicable to the sun, and its brilliance is frequently associated with Sūrya, while Soma is never expressly connected with Candramas, the moon. Again, quite as good a case as Professor Hillebrandt's lunar theory

of Soma could be made out for the god Agni meaning only the sun, with which he is, as I have said, sometimes explicitly identified, while Soma is never in the Rigveda expressly stated to be the same as the moon. Professor Hillebrandt's defence does not seem to me to weaken materially the main arguments against his theory. One of the most powerful objections to it is this: How is it that all the Vedic commentators in whose day Soma and the moon were believed to be one, do not know that Soma means the moon in the Rigveda also? This objection he does not answer.

Having studied Professor Hillebrandt's book with no less profit than interest, I much regret that I am unable to agree with his conclusions in regard to several questions, especially as I feel that I am at least as likely to be mistaken about them as he. There can, however, be no doubt that his work forms an important contribution to the mythological studies of the Veda, no less by the stimulating effect it will have on research than by the new material which it supplies.

A. A. MACDONELL.

THE MYSTERIES OF CHRONOLOGY. By F. F. ARBUTHNOT.
(London, A.D. 1900 and v.E. 64.)

Mr. Arbuthnot has produced a most entertaining and, in many respects, a very instructive work. Without the slightest pretension to erudition or scientific accuracy—indeed, in a too modest preface the author goes so far as to dub his own creation “this very slipshod work”—“The Mysteries of Chronology” yet contains a wonderful amount of curious and interesting information concerning the various methods of dating which have prevailed at different periods and in different countries; and it is written in an easy colloquial style which makes the reader feel almost as if he were having a chat with the author. No one can read this book without pleasure, and few indeed without learning many a fact both new and unexpected. In pursuit of this

out-of-the-way lore Mr. Arbuthnot has been indefatigable. Not satisfied with ransacking the British Museum, the Record Office, Westminster Abbey, the Tower, and every other promising hunting-ground at home, he has carried his investigations in person to Paris, Berlin, Zürich, Vienna, Rome, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and St. Petersburg; and he has done well in putting on record the varied and curious knowledge thus acquired. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is "about the date of the introduction of Arabic numerals into Europe." Of course, the main facts were perfectly well known before; but Mr. Arbuthnot has done good service in noting in detail all the earliest occurrences of these numerals in manuscripts, monuments, and coins. The discovery of the earliest date in Arabic numerals occurring on a coin—viz. 1424 on a Swiss coin of St. Gall—was made quite independently by Mr. Arbuthnot and Mr. C. R. Peers, who gives a description of it in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1899, p. 26. What most astonishes us now is the very slow acceptance of the new system of notation: a gap of between forty and fifty years divides this coin from the next known specimen having Arabic numerals.

If we are to believe Mr. Arbuthnot, the chronology of English History is in a parlous state. He will accept as certain only the dates from Henry VII onwards; that is to say, evidence of the kind to satisfy him is not forthcoming before that period. His sheet-anchor is really the *London Gazette*: as for the monkish histories and the chronicles generally, he eyes them one and all with suspicion. This is indeed scepticism, and few people will go quite so far with the author as to reject everything that the monks wrote, because they are known to have embellished their tales in many instances. Fewer still will be inclined to accept his prophylactic against chronological confusion in the future. This is neither more nor less than to make a clean sweep of the present A.D. system which has given us so much trouble, and to begin again and start a new era from a point which is beyond dispute—the first year of the

Queen's reign. According to this reckoning we should now be in the 64th year of the Victorian Era. This is a patriotic proposal, but is it practical? Can we imagine our friends on the Continent, for instance, adopting it—at the present time above all? Might it not make our “splendid isolation” rather too splendid?

E. J. RAPSON.

GANDHARA SCULPTURES (SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS). By
JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., etc.

In the number of *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* for January, 1900 (vol. viii, No. 69), Dr. Burgess continues the very important work of publishing such specimens of Gandhāra Sculpture as come under his notice. The “recent acquisitions” with which he deals on the present occasion are chiefly in the British Museum and in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. For these the Indian Museum is principally indebted to the excavation of an ancient stūpa found at Loriyān Tangai, in the Swāt valley, carried out by order of the Bengal Government. They possess an additional interest from the fact that their *provenance* is known and that they were found together. As Dr. Burgess rightly says, it is unfortunate for the study of these sculptures that they have, as a rule, been excavated in a perfectly haphazard manner. In many cases, no record has been kept of the locality in which a specimen has been found, and no note made of the relations which different specimens bore to one another in cases where several have been found together. Questions of chronology, and, no doubt, questions of interpretation also, are infinitely more difficult if we are to work without the aid of these most important clues.

This paper contains illustrations, by means of blocks executed by Mr. W. Griggs and inserted in the text, of many beautiful and interesting examples not previously

published; but, perhaps, its chief importance lies in the explanations given of some of the scenes represented. In this respect, Dr. Burgess is to be congratulated on having made a real advance in the study of the subject. His explanation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, for instance, is full of new information about the characters who make up this scene and the attributes which distinguish them. His account, also, of the manner in which the Brāhmanical deities, who play an important part in the earliest Buddhist legends, are developed at a later period into Buddha's attendants is most instructive. There can be little doubt that these monuments are destined in the future, when more accurate *criteria* for dating them have been obtained, to throw great light on the history of Northern Buddhism.

At present it is impossible to identify many of the Bodhisattvas as they are represented on the sculptures, and it is doubtful whether this impossibility will ever be overcome in some instances. A very useful account of those of them who may be distinguished by different attributes is given by Dr. Burgess on p. 85.

On p. 89, Dr. Burgess gives us M. Senart's account of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, dated in the year 318, which occurs on the base of a statue found at Loriyān. At first sight this would seem to be the latest date known from a Kharoṣṭhī inscription; but M. Senart gives good reasons why the reading of the date 284 on the Haṣṭnagar pedestal should be corrected to 384. It may be mentioned incidentally that the same correction has been made independently by a young Swedish scholar, Mr. A. V. Bergny, in an article on Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī coin-legends, which, it is hoped, will appear in the next number of our Journal. As Dr. Burgess points out, the era of these dates is probably the old Mālwā or so-called Vikramāditya era, dating from B.C. 57. This conclusion, which first seemed probable from a comparison of what is known from other sources of the date of Gondophares, with the inscription which gives his twenty-sixth year as year 103 of the era, is supported by every subsequent discovery.

Dr. Burgess concludes his article with a bibliography of works on Gandhāra sculptures, which will be most useful. We shall look forward with great interest to his forthcoming English edition of Grünwedel's *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, in which account will be taken of the discoveries which have been made since the appearance of the German work.

E. J. RAPSON.

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Müller (D. H.). Der angebliche Ersatz des Artikels durch das Pronomen.

II. OBITUARY NOTICE.

*Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL D.,
Vice-President of the Asiatic Society.*

Sir William Hunter, whose untimely death may be said with truth to have been a national loss, was born at Glasgow on July 15th, 1840. He was not the first member of his family to exhibit great powers of application and mastery of complicated detail. The Right Hon. James Wilson, his maternal uncle, wrote with rare acumen on currency and national economy, and was charged by the British Government with the task of reorganizing the finances of India, reduced to chaos by the Mutiny. Of his boyhood there are but few memories. He passed from the Academy of Glasgow to the University, and thence to Paris and Bonn, enjoying the best training which Scotland and the Continent could bestow. It developed and stimulated his great natural abilities, and in 1862 he took the first place in the Open Competition for admission to the Civil Service of India. At the end of the following year he married the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Murray, LL.D., a Scottish antiquarian of note and a bosom friend of Carlyle. In marriage, says Marion Crawford, it makes all the difference in life whether a man castles on the King's side or the Queen's. Mr. Hunter, in giving hostages to fortune at the very dawn of his career, secured a helpmeet who was devoted to his material and intellectual interests, who

gave him what very few young Indian civilians enjoy—a refined home and freedom from those petty cares which so often sap the finest powers. Many years there were of enforced separation, for the children's early training demanded their mother's constant care. But Lady Hunter retained her gentle influence throughout her distinguished husband's life. She was his constant companion when the kindly fates brought them together; his amanuensis, his trusted critic. Nothing was more charming than the old-fashioned courtesy with which he treated her who had shared his early struggles and rejoiced with him when success and honours came. The young couple set up a house at Suri, a pretty Bengal station on the borders of the Santal highlands. Here the glamour of the East took possession of him, and inspired him with a resolve to interpret its poetry and grandeur to the English people. For materials he delved in governmental record-rooms and searched the archives of native magnates: the pundit, the artificer, the peasant yielded their treasured lore and tradition. During a visit paid to England in 1868 he gave the world the fruit of his enquiries in the "Annals of Rural Bengal." This great work placed him at once in a prominent rank at a time when the giants of early Victorian literature were still in our midst. The grace and steady flow of the writing, said a distinguished critic, make us almost forget the surpassing severity and value of the author's labours. Even in India, where literary power is but little appreciated, this wonderful book made some impression; and on Mr. Hunter's return to duty he was called to the Bengal Secretariat, passing in due course to that of the Government of India. It has been said with truth that every man has his chance in life, and that the earlier it occurs, and is grasped, the more likely it is to bring fame and fortune. Mr. Hunter's was the advent as Viceroy of Lord Mayo, a statesman who possessed warm and extended sympathies, coupled with the rarer gift of ability to discern excellence in his subordinates. He soon detected unique capacity in the young Under-Secretary,

and created for his benefit the post of Director-General of Statistics. This amazing promotion excited comment and not a little jealousy among Mr. Hunter's colleagues; but it was amply justified by results. He took the Indian Census of 1871 as the basis of a work which had often been attempted in vain by the defunct East India Company, and in the "Statistical Account of Bengal and Assam," in twenty-two volumes, gave the English official a sweeping view of the geography and economic condition of a province as large as France with nearly twice her population. The plan of this gigantic work was entirely his own: for its execution he depended to a great extent on local officers. His power of impressing his personality on others was shown at this early period, and a master mind shines clearly in every page of the undertaking. In the meantime Mr. Hunter was planning a still greater feat—that of doing for the Indian Empire what he had accomplished for a single province. In 1880 appeared the "Statistical Survey of India," in 128 volumes, including 60,000 pages, which, in the following year, was compressed into the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," in fourteen volumes. The sixth, an enlarged edition of which appeared in 1885, was issued separately as the "Indian Empire: its Peoples and Products." It is the sublimated essence of the "Gazetteer," and was hailed in England and on the Continent as worthy of the vast fabric which the author alone could have described. In 1875 he produced in two volumes a life of his patron, the Earl of Mayo. It was a labour of love, and brings into high relief the loss sustained by the Empire in that great man's assassination. There are few passages in the whole range of letters more pregnant with dramatic power than the story of his tragic end. "Orissa, an Indian Province under English Rule" appeared in 1872, and recorded the impressions gathered by its author during a brief employment as Inspector of Schools in Southern Bengal. It was generally considered to have attained a still higher level than his earlier flight. In 1883 a "Brief History of the Indian Peoples" was published, and at once

obtained immense popularity, passing into twenty editions. Mr. Hunter's versatility was now destined to shine in another sphere. In 1881 he became a Member of the Legislative Council of India, and in the following year was President of the Education Commission, a body of experts, whose report—a model of luminous eloquence—is the basis of our entire system of instructing Indian youth. In 1884 he was sent home to give evidence before a Parliamentary Committee on Indian Railway development; and, on his return to Calcutta two years later, he became a Member of the Indian Famine Commission. In 1887 he received the honour of K.C.S.I.

Weimar had hitherto been his home during furlough. It is well-nigh the last of Germany's minor courts; and the traces of feudal pomp and circumstance, the old-world ceremony still maintained there, appealed to the poetic side of his nature. On the other hand, Sir William Hunter's genial manners made a great impression on his German friends. Long was he known at Weimar as "the Englishman who drives," for he was an accomplished whip, and a seat on the box of his mail phaeton was eagerly sought for. Soon after his retirement from official duties, he settled down at Oxford, a city which offers unrivalled advantages to the man of letters. The University received him with open arms. He became an Honorary Master of Arts of Balliol, Examiner in the Honours' School of Oriental Studies and a Member of the Faculty of Arts. But he soon forsook the green Cherwell's banks for a small estate which he purchased in the parish of Cumnor. Here, at the edge of Lord Abingdon's glorious woods, and on a sunny slope which overlooks the great central plain of England, he built a mansion which he destined, like another Abbotsford, to shelter his remote descendants. Henceforward his leisure was devoted to embellishing "Oaken Holt," which under his loving care became the model of a refined English home. Sir William Hunter was never seen to greater advantage than in this creation of his ingenuity and consummate taste. The graceful hospitality of Oaken Holt, the hearty welcome

given to all comers by its hosts, will long live in the memory of those who were privileged to enjoy them.

In pursuit of his fixed resolve to make India something more than an abstraction for the English people, he planned a series of biographical studies, styled the "Rulers of the Empire." This he inaugurated with a memoir of Lord Dalhousie, which displays the writer's marvellous power of projecting himself into the minds of other men, so to speak, and seeing things with their eyes. He also furnished an abridged edition of his biography of Lord Mayo, and a revised one of his "Brief History of the Indian Peoples." He had intended to add a life of Aurangzib, but, on learning that Mr. Stanley Lane Poole was engaged on a similar theme, Sir William made over to him the whole manuscript material which he had collected. Generosity so rare merited the acknowledgment which was gracefully tendered in Mr. Lane Poole's preface to his "Aurangzib." New light was thrown on the internal mechanism of the Empire by Sir William Hunter's "Bombay, 1885-90, a Study in Indian Administration"; and those who seek to understand a highly complex land system have to thank him for four volumes of "Bengal MS. Records," published in 1894, a selected list of more than 14,000 letters stored in the archives of the Calcutta Board of Revenue. But his literary energies found scope in directions which are seldom sought by economists and statisticians. The "Old Missionary" belongs unmistakeably to the Literature of Power. It is full of a strange, haunting sweetness which moves to admiration and tears. The "Thackerays in India" is another work of singular fascination. Sir William Hunter regarded the memory of our chief novelist with a veneration of which only the greatest minds are capable. An exquisite statuette of his hero stood close to the writing-table at Oaken Holt, and seemed to inspire his noblest efforts. His last great literary work was one which he had kept steadily in view throughout a laborious career. It was to have been a history of India from the earliest ages; but the loss by shipwreck of a mass of priceless MS. compelled him to

reduce his canvas and portray the growth of an organism which is the wonder and envy of mankind. The first volume of the "History of British India" appeared in March, 1899, and was on all sides acknowledged as worthy to rank with Gibbon's immortal picture of the latter days of the Caesars' sway. A second volume was nearly ready for the press when the writer's busy hand was stayed by death. If he had lived but a few weeks longer the record would have been carried down to the union of the rival East India Companies at the dawn of the eighteenth century. The period dealt with is, indeed, the obscurest portion of the Indian annals. But what might not have been ours had that brilliant pen been permitted to describe the impact of Western strength and knavery on the effete empire of the Moghul; to depict Clive's meteor career and the peaceful conquests of Hastings and Cornwallis! *Dis aliter visum*. The "History of British India" will remain a magnificent fragment, for who shall bend Achilles' bow?

Such is a brief and by no means exhaustive account of Sir William Hunter's permanent literary works. They would fill a respectable library; and, such is the prerogative of genius, there is not a page of his many thousands which he wrote or planned but bears the stamp of his individuality. His achievements as a journalist would in themselves have satisfied most men's aspirations. His spurs were won in the Indian Press, and in 1873-5 he furnished a weekly summary of Indian events to the *Pall Mall Budget*. He began to write for *The Times* in 1887, contributing two memorable series of essays on Burma and the "India of the Queen." Three years later he joined the staff of the leading journal; and his weekly articles on "Indian Affairs" were looked for eagerly by all who sought to follow the trend of events in our great dependency.

Genius differs from mere talent in that it is spontaneous, and, in a manner, independent of will power. Sir William Hunter was ever conscious of a voice within urging him to accomplish some task which should benefit his country and win him literary fame. He often said that his ideal

of happiness was useful work, honestly done. I am informed by his devoted friend and secretary, Mr. P. E. Roberts, that the daily labour at Oaken Holt began at a quarter to 10 and continued without any intermission till 2 p.m. Sir William then lunched, and after another hour and a half in his library, he rode in the shady woods bordering "Oaken Holt" or the pleasant highways which stretched on either side. On his return at half-past 5 he read till the dinner hour. Like Buckle, the author of the "History of Civilization," he was wont to saturate his mind with the literature of the epoch which he was about to treat. This process completed, he wrote rapidly and with few pauses for thought or correction. No pains were spared by him in the verification of facts. The vast body of notes in the first volume of the "History" is a monument of patient research; and it is literally true that every statement in that work was based on a close examination of the original documents. Thus the author went to Lisbon, in the Autumn of 1898, in order to ransack the national archives for information bearing on Portuguese India, though this was but a side issue. The records of our India Office and those at the Hague underwent a similar process before being condensed into a history of the Dutch Settlements. The story of his search for the missing charter granted by Cromwell to the East India Company would form an interesting chapter in a new edition of the "Curiosities of Literature." It must not be supposed that this prodigious application, this conscientious treatment of a mass of dry and often repellent detail lessened Sir William's capacity for enjoyment. He warmed both hands at the fire of life, and entered with a boyish zest into the delights which this beautiful world affords. But there was not a particle of selfishness in his composition. He took his pleasures neither sadly nor alone. Never was he more completely in his element than when he was the centre of a group of young people, and holding each beneath the spell of his sweet and sunny nature. A stranger drinking in the bright humour and anecdote which flowed from his

lips in these too brief periods of relaxation, found it almost impossible to believe that he was in the presence of the grave historian, the author whose works had charmed and instructed a generation. Nor would the guest be intimidated by that tacit assumption of superiority which is so often exhibited by lesser men. He had his detractors: for mediocrity resents energy and superior power as reflections on itself. But so truly Christian was his charity that during a friendship of nearly twenty years never did I hear him speak harshly of those who had misunderstood and maligned him. Of domestic sorrows he had a full share. An only daughter, gifted with beauty and singular personal charm, was torn from her parents by death at the very dawn of womanhood; and his eldest son perished untimely in a distant land. And yet, though the father's heart bore the scars till it ceased to beat, he bravely subdued his grief for the sake of others. No stronger testimony to a man's social worth can be borne than by those who speak well of him after daily intercourse. The aged Vicar of Cumnor told his flock on the Sunday after this great and good man had been laid to rest, that all of them had witnessed "his unfailing courtesy to every rank, his wide sympathies, his readiness to give, his engaging cheerfulness, his compassion for the weak and helpless, his love of children."

Of Sir William Hunter's last sad days I find it even now inexpressibly painful to write. There can be no doubt that a vigorous constitution and an intense vitality were undermined by the labour entailed by the "History of British India." So consuming was his anxiety to complete the second volume on the date agreed upon that his afternoon rides were latterly abandoned, and he toiled in his library till far into the night. When, in the Spring of last year, he fell a victim to influenza, it left its mark in a perceptibly weaker heart action. Soon after Christmas he suffered a severe relapse of this most insidious malady. Coming to London before he was really convalescent in order to meet the great American humorist, Mr. S. I. Clemens, at dinner, he caught a chill which brought on pneumonia and increased

the cardiac weakness. At his earnest request he was carried tenderly to Oaken Holt, and Lady Hunter observed with joy a seeming improvement in his condition. But the springs of life were broken. After a few hours of insensibility he passed peacefully away at 3 o'clock on the morning of February 7th.

There is something tragic in this sudden termination of a noble career while its lifework was still undone, and the mental powers inspiring it were untouched by the hand of time. And yet such was the end which Sir William had always hoped. He had an instinctive horror of the gradual decay which is so often death's harbinger. The news was flashed through England at a time of national stress, when the silver lining to the cloud which overhung our destinies was the help rendered to the struggling mother country by her children beyond the seas. The feeling evoked in the thousands who knew him only by his works was voiced by Mr. Hutton, Select Preacher at St. Mary's, Oxford. "At a time," he said, "when we are eagerly welcoming every tie of person, history, race, and sentiment which can bind the empire together, the death of one who did so much to unite Englishmen to India in bonds of knowledge and sympathy is indeed a blow most deeply to be felt on public as well as personal grounds." So vivid, indeed, was his personality that those who loved him found it impossible at first to realize that they were fated no more to look into those kind eyes and grasp that hand held out in welcome. Their bitter thoughts found an echo in the Sanskrit Psalm of Life, which is among the many beauties of the "Old Missionary"—

"Like driftwood on the sea's wild breast
We meet and cling with fond endeavour
A moment on the same wave's crest.
The waves divide, we part for ever.
We have no lasting resting here :
To-day's best friend is dead to-morrow ;
We only learn to hold things dear
To pierce our hearts with future sorrow."

F. H. SKRINE.

III. NOTES AND NEWS.

CINDER MOUNDS.—Mr. Beveridge draws our attention to a passage in Murray's Handbook, p. 224, col. 2, for the Panjab, where the writer (Mr. Eastwick) speaks of a place called Raiki-ke-Tibbi, fifty miles north-east of Bahāwalpur, where mounds of calcined bones and charcoal were excavated by Colonel Minchin in 1874. This, he thinks, might throw light on the cinder heaps concerning which Mr. Sewell published a paper in the Journal, Part I, for 1899.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.—This will be held at the Sorbonne in Paris, under the presidency of M. Albert Réville, from the 3rd to the 9th of September, 1900. The subscription is 10 francs, and the address of the Secretariat is the Sorbonne. The program, which can be seen at our office, is most interesting; and we trust that the Congress may receive the support of as many of our members as possible.

Royal Asiatic Society.

GOLD MEDAL FUND.

IN 1897 the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world; and to meet the expense contributions were invited from those interested in the scheme.

A beautiful design was prepared, and dies engraved, by Mr. Pinches; the first Medal was awarded, on the report of a Committee of Selection, to Professor Cowell, and was presented to him by Lord Reay at a Special General Meeting of the Society, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the Journal for July, 1898.

The subscriptions (including interest on deposits) amounted to £330 16s. 10d., and the disbursements (including cost of die) to £69 5s. 10d., leaving a balance of £261 11s. 0d., of which sum £215 6s. 0d. was expended in the purchase of £200 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock (a Trustee Stock), and there is therefore a balance in hand of £46 5s. 0d. The amount invested forms the nucleus of an Endowment Fund; but as it is estimated that the cost of providing a Medal will amount to upwards of £24, and as it is to be given every third year, the annual income required will be about £8. To produce this another £100 Stock must be purchased, after providing the Medal for the present year. The deficiency is therefore about £90.

It is hoped that this amount will be forthcoming during the next few months, so that on the presentation of the Medal in the Summer of 1900 it may be announced that the entire sum has been raised.

Contributions, which will be acknowledged in the Society's Journal, will be received by the Secretary, or the Chairman of the Committee of the Medal Fund.

A. N. WOLLASTON,
Chairman of Committee.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.
April, 1900.

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IV. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.

Baden-Powell (B. H.). Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India. 8vo. London, 1899.

Ward (G. E.). The Bride's Mirror, or Mir-Ātu-l -Arus. 8vo. London, 1899.

Warburton (Sir R.). Eighteen Years in the Khyber, 1879-1898. 8vo. London, 1900.

Presented by the Author.

Arbuthnot (F. F.). The Mysteries of Chronology, with Proposal for a New English Era to be called the Victorian. 8vo. London, 1900.

Spiro (J.). Les Yezidi, ou Les Adorateurs du Diable. Pamphlet. 8vo. Neuchatel, 1900.

Presented by Mrs. B. H. Hodgson.

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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XVI.—*Notes on some Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions on Indian Coins.* By A. V. BERGNY.

THESE notes are the result of a personal examination of Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on coins published by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1891 = C. CAI. in the following pages), and now in the British Museum. I have selected here only those coins on which we find a Brāhmī inscription word by word confirmed by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The best known of these biliteral coins are those of the Kuṇindas, to which I have devoted another monograph which I hope to publish shortly. In this monograph I enter more fully into the discussion of certain questions of phonetics, which equally affect the inscriptions dealt with in the present article. By examining and comparing the readings thus given in both alphabets, we may hope to obtain some definite results as to the decipherment of the various forms of each. In the first place, an account is given of these forms as they occur in each inscription, so that they may be compared with those already known from other sources, and their readings determined in accordance with results already obtained. As a rule, these inscriptions exactly correspond, syllable

for syllable, to each other. Such differences as do occur—e.g., in case-forms, in vowels, in varied representations of the same sound—are of great interest from the point of view of phonetics. I have constantly referred for forms of letters to Professor G. Bühler's *Palaeographical Tables* given in his "Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie," i, h. 11: *Indische Palaeographie* (Strassburg, 1896); and for readings and photographs to E. J. Rapson's *Indian Coins* (in the same series, vol. ii, 3 h. B., 1898).

AUDUMBARA COINS.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 1, or Rapson's IC., pl. iii, 8.

I read this as follows:—¹

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| Brāhmī: | ma | h. | d. | va | sa | ra | ño | dha | ra | gho |
| Kharoṣṭhī: | — | ha | de | — | — | — | ña | — | — | — |
| | 11. | 12. | 13. | 14. | 15. | 16. | 17. | | | |
| | ṣa | sa | o | d.ṃ | ba | ri | sa | | | |
| | ṣu | — | — | dum | — | — | — | | | |

No. 7 = Brāhmī ढ and Kharoṣṭhī ण. Cf. R. O. Franke, ZDMG., vol. 50, p. 601.²

No. 10 = Brāhmī ञ, is a varied form not given by Bühler.

No. 11 = Br. ञ (ṣa), Khar. ण (ṣu).

No. 14. There is a distinct dot on the right side of the Brāhmī character, which evidently indicates the *anustāra*. This seems to be a prototype of 23, col. xix, table iii, and is equivalent to the Kharoṣṭhī ण (dum), which is quite a new form, not hitherto recorded.

¹ The scheme of transliteration adopted here is that given in J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 880. The *italics* indicate such of my readings as differ from those of Cunningham or Rapson. A short stroke = ditto. A dot placed at the side of, or instead of, a character indicates an erasure partial or complete.

² My esteemed friend Professor R. O. Franke, in his lectures on Indian Palaeography given at Berlin in 1895, first made me aware of the fact that Cunningham's reading of letter No. 7 required correction.

The last letter *sa*, which represents the genitive termination of the word *o-d(u)m-ba-ri-sa* in the left-hand line, is here linked by a hyphen to the corresponding sign of the word *dha-ra-gho-ṣa-sa* in the right-hand line of the Brāhmī inscription. Cf. a closer combination of the two signs in the inscription of pl. iv, 5, given below.



As regards the other characters, it deserves to be mentioned that the Brāhmī forms of *ma*, *va*, and *ra* resemble those angular forms given in t. ii, coll. xx-xxii (Mathurā, etc.), and that the Kharoṣṭhī forms are those of the Aśoka inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra (t. i, coll. i-v), with the exception of *sa*, which has its curve opened to the left.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 5.

Brāhmī inscription :

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. | 13. | 14. |
| bh. | ga | va | to | ma | hā | de | va | sa | rā | ja | rā | ja | sa |

The angular forms of *va*, *ma*, and *hā* and the round *ga* resemble those shown in t. ii, col. xx (Mathurā), and t. iii, col. i (in the Śodāsa inscriptions of Mathurā). The former have at their tops short horizontal strokes resembling the *o*-stroke of *to*, the *ā*-stroke of *hā* (and *rā*), and the *e*-stroke of *de*.

Nos. 9 and 14 are combined into one form  (*sa*, *sa*). A similar character occurs on a coin of Zoilos in the British Museum (Cunningham, 342); here the *sa*- terminations of *tra-ta-ra-sa* and *jho-i-la-sa* in Kharoṣṭhī are combined so as to form one character  (*sa*, *sa*). The first step towards this union of the two *sa*-forms belonging to different words (*ma-hā-de-va-sa* and *rā-ja-rā-ja-sa*) is the hyphen mentioned above (pl. iv, 1).

Kharoṣṭhī inscription :

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. | 13. |
| bhu | gu | vu | sa | ma | ha | de | vu | sa | ra | ja | ra | ña |

The shape of these characters is nearly the same as that found in C. CAI., pl. iv, 1, discussed above. The *u*-stroke of Nos. 1, 3, and 8 is attached to the forms in precisely the same way as in the Aśoka inscriptions. No. 2 exhibits a form *Œ* (*gu*), in which the *u*-stroke is attached to the side of the down-stroke just as in *ſ* (*pu*) of the word *a-pu-la-pha-na-sa* on the coin of Apollonophanes in B.M. Cat., pl. xiii, 1, and in *ſ* (*ku*) of the word *pa-ku-ra-sa* on a coin of Pakores in the Berlin Mus. (xi, 1, 6; No. 26).

As regards the last word of the Brāhmī inscription, i.e. *rā-ja-rā-ja-sa*, we need only refer to what has been already said about the double-form made by the union of letters Nos. 9 and 14. Apparently Cunningham took this double-form to be a single *sa*, and accordingly read the concluding word as 'rājaraja,' i.e. as a nominative instead of a genitive, like the other words in the inscription. As this would be an obvious violation of strict syntactical rules, the reading *ra-ja-ra-ña* has been suggested (cf. R.O. Franke, in ZDMG., vol. 50, p. 601). *Ra-ja-ra-ña* (transliterated by Cunningham as *ra-ja-ra-jna*) is the reading of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription; but there is no doubt that the reading of the letter No. 13 in the Brāhmī inscription is *ja* (cf. No. 11 on the phototype of pl. iv, 5). All difficulty vanishes when we know that the terminations of the two words *ma-hā-de-ra-sa* and *rā-ja-rā-ja-sa* are combined into one form.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 6.

There is no specimen of this kind in the British Museum. My readings must therefore depend upon the accuracy of the photographic illustration.

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|-----|----|-------|-----|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. |
| Br. : | rā | jña | te | ma | ki | sa | ru | dra | va | rma | sa |
| Khar. : | ra | ña | re | — | — | — | — | — | ru | (.)ma | — |
| | 12. | 13. | 14. | 15. | | | | | | | |
| | (v)i | . | . | . | | | | | | | |
| | vi | ja | ya | ta | | | | | | | |

The Brāhmī characters exhibit the same angular forms as those of C. CAI., pl. iv, 5, discussed above, horizontal strokes being attached to their tops. In regard to No. 2 𑀓 deciphered as *jñā*, there might be some doubt whether the horizontal stroke in the middle of the *ja* ought not to be taken to denote *ā*, as is usual in earlier periods (cf. Bühler's table ii, 15). But a comparison of similar instances shows that the vowel is undoubtedly short. For example, in pl. iv, 14, where the same sign occurs, it must stand for *jñā*, because the context of the inscription, which is in pure Sanskrit, shows that the word is *rājñā*—a genitive (not an instrumental), with the *visarga* omitted as usual. This is further confirmed by the Kuṇḍa inscriptions, where we find the variants *rā-ñā* (e.g. pl. v, 1) and *rā-ñō* used side by side with *rā-jñā*, the *jñā* being written with the stroke, as in pl. iv, 6 and 14. On the other hand, we find in the inscription of pl. iv, 15 (*infra*, p. 416), which seems to belong to the same period, an undoubted instance of *jñā* with the *ā*-stroke clearly indicated; cf. also the Pāli inscription of the Mathurā coin, pl. viii, 14: *rā-jñā* (not *rājñā*) *rā-ma-da-ta-sa*.¹

Nos. 8 and 10 show the different ways of attaching the *ra*-stroke to the main character: when pronounced after the consonant of the compound it is attached below as in *dra* (No. 8); when pronounced before, it is placed above to the left as in *rma* (No. 10), 𑀓 (cf. t. iv, 43, c. viii). The Kharoṣṭhī form of No. 8 (*dra*) has a distinct *ra*-stroke attached to the right, and that of No. 9 (*vu*) a distinct *u*-stroke bent upward. The *e*-strokes of both Brāhmī and Khar. letters are fairly distinct on No. 3.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 7.

Three specimens:

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| Br.: | . | ñō | a | ja | mi | ta | sa |

¹ For varieties of *jñā* see table ii, 42, c. xix, *jñā* (Pabhosā); iii, 40, c. ix, *jñāḥ*; iv, 41, c. viii, *jñā*; and 43, c. xvi, *jñā*.

The characters are of a pure Aśoka-type; the form of No. 2 (*ño*) is ꣳ (a similar form occurs on a Kuṇḍa coin), and that of No. 5 (*mī*) is ꣵ, which also occurs on pl. iv, 12 (No. 5, *infra*, p. 415).

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| Khar.: | ra | ñā | a | ja | mī | tra | sa |
| | | ño | | | | | |

No. 2 of one specimen shows the variant ꣳ, *ño*, thus confirming the reading of the Brāhmī given above. No. 6 is ꣶ *tra*.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 9.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------|----|----|----|------|----|----|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| Br.: | r(.) | . | ma | hī | m(.) | ta | . |

No. 4 is ꣶ, *hī*; cf. t. iii, 38, c. xi, showing a later development. So far as I can judge from an examination of the coin itself there is nothing to support Cunningham's reading '*rājanya*.'

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| Khar.: | . | ñā | ma | hi | mī | tra | sa |

No. 4 is ꣶ, *hi*, being nearest to the Kuṣana form given on t. i, 37, c. xi; No. 5, ꣵ, is also a later development, and both these might have been the result of the cursive writing then in vogue. A similar cursive form also occurs on the frieze from Hashtanagar (near Peshawar), now in the B.M., where the form for *mī* in the word *di-(va)-sa-mī* is ꣵ, with the side-strokes bent inwards instead of outwards.¹

¹ It may be added that this inscription begins with the latest date hitherto known in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, viz. x ꣳ ꣳ ꣳ ꣳ ꣳ ꣳ ꣳ, i.e. in the Samvat year 384.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 12.

Three specimens, two of which are very legible.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| Br. : | . | <i>ño</i> | <i>bhā</i> | <i>nu</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>tra</i> | . |

No. 2 is *ñ*, *ño*; cf. pl. iv, 7. The *a*-stroke of No. 3 (*bhā*) is regularly indicated on the specimen photographed, but on the other it is absorbed in the horizontal line at the top of the letter. No. 6 is *h*, *tra*, as in the Pabhosā inscriptions.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| Khar. : | <i>ra</i> | <i>ña</i> | <i>bha</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>tra</i> | <i>sa</i> |
| | | | | <i>nu</i> | | | |

One specimen shows a distinct *u*-stroke in No. 4, *ś nu* (cf. *duṃ* in *o-duṃ-ba-ri-sa* on pl. iv, 1); on the other the stroke does not appear.

Pl. iv, 13, only contains the Brāhmī inscription: *bh(a)-nu-mi-tra-sa*.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 14.

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. |
| Br. : | <i>rā</i> | <i>jña</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>lū</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>sya</i> | <i>vī</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>ya</i> | <i>śa</i> | <i>sya</i> |



The Kharoṣṭhī inscription gives only the word *ra-ña*, the second letter of which has a dot between its vertical lines just as in the inscription of pl. iv, 6. The Brāhmī characters are like those of the Śoḍāsa inscriptions (cf. t. iii, c. i and ii). No. 2 is *Σ₂ jña*, nearly the same as pl. iv, 6, No. 2; as to the decipherment of which see what has been said above (p. 413). The *o*-strokes of No. 3 almost form a semicircle instead of a horizontal stroke. The *ū*-strokes of No. 4 are similar to those on t. ii, 15, c. xv (in *jū*), 27, c. iv (in *nū*), and the letter must be read as *lū*, not *pta* as Cunningham reads it; *Ko-lū-ta-sya* is here probably the tribal name of the king. The *i*-strokes


of No. 7 (*vi*) converge upwards in a flourish, as in later Brāhmī inscriptions. No. 8 (*ra*) exhibits an S-shaped form common in the Gīrnār recension of the Aśoka Edicts, e.g. iv, l. 8 (cf. t. ii, 34, c. ix, *ru*).

C. CAI., pl. iv, 15.




This coin is remarkable as affording instances of some hitherto unrecorded Kharoṣṭhī compound letters, the introduction of which is due to the fact that the inscriptions are in Sanskrit, more or less correct.

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. |
|--------|-----|-------|------|----|-----|------|----|-----|-------|-----|-----|-----|
| Br.: | vṛ | ṣṇ(.) | r(.) | ja | jñā | ga | ṇa | sya | tra | ta | ra | sya |
| Khar.: | vri | ṣṇi | ra | — | ṇṇa | (ga) | . | . | (t)ra | . | — | — |

As regards the Brāhmī characters, No. 1, , *vri*, with the *r*-vowel, occurs in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā (cf. t. iii, 34, c. iii). No. 5 is , *jñā* (cf. t. ii, 42, c. xix; iv, 42, c. i; and iii, 40, c. xiv, *jñāh*), the right down-stroke of the *ñā* being joined on to the Trisūla symbol. The reading of Nos. 9 and 10 (*tra-ta*)¹ is quite different from that of Cunningham (*bhu-bha*). Identical forms are to be found in the Pābhosā inscriptions, and on pl. iv, 12, where the reading admits of no doubt. Moreover, the *ra*-stroke of the Kharoṣṭhī counterpart of No. 9 is quite clear. Further, if Cunningham's reading were correct, we ought to find four downward strokes in Kharoṣṭhī Nos. 9 and 10, instead of the two which are clearly visible. My reading *tra-ta-ra-sya* is a royal title well known from early Indian coin inscriptions. The form and significance of the preceding word are discussed below (p. 420) in connection with my translation of the inscriptions.

As regards the Kharoṣṭhī characters, No. 1, , *vri*, with a crossing *ra*-stroke (cf. *rte* on a coin of Artemidoros,

¹ Mr. E. J. Rapson, whose attention I drew to this reading, had already, I am glad to say, come to the same conclusion.

B.M. Cat., xiii, 2, and t. i, 39, c. i), shows the only possible way of signifying an *r*-vowel in Kharoṣṭhī writing. The transverse stroke of No. 2, , *ṣni*, represents the *ṣ*, and this is also the case in No. 5, , which I read *ṇa*. Lastly, No. 12, , *sya*, is, as is obvious, a peculiar combination of a Khar. *sa* with a Brāhmī *ya*, a phenomenon, so far as I know, not found elsewhere in Indian palaeography.

Having thus given the epigraphical details of these Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, it only remains to add a few words to make their decipherment as complete as possible.

The alphabets used in these inscriptions are both incomplete, in so far as neither of them has any means of denoting double-letters. The Kharoṣṭhī, moreover, makes no distinction between long and short vowels. This deficiency in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet may be supplied from the corresponding Brāhmī inscriptions; for, as we have seen, in spite of some divergencies in the forms of words, these bilateral inscriptions practically correspond to each other syllable for syllable. Long vowels marked in the Brāhmī inscriptions are therefore to be inserted in the Kharoṣṭhī transcriptions in such cases as the following: *ma-hā-de-vu-sa*, *rā-ja-ra-ṇa* (pl. iv, 5), *ma-hi-mi-tra-sa* (pl. iv, 9), *bhā-nu* (or *na*) -*mi-tra-sa* (pl. iv, 12), etc., etc. Occasionally also the Brāhmī inscription teaches us the true reading of a Kharoṣṭhī form. For instance, it shows that the stroke attached on the left at the foot of certain Kharoṣṭhī characters indicates the vowel *u*, e.g. *nu* in *bha-nu-mi-tra-sa* (pl. iv, 12). Similarly the Brāhmī shows that the short stroke below the Kharoṣṭhī character in pl. iv, 1, No. 14, represents the *anusvāra* (*ḍum*), and should be so read on the coins of Menander, e.g. B.M. Cat., pl. xi, 12.

Lastly, I would merely refer to the remarkable Kharoṣṭhī inscription of pl. iv, 15, the compound characters of which would scarcely have been decipherable had it not been for the help of their Brāhmī equivalents.

In this comparison, the gain is undoubtedly most frequently from the more complete Brāhmī to the less complete Kharoṣṭhī;

but in the essay on the Kuṇḍa coins which I hope to publish shortly, I have quoted an instance of the converse, in which I regard the interpretation of the two dots, sometimes seen in the Brāhmī *rājña*: and *kuṇḍasa*:, as a stop and not as a *visarga*, as receiving support from the Kharoṣṭhī equivalents.

As has been said above, neither Brāhmī nor Kharoṣṭhī possesses the means of representing double-letters; but whenever doubt arises, whether a consonant should be read as single or double, we are enabled to determine the question in accordance with the phonetic law, by which a Sanskrit compound letter is represented in Prakrit either (1) by long vowel + single-consonant, or (2) by short vowel + double-consonant.

According to these principles, I shall try to give here the final form of the inscriptions—i.e. as they were spoken, with their long vowels and their double-consonants, not as they were represented epigraphically—together with some notes on their grammar and translation. They are as follows:—

Pl. iv, 1:

Br.: *mah(ā)d(e)cassa rañño dharaghoṣassa od(u)ṃbarissa.*

Khar.: — *hāde* — — *raññā* — — — *ṣu* — — *duṃ* — — —.

ssa < **sya*; *rañño* < *rājno*. The final *a* of the Khar. *raññā* may be short or long. If short, it is a genitive (< *rājñah*). If long, it is an instrumental form used as a genitive like the *viṣayātā* of the inscription of pl. iv, 6¹ (< *rājñā*).

Trans.: “(Coin of) His Highness King Dharaghoṣa of Odumbara.”

Pl. iv, 5:

Br.: *bh(a)garato mahādevassa rājarājassa.*

Khar.: *bhugucussa* — *hādecussa* *rā*—*raññā*.

¹ On a Mathurā coin mentioned above (see pl. iv, 6), C. CAI., pl. viii, 14, we find a Sanskrit instrumental side by side with a Prakrit genitive in a Brāhmī inscription: *rā-jñā rā-ma-da-ta-sa*.

For *rājaraññā*, see the form *raññā* above. It might also be read *rājarāṇa*; cf. the *rāṇa* of pl. iv, 6, or pl. v, 1 and 2 (var.).

Trans.: “(Coin of) His Majesty Mahadeva, King of Kings.”

Pl. iv, 6:

Br.: *rājña vemakissa rudravarmassa vi . . .*

Khar.: *rāṇa ———— —cu(.)ma— — ja ya tñ.*

The form *rudravu(.)massa* is equivalent to **-vammassa* (i.e. *-varmasya* for Skt. *-varmaṇah*), the *va* being changed into *vu* through the influence of the adjacent labials (*va, ma*); cf. the Khar. form *bhuguvussa* of pl. iv, 5, the *u*-vowels of which are due to the labials (*bha, va*).¹ For *vijayatā*, see the inscription of pl. iv, 1. If the final *a* be short we have a genitive form = Skt. *vijayataḥ*.

Trans.: “(Coin of) King Vemaki Rudravarma, the Conqueror.”

Pl. iv, 7:

Br.: *r(ā)ñño ajjamittassa.*

Khar.: *rāññā a— —tra—*.

The first word might be *rañño* and *raññā*; cf. the inscr. of pl. iv, 1. The second word < Skt. *āryamitrasya*.

Trans.: “(Coin of) King Ajjamitra.”

Pl. iv, 9:

Br.: *r(ā) . mahīm(i)ttassa.*

Khar.: *. ññā —hīmitra —*.

Trans.: “(Coin of) King Mahīmitra.”

Pl. iv, 12:

Br.: *. ño bhānumitrassa.*

Khar.: *rāññā bhānu— —*.

or *raññā* and *na*

The Brāhmī equivalent shows that the Kharoṣṭhī γ is to be read *tra*. For this form Professor Bühler proposed

¹ For this influence on the part of the labials in Pāli phonology, see E. Müller, *Pāli Grammar*, p. 6.

tta, *tra*, or *tma*, in his notes on the word *tadattaye*, occurring in the Shāhbāzgarhi Edict, x, l. 21, and Mansehra, x, l. 9 (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 459, notes 74 and 83). He read the same form as *da* on coin-inscriptions of Eucratides (see Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. viii).

Pl. iv, 14. This is a purely Sanskrit inscription. The Khar. *rāñā* (= *rājnaḥ*), on the reverse, compared with the Br. *rājñā*, on the obverse, shows that the Skt. *jñā* is written *ñā* in the Khar. alphabet (see also the inscra. of pl. iv, 15, and v, 1 and 2, below). Neither alphabet at this period possessed a sign for the *visarga*.

Trans. : “(Coin of) King Virayaśa, the Kolūta.”

Pl. iv, 15 :

Br. : vṛṣṇir(ā)jajñāgaṇasya tr(ā)tārasya.

Khar. : vṛṣṇirājannā . . . trā . —.

It seems to be clear that the first word is a compound containing eight syllables, the two first of which are *vṛṣṇi* (Khar. *vṛṣṇi*), evidently a name of some *Kṣatriya* tribe (*v. P.W.*, *sub voce*), and the three last of which are *gaṇasya*, “race, family.” The difficulty comes in with the central part of the compound, viz. *r(ā)jajñā* (Khar. *rājannā*), and especially the fifth syllable (*jñā* : *ṇā*), its *a*-vowel being clearly long.

It seems to me that there are three possible solutions of this difficulty.

(1) A Skt. compound *rāja + ājñā* (order) would be represented by a Prakrit *rājāññā* (possibly *rājannā* or *rājāṇā*).¹ Such a form might be represented by our Br. *r(ā)jajñā*, with *iñā* for *ñā* as usual in these Sanskritic inscriptions, and Khar. *rājannā*, with the lingual instead of the palatal nasal. If this be right, the whole is a *bahucrīhi* compound, the pure Skt. form of which would be *vṛṣṇi-rāj-ājñā-gaṇasya*, i.e., “of a family whose name (?) is Vṛṣṇirāja” or “whose royal name (?) is Vṛṣṇi.”

¹ For the Prakrit representatives of *ājñā*, cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, p. 36.

(2) A Prakrit *ñā* or *ṇa* might also be derived from a Skt. *nya*,¹ and the word *rājaññā*, written here *rājajñā* and *rājajṇā*, would in this case correspond to a Skt. *rājanyā*, "belonging to the Kṣatriya caste," and the whole be translated "(the coin) of him whose family are the Vṛṣṇi kṣatriyas (or royal race)," or "whose royal family are the Vṛṣṇis" (*vṛṣṇi-rājanyā-gaṇasya*).² The difficulty here lies in the final long *a* of the (*rājanyā*-) *rājaññā*. Is it possible that we have here an instance of that lengthening of compound bases seen in the Vedic dialect (cf. Whitney, Grammar, §§ 247, 1255), and also occurring in the Pāli stage (cf. Kuhn's Beiträge, p. 30, and Müller's Grammar, p. 18)? Or has a plural form (*rājaññā*, 'the kṣatriyas') been combined with the collective noun (*gaṇa*, 'family') into a compound = "the *gaṇa* kṣatriyas" (?).

(3) A less plausible suggestion is that *vṛṣṇirājaññā* may be an instrumental used as a genitive. If this is so, we must suppose that the termination *ñā* of forms like *rāñā* has been irregularly added to the reconstructed stem *rājan*.³

If we consider that there is a form *rājarājassa* side by side with *rājaraññā* in the inscriptions of pl. iv, 5, noticed above, it is conceivable that *-ñā*, like *-ssa*, may have been added as a termination to the stem *rāja*. There remains, however, the syntactical difficulty of making our supposed instrumental agree with the genitives *gaṇasya* and *trātārasya*.

¹ Cf. *añña*- 'other' from *anya*-, or *pajjuṇṇa*- 'cloud' from *parjanya*-.

² In regard to the representation of the palatal *ña* in Prakrit-Sanskrit coin-inscriptions, I may refer incidentally to the Yodheya coins figured in pl. vi, 2-4, of C. CAI. (cf. Rapson, *Ind. Coins*, pl. iii, 13), on some distinct specimens of which in the B.M. I read "*yo-dho-yā-nā bra-h(ma)-dha-ña-ke*" (the *yo* and *yā* being identical with those of Bühler's t. iii, 31, cols. xiv and xiii); and also to those of pl. vi, 9-13 (cf. Rapson, pl. iii, 15), the name on which runs "*brahma* (once *mha*)-*nya-de-va-sya*," the *nya* being also written *ña*.

³ Somewhat similar is the addition of new terminations to old case-forms seen in such instances as *am-ti-yo-gassā*, *a-ti-yo-genā* (Khālsi, Aśoka Edicts, ii, l. 5, and xiii, l. 4). For such forms as *rañña-ssa* and *rā-ja-ñā*, see Müller, Grammar, p. 77.

ART. XVII.—*Notes on Indian Coins and Seals.* Part II.

By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

A Review of Mr. Bergny's "Notes on some Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions on Indian Coins."


THANKS to the investigations of Professor O. Franke¹ and of Mr. A. Viktor Bergny the readings of practically all the known biliteral coin-legends in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters may now be regarded as finally settled. In this field of Indian numismatics, as in so many others, General Sir A. Cunningham was a pioneer, and it is, therefore, in no way surprising that many of his readings of these inscriptions as given in his *Coins of Ancient India* require correction. It is only within the last few years that the progress of the study of Indian epigraphy has made a scholarly treatment of this subject possible.


Mr. Bergny was good enough to submit his work to me in the Autumn of 1898, and I at once recognized that the extraordinary patience, with which he had subjected these coin-legends to a most minute scrutiny, had been rewarded by the discovery of some important facts which had escaped the notice of his fellow-investigators. It was, therefore, with great pleasure that I undertook, on his behalf, to edit the article which precedes this in the present number of the Journal. I have freely used the powers thus entrusted to me in shortening and condensing much that Mr. Bergny had written; but I hope that, in so doing, I have not allowed any fact or observation of importance to be lost. I thought it no part of my duty as editor to question any such statements of fact or expressions of


¹ ZDMG., Bd. 50.

opinion, even in cases where my own studies had led me to a different conclusion. It is the object of the present review to call attention to these cases.

Such a difference of opinion may exist either in regard to the forms of the different alphabetic characters, or in regard to the complete word-forms and their construction—it may be either epigraphic or grammatical.

With regard to the former class, Mr. Bergny is too much inclined to see new varieties where certainly they were not intended by the engravers. I cannot see, for instance, what is to be gained by noticing a form like  *hi* (p. 414). The simple fact, in this case, is that the engraver, in the small space at his disposal—less than one-tenth of an inch—has made the usual *i*-curve rather angular; but surely this does not justify us in hailing the form as a new and unpublished variety!

The form  *gho*, given by Mr. Bergny (p. 410), cannot, I think, be supported. Such a form, if it could be proved, would be contrary to all analogy; but a further examination of the coin shows that the strange feature—the curve to the left at the top of the central stroke—is due not to the engraver but to a 'wave' in the metal. Other lines of this 'wave' running parallel to one another are to be seen on the same side of the coin—one between *ño* and *dha*, another above *dha*, and another between *ra* and *gho*. The letter in question is really of the ordinary form given by Bühler, Taf. iii, and the vowel is represented quite regularly as in Col. I.

With regard to the form  *jña* or *jñā* (according to Mr. Bergny), I cannot agree that this is a correct representation of the character as it occurs on the coin—or rather on the leaden cast of the coin from which the plaster cast, photographed in C. CAI., pl. iv, 6, was taken. If the horizontal stroke at the middle of the *ja*-portion of this compound exists at all—and I very much doubt this—it is certainly not such as to admit of the possibility of reading it as *-ā*.

The double-forms of *sa* ୍ and ୍ to which Mr. Bergny calls attention (p. 411) are simply blunders of the die-engraver, who has miscalculated the space at his disposal, with the result that the final letters of the two portions of the inscription going round the margin of the coin, one from the left upwards and the other from the left downwards, have got jumbled together. What gain to knowledge can possibly come of any attempt to trace the development of these blunders through an intermediate hyphen-stage (p. 411), or, indeed, of any serious treatment of them whatever, is not apparent. They are mistakes pure and simple: and there is an end of the matter.

Mr. Bergny regards the character ୍ *syā* as "obviously a compound of Kharoṣṭhī *sa* with Brāhmī *yā*" (p. 417). I cannot accept this ingenious explanation as in any way "obvious." The representation of a Brāhmī *yā* in this compound is by no means evident. Even if we assume that Mr. Bergny's drawing is correct, and regard with him the two curves to right and left at the bottom as indicating a Brāhmī *yā*, we are still left without any explanation of the upper curve on the left. But, in reality, the existence of a curve on the right is altogether doubtful. A careful examination of the actual coin leads me rather to the conclusion that no such curve was intended. At any rate, it is a very inadequate hook on which to hang Mr. Bergny's theory of a mixture of the two alphabets—"a phenomenon," to use his own words, "so far as I know, not found elsewhere in Indian palaeography."

On the whole question of the study of coins in its relation to epigraphy, a word of warning may not be out of place. In studying the forms of difficult alphabets, such as Kharoṣṭhī or Sassanian Pahlavi for instance, as they appear on coins, there are two dangers which must be guarded against, and both of these arise from the fact that the forms so represented are, in most cases, necessarily very small. The die-engraver was working on so minute a scale that a very slight divergence in the tracing of a line

or curve was apt to make a difference in the appearance of forms which were intended to be identical; while, on the other hand, it was not always easy to express the characteristic features which distinguish forms bearing a general resemblance to one another. Mr. Bergny seems not to have been able altogether to avoid the former danger: he is apt to see varieties where the coin-engraver intended none; and the whole history of the decipherment of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet teems with instances showing how difficult, nay, how impossible, it was to escape the latter danger so long as coin-legends remained the chief sources of information. To the belief that *ta*, *da*, and *ra* were represented by the same character, for instance—and the first and third of these are really often quite undistinguishable on coins—we are indebted for the comical forms *tradatasa* and the rest, which for so long a period enlivened works on Graeco-Indian numismatics. These errors were first corrected by Bühler,¹ who brought a knowledge of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet derived from the Aśoka inscriptions, in which any such confusion is quite impossible, to bear on the coins. The moral is, that for epigraphic purposes the large monuments should, where possible, be first studied. The light thus gained can then be focussed on to the minute forms of the coins with some prospect of a real gain to knowledge. In the decipherment of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet the opposite procedure was inevitable since the first clue was supplied by the bilingual coins—in Greek and Prakrit—of the Graeco-Indian, Śaka, and Kuṣāna princes; but, at the stage to which the study has now reached, both epigraphically and linguistically, it is no longer necessary to court the perils which attended the steps of the first explorers.

Something still remains to be said about the readings or constructions of verbal forms proposed by Mr. Bergny. The most daring of these is the statement (p. 418, note 1; cf. p. 413) that “on a Mathurā coin . . . C. CAI.,

¹ WZKM., viii.

pl. viii, 14, we find a Sanskrit instrumental side by side with a Prakrit genitive in a Brāhmī inscription : *rā-jñā rā-ma-da-ta-sa*." Such a construction is, of course, absolutely unheard of; and no instance of its occurrence can be accepted without the fullest confirmation. By what evidence is it supported in the present case? Fortunately, there is no lack of materials, for the coins of Rāmadatta are the commonest of the series of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā. From an examination of the twenty specimens in the British Museum, it is certain that the usual inscription is quite distinctly what we should expect it to be—*Rājño Rāmadatasa*. Is there any sufficient reason to doubt, then, that the *intention* of the engraver was always to produce this reading? On what facts does Mr. Bergny's case rest? Simply, it appears, on this: The difference between *jño* and *jñā* consists merely in the fact that the former has a horizontal stroke on the left at the middle of the *ja*-portion of the compound. This *ja*-portion itself is, in height, only about three-sixteenths of an inch, and the added stroke which distinguishes *jño* from *jñā* is probably never more than one-sixteenth of an inch in length and is often very much shorter—quite infinitesimal in fact. Indeed, whether it can be said to exist at all is, in some cases, a mere question of opinion and eyesight. Mr. Bergny has found an instance—I have not been able to identify the particular specimen to which he refers—in which he decides that it does not exist, and, therefore, he thinks it right to record the reading as *jñā* and not *jño*. On so unsubstantial a basis does his theory of the unnatural alliance of an instrumental and a genitive rest! In all seriousness, it must be pointed out that it is quite possible to stultify scholarship and to defeat its object—the discovery of truth.—by neglecting broad principles and fixing the attention on infinitesimal details, by assigning to accidents the importance which belongs to essentials.

In two other instances Mr. Bergny suggests the possibility of this construction, but neither of them affords any satisfactory evidence. He supposes that the word which he

reads as *vijayatā* on the coin of the Audumbara Rudra-varman, C. CAI., pl. iv, 6, may be an instrumental agreeing with the rest of the inscription—*Rāṇa*, etc.—in the genitive (p. 419). Certainly, he does himself add that, since the quantity of the final vowel is doubtful, the word may very well represent *vijayataḥ*, the ordinary Sanskrit genitive of the present participle. Now, if these were the two alternatives, who would hesitate to choose the latter as being the more probable? But since the inscription is in Prakrit, a better explanation is that a final *-sa* has been omitted. The regular Prakrit form of the participle, *vijayatasa*, would be much more in accordance with the usual practice, and the conjecture that the final syllable has been omitted is supported by the occurrence in the corresponding Brāhmī inscription of an unquestionably abbreviated form *vijaya*.

The last instance occurs in the third explanation which Mr. Bergny regards as possible for the very difficult form *rājajñā* (p. 421). He himself regards it as the least plausible of his suggested solutions of this puzzle, and confesses that, apart from the question of the construction of this word with a genitive, it is not easy to explain the form as an instrumental. This third explanation is altogether too far-fetched to be at all probable; and it cannot be said that either of the other suggestions is quite convincing. It may be that the true solution of this difficulty still remains to be found. In the meantime, Mr. Bergny deserves our thanks for his very ingenious attempts, and for the light which his researches have thrown on other points of interest in these remarkable inscriptions.

It will be seen, then, that there is not one shred of real evidence for the occurrence, in the Prakrit of the coins, of the construction of an instrumental in apposition to a genitive. It is, of course, well known that, in many varieties of Prakrit, the same form does double duty for both dative and genitive, and that, in some instances, the dative-form is the one which has survived—e.g. *rājine Paṃtalevasa* on the coins of Pantaleon¹—but there is no evidence to warrant us in believing

¹ B.M. Cat., p. 9.

that the instrumental was ever so used. It remains to be proved that case-construction in Prakrit ever resolved itself into the sort of "go as you please" which this would necessitate.

Mr. Bergny's reading *Kolūtasya* (p. 415) on the coin published in C. C.A.I., pl. iv, 14, is undoubtedly correct.¹ General Sir A. Cunningham's reading and the one proposed by me (J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 125) alike err in failing to recognize that the consonant of the second *akṣara* is *l*. This is a most important correction, for it adds one more to the list of Indian states of Ancient India who are known to us from their coinage.

Kolūta (*Kaulūta*)² is, of course, "the king of the *Kulūtas*," a tribe known to us from a number of passages in Sanskrit literature and from an inscription. These I have collected and compared in a subsequent article.

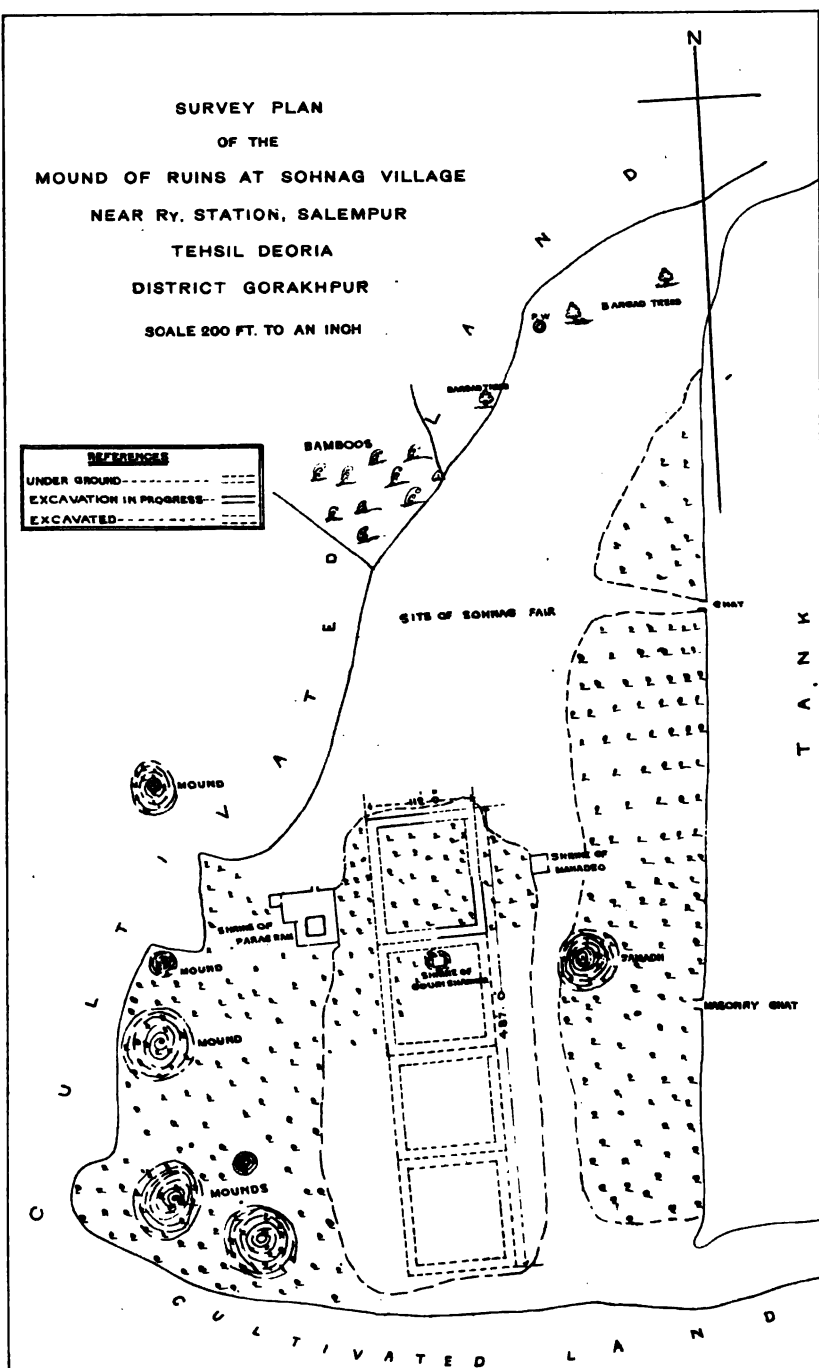
In this review of Mr. Bergny's work I have only—except in this last instance, in which I gladly acknowledge his correction of an error on my part—drawn attention to those points on which I am unable to agree with him; and, so far as I know, I have allowed none of these points to escape. The far more numerous cases in which I am in complete agreement with him I have tacitly passed over. I can only hope that this one-sided treatment will not tend to obscure my very real appreciation of the great service he has done to Indian numismatics, in putting on record a scientifically accurate account of these Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī coin-legends.

¹ Professor O. Franke, in a letter to me dated March 12, 1900, makes the same correction.

² On ancient coins *guṇa* often occurs where we should expect *ṛddhi* in these forms; e.g. *Odumbari* (for *Audumbari*) = "the king of the *Udumbaras*," *Vemaki* (for *Vaimaki*), Mr. Bergny's reading on the coin of Rudravarma (p. 412), is probably another such form = "the king of the *Vimākas*"; but a people of this name seems not to be known from any other source. For these forms generally, see J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 99. Mr. Bergny rightly reads *Yodheya* on the coins to which he refers (p. 421, note 2). The form *Yandheya*, however, also occurs on coins, e.g. C. C.A.I., vi, 6-8, and in the Allahabad inscription (cf. Fleet, CII., iii, pl. i, line 22).

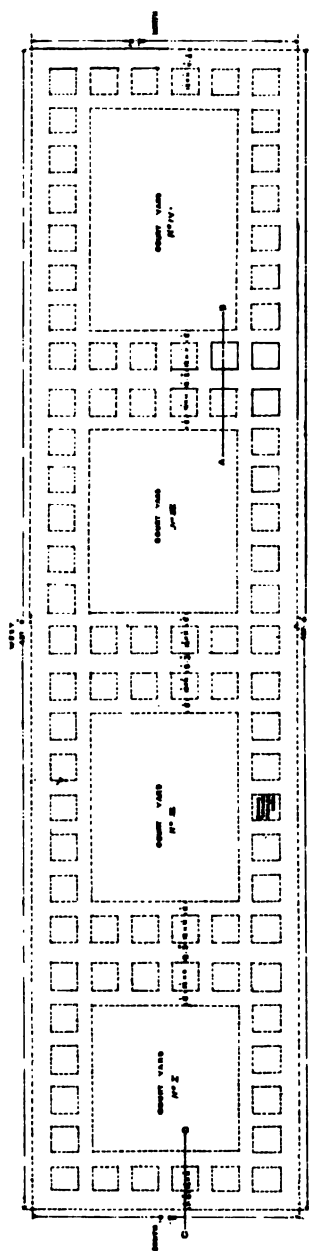
SURVEY PLAN
OF THE
MOUND OF RUINS AT SOHNAG VILLAGE
NEAR RY. STATION, SALEMPUR
TEHSIL DEORIA
DISTRICT GORAKHPUR
SCALE 200 FT. TO AN INCH

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|------------------------|---------|
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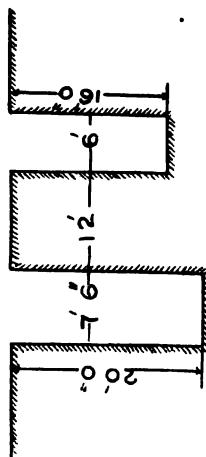


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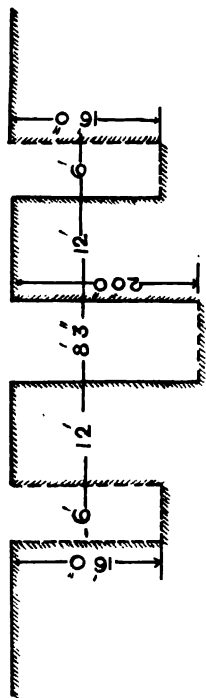
UNDER GROUND-----
EXCAVATION IN PROGRESS--
EXCAVATED-----



CROSS SECTION ON C. D.



CROSS SECTION ON A. B.



The building is 487 feet long from north to south, and 112 feet wide. It comprised four quadrangles, surrounded by cells. The exterior circuit contains 64 cells, 28 on each of the long sides and four at each end. Twenty-four cells lining the divisions between the quadrangles bring up the total number of cells to 88.

The walls are of extraordinary mass and thickness. Those of the outer perimeter are seven and a half feet thick. The wall separating the cells of the most southern from those of the next quadrangle are no less than eight and a quarter feet thick. The remaining walls are six feet in thickness.

The masonry is composed of huge bricks set in mud. The two sizes commonly used are 1' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 9" \times 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Some other sizes were also used, and I measured one brick nineteen inches long. The foundations are of unusual depth. Those of the walls six feet in thickness are carried down sixteen feet, and those of the thicker walls twenty feet from the surface of the mound. The cells as they now exist have no entrances. Evidently the whole superstructure has fallen in, and we now see only the massive foundations. The exceptional solidity of the foundations indicates that the superstructure must have been of considerable height and weight, but no materials exist from which any inference can be drawn as to the character of the elevation.

A quantity of cowrie shells was found in the central cell on the eastern side of courtyard No. II. Votive tablets, of the kind commonly called "Buddhist seals," have been found in considerable numbers in several of the cells. I understand that many of these were given to Dr. Hoey, my predecessor as Commissioner of Gorakhpur, who has taken them to Europe. I have obtained seven specimens.

No. I is an irregular ball of grey clay, pierced, about an inch in diameter, stamped on one side with the inscription *Śrī Bhagava*, श्रीभगव, in mediaeval letters of about the tenth century.

No. II is a circular disk of red clay, convex on the blank side, and stamped on the obverse in a circular incuse with

V.



VII.



BUDDHIST VOTIVE TABLETS FROM SOHNAG.

a legend of six lines in minute characters. The legend seems to be the so-called "Buddhist creed," beginning *Ye dhamma hetu prabhavā*, which is really the *mantra* of the Mahāyāna sect. This object is .95" in diameter.

No. III is a similar object in grey clay, slightly larger, being 1.1" in diameter. The legend is the same as on No. II.

Nos. IV and V are exactly alike, and seem to be struck from a single die. Each is an oval tablet of reddish clay 3¼" long, pointed at the top, with a deep oval incuse, containing the figure of a goddess, probably Śrī or Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune, facing front, seated on a lotus flower, with her left leg tucked up and right leg hanging down. A miniature *stūpa*, with tall pointed *hti* in three stages, is above each shoulder, and under the *stūpa* over the left shoulder there is a six-petalled flower. The inscription is on both sides of the goddess and below her. It is the "Buddhist creed."

Nos. VI and VII resemble Nos. IV and V in shape, but are slightly smaller, being about 3¼" in length. A seated Buddha in the *bhūmiśparśa* attitude, with his right hand pointing to the ground, is substituted for the goddess. The legend is stamped at the sides of and below the image and is the "Buddhist creed." The *stūpas* at the shoulders are similar to those on Nos. IV and V, but the six-petalled flower is wanting.

The characters in all the tablets Nos. II to VII are certainly not very ancient.¹ They seem to me to date from about the sixth or seventh century A.D. The alphabet of the Buddha tablets is perhaps rather older than that of the goddess tablets.

The only recognizable coin which was brought to me was a common coin of a king of Jaunpur in the fifteenth century, but much worn ancient copper coins are sometimes found.

¹ Nos. I, V, and VII accompany this paper, and are at the disposal of the Society. See Plate. The other specimens have been deposited in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

No inscription other than the legends on the tablets has yet been discovered.

The Sohnāg tablets closely resemble in general character those found at Pakna-Bihār in the Farrukhābād District, which have been described and illustrated by Cunningham.¹ As at Pakna-Bihār, the Sohnāg tablets are frequently found enclosed in balls of clay.

The plans show the extent to which the main building has been excavated. The largest quadrangle, that to the north, has not yet been touched. The object of the excavator being to obtain bricks for railway ballast, the rubbish which fills the interior of the cells has rarely been disturbed, and in consequence many small objects, no doubt, remain to be discovered. The six small mounds to the west have not been disturbed. They are probably *stūpas*.

The small mound marked "*samādh*" near the flight of steps was opened by me and proved to be the tomb of a *fakīr*, who had been buried, as usual, in a sitting position. I replaced and covered up his bones, which were accompanied by the clay beads of his rosary.

It is, I think, impossible to doubt that the main building is a monastery. The tablets show that it was a monastery of Buddhists of the Mahāyāna sect. The style of the masonry proves that the building is much more ancient than the objects found in it which have been above described. At the Commissioner's house in Gorakhpur there is a terracotta seated Buddha about a foot and a half high, which has a much more archaic appearance than the seals. It came from Sohnāg, as also did a broken stone stool which is kept with it. Such stone stools, as is well known, are commonly found in the ruins of Buddhist monasteries.²

Although the remarkable remains at Sohnāg are for the first time rendered intelligible by the recent excavations and the description in this paper, they have been more or less known for many years.

¹ "Archæological Survey Reports," vol. iii, pp. 35-38, pl. xii.

² I gave Professor Rhys Davids a fragment of a large black stone votive tablet, or "seal," from Sohnāg, inscribed in characters of about the fifth century. The inscription had contained a royal genealogy.

Buchanan-Hamilton heard of them, and sent a native draughtsman to visit them, who made drawings of some of the mediaeval Hindu statues in the shrines on the surface of the mound.¹

The ruins were again and more fully described by Mr. William Crooke, I.C.S., who served for a considerable time in the Gorakhpur District about twenty-five years ago. When Mr. Crooke visited Sohnāg no excavations had been made, and it was "impossible to say accurately what buildings it contained." He estimated the height of the most elevated part of the mound at 50 feet, and conjectured that it was probably a *stūpa*, "the lower portion (which shows traces of a quadrangular building) being a Buddhist monastery and apartments for ascetics." I agree with Mr. Crooke that a *stūpa* probably existed on the highest part of the mound, now crowned by the temple of Gaurīṣankar.

Mr. Crooke was in error in supposing the images in the modern temples on the ruins to be Buddhistic. They are ordinary Brahmanical statues of Śiva and Pārvatī (Gaurīṣankar), Viṣṇu, etc.

The hero Paraśu Rāma is specially venerated at Sohnāg, and a fair in his honour is held on the 3rd of the bright half of the month Baisākh (April-May) in the open space to the north of the monastery, as shown in the map.² Probably this fair is a survival of some Buddhist holiday.

Mr. Crooke says that the ancient name of Sohnāg was Nāgpur. According to Buchanan-Hamilton, "the original name of the place was Nagar."

The Brahmanical legends about the place, which are cited by Mr. Crooke and the earlier writer, are not worth repeating.

Sohnāg, as Mr. Crooke observed, is one of a series of ancient sites extending from the crossing of the Ghāgrā river (also called Deohā) along the northern road through Kasiā to Nepāl. The present crossing-place is at Bhāgalpur

¹ "Eastern India," vol. ii, p. 361, pl. iv. (London, 1838.)

² Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, vol. vi, pp. 544-546. (Allahabad, 1881.)

on the Gorakhpur side, and Turtipār on the Baliyā, or southern, side of the river. A huge *ḍiḥ* or mound of ruins called Khairigarh is close to Turtipār. A great railway bridge is now being constructed between Bhāgalpur and Turtipār.

A pillar at Bhāgalpur is inscribed with a record of twenty-one lines in mediaeval characters, supposed to date from the tenth century. This inscription does not seem to have been ever properly edited.¹

An old ferry used also to exist at Māil, about four miles north of Bhāgalpur. The two ferries may be regarded as one. Two roads go northwards from the river bank. One, running almost due north, passes the ancient Jain site of Kahāom, four miles beyond Māil.² About two and a half miles further north there is a mound of ruins at Chero. Seven miles further north the traveller reaches the very extensive remains of Khukhunū (Khukhundo), which are almost, if not quite, conterminous with ruins at Nonkhār, three miles to the north-east.³ From Nonkhār to the celebrated ruins at Biṣanpur, near Kasiā, so long erroneously reputed to be the site of Kusanagara,⁴ the distance due north is about twenty-two miles. I do not know whether ancient remains exist in this interval or not. From

¹ An eye-copy of five lines of the inscription is given in "Eastern India," vol. ii, pl. v, p. 366. Cunningham's assistant, Mr. Garrick, has published photographs of the pillar and the inscription ("Reports," vol. xvi, pls. xxx and xxxi), from which the record might be edited. But it is greatly mutilated. The pillar is close to the bank of the river.

² An eye-copy of the inscription on the Kahāom pillar was published in "Eastern India," vol. ii, pl. v, where the name of the village Kahāum appears under the disguise of Kangho. The document was correctly edited and translated by Dr. Fleet ("Gupta Inscriptions"). It records the dedication of the five Jain images carved on the pillar by one Madra, at Kakubhagrāma (Kahāum), in the reign of Skanda Gupta, in the year 141 of the Gupta era, corresponding to A.D. 459. A good photograph of the pillar by Mr. Garrick will be found in pl. xxix of vol. xvi of the "Reports."

³ Nonkhār is now a railway station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway. Cunningham published a slight description of the Khukhunū ruins in vol. i of the "Reports," pp. 85-91, pl. xxviii. He calls the place Khukhundo, and says that the original name was Kiṣkindapura. I have always heard the name pronounced without the *d*. I regret that I have not visited the ruins.

⁴ These remains are fully described in my monograph entitled "The Remains near Kasiā" (Allahabad, 1896).

Biṣanpur and Kasiā a Buddhist pilgrim would march north-east, cross the river Gandak, and so arrive at Lauriya,¹ and there meet the Nepāl road from Pāṭaliputra (Patna) and Vaisāli (Basārḥ). The second road from the Bhāgalpur or Māil ferry runs in a north-easterly direction towards Sāran, and passes Sohnāg, which is about four miles due east from Kahāom. Many other ancient mounds exist in the neighbourhood. They are being freely dug up for railway ballast.

Surprise may probably be felt because I have not stopped the excavations at Sohnāg. When I heard of them in January, 1900, the excavations had already continued for a year, and about half the building, or more, had been destroyed. The right of excavating the bricks had been sold by the owners of the village for a trifling sum, Rs. 300, or £20, I believe, to the contractor. Nobody had any notion that such an enormous mass of bricks would be proved to exist, and the contractor has consequently made a small fortune.

The excavation having gone so far, I thought it useless to stop it. Moreover, the mound, while unexplored, was unintelligible. The excavations have revealed the plan of the building, and may at any moment yield inscriptions or other objects of great interest. The preservation of the mere bricks of the foundation is of slight importance. Once the plan has been accurately described and recorded it makes little matter whether the bricks are still in the foundations or not. The superstructure disappeared long ago. I have given the contractor stringent orders to send in all objects discovered. He gave, as already noted, a large number to Dr. Hoey, and the few since found have been willingly given to me. After full consideration of the question I did not feel justified in stopping the excavations.

¹ "Reports," vol. i, pp. 69-73, pl. xxiv; vol. xvi, pp. 104-108, pl. xxviii; vol. xxii, pp. 42-48.

ART. XIX.—*Notes on the MSS. of the Turkī Text of Bābar's Memoirs.* By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

THE information contained in the following notes on the MSS. of the Turkī text of Bābar's autobiography I have not seen put together elsewhere. It is offered as an *ad interim* contribution towards a better knowledge of the Turkī text.

The notes enumerate with some detail all the MSS. of which I have learned that they exist or have existed, viz. :

- I. Bābar's autograph MS.
- II. Khwāja Kilān's MS.
- III. (Humāyūn's transcript.)
- IV. Elphinstone MS.
- V. British Museum MS.
- VI. India Office MS. (Bib. Leydeniana).
- VII. Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.
- VIII. Mysore MS. (Tīpū's).
- IX. Bibliotheca Lindesiana MS.
- X. Hyderābād MS.
- XI. St. Petersburg University Library MS.
- XII. St. Petersburg Foreign Office MS.
- XIII. St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS (Senkovskī).
- XIV. Bukhārā MS.
- XV. Nazar Bay Turkestānī MS.

Two titles seem to be used for these MSS., viz. *Tūzuk-i-bābarī* and *Bābarnāma*. A third name—*Bābarīyah*, بابريه—is given to the work in the last of the St. Petersburg fragments (cf. No. XII). Bābar uses رتایعی as a common noun when speaking of his writings. The title *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī*, when

used exactly, seems to apply to the Persian translation only. The colophon of the St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS. supplies a new name, *Waqāyi'-nāma-i-pādshāhī*.

For help in preparing these notes, I have to thank Mr. A. G. Ellis for his invaluable guidance amongst the catalogues and books used in the British Museum; Mr. C. Salemann (director of the St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum, and compiler with Baron v. Rosen of the Oriental MSS. Catalogue of the St. Petersburg University Library, 1888), for most useful and exquisitely framed notes on the Russian Turkī texts; Professor Nicolas Féodorovitch Katanoff, of the Kazan University, for much useful information and the trouble taken in collecting it; Mr. N. Schilder, director of the St. Petersburg Public Library; Miss Fanny Toulmin Smith, together with other friendly help, for a translation of Ilminski's preface; Mr. William Irvine; Professor E. Denison-Ross; and Mr. W. Hall Griffin and Mr. E. de Necanda-Trepka, who both helped me with Ilminski's preface. For the loan of MSS. I have to thank the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, the India Office, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and I am indebted to Professor Robert K. Douglas for enabling me to use these MSS. under his charge at the British Museum. Those who have worked much at the British Museum realize from time to time that one is made free of its vast resources and that it is truly our own national and individual possession. For this reason it does not always occur to us to express the gratitude we really feel, for its helpfulness and generous collaboration.

I. *Emperor Bābar's autograph MS.*

Certain divergencies in the substance of the Turkī texts have suggested to me that Bābar put forth two versions of his autobiography, a first which was based on a diary and a second which was in parts revised and polished.

The St. Petersburg MSS. appear to me to have descended from the first edition, the Elphinstone MS and its allies from the second. In speaking of the Russian Foreign Office MS. (No. XII) I have named some points which suggested this as possible. Their worth can only be judged by expert examination.

Whether any MS. that may be ranked as autograph still survives, I am not able to say. A little hope encircles some of the Russian set, and there are special features of the Elphinstone which forbid its exclusion until further examination of it has been made. Unfortunately I have not been able to find this most valuable copy.

The date of composition of even the earlier and elaborated portion of the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* or *Bābarnāma* is fixed by internal evidence as being late in the author's reign. This is pointed out by Mr. Erskine; M. Pavet de Courteille supports it by citation of evidence, and to this evidence more might be added. The whole of the work (which, however, seems to be based upon a diary) appears to have been written in Hindūstān, where perhaps it filled the tedious leisure of hot seasons.

A portion of the *Bābarnāma* and a transcript of that portion (cf. No. II) existed prior to March 5th, 1529, since the transcript was despatched on this day to Samarqand.¹ That Bābar was working much later we gather from Gulbadan Begam. She went to Hindūstān with Māham Begam, who reached Agra on June 27th, 1529. Several months later she accompanied Bābar and Māham to Dhūlpur and Sikrī. In her narrative of incidents of this excursion she names a building in Sikrī where her "royal father used to sit and write his book," and these words, with their context, allow the inference that he was doing so at the time of her visit, i.e. later than the "Guālīār passage" (Mems., 425). The manuscript fragments which are attached to No. XII, reproduced by Ilminski and made familiar by Pavet de Courteille, carry down the narrative

¹ Memoirs of Bābar, Leyden and Erskine, p. 405.

which is, in them, attributed to Bābar, to within a few weeks at most of his death on December 26th, 1530.

II. *Khawāja Kilān's MS.*

This is the transcript already named as despatched on March 5th, 1529, to Samarqand. Of its survival I have no information. It was sent to Khwāja Kilān (a Samarqand *khwāja* and not Bābar's intimate friend of the same title), who, having been on a visit at Bābar's Court in Agra, took leave to return home on February 1st, 1529. He had preferred a request for a copy of Bābar's book, and under date March 7th, 1529, the Emperor notes its dispatch to him.

Of this MS., then, it is known that it was not carried beyond March, 1529. Also that it did not contain Humāyūn's notes of 1553-4 (961 H. Cf. No. III). In this last particular it agrees with St. Petersburg No. XII.

A minute point as to the date of this transcript is seen by considering the following parallel passages from the Persian and English versions. For the sake of comparison the Turkī and French are added.

I.O., Pers., No. 29 and No. 3,405 (old numbering):

خواجہ کلان نبیرۂ یحییٰ از من وقایعی کہ نوشتہ شود میطلبید
استکتاب کنندہ بودم از دستِ شہرک فرستادہ شد

Memoirs, p. 405 :

"Khwāja Kilān, Khwāja Yahia's grandson, had asked for a copy of the Memoirs" [وقایعی memoirs] "which I had written. I had formerly ordered a copy to be made, and now sent it by Sherek."

Ilminski, p. 469, l. 12 :

خواجہ کلان خواجہ یحییٰ نینک نبیرہ سی مین دین بیتینی
تورکان وقایعی تیلایدورایدی استکتاب قیلد وروب ایدیم شہرک
دین بیباریلدی

Pavet de Courteille, II, 326 :

“Khwāja Kilān, petit-fils de Khwāja Yahia, m'avait demandé une copie des mémoires que j'étais en train d'écrire; je la fis exécuter en effet et chargeai Sherek de la lui remettre.”

With the deference natural towards Mr. Erskine, I suggest that his “formerly” perhaps implies a time unnecessarily remote. *Istiktāb kunānda budam* may refer only to the interval between the request and its fulfilment by despatch of the copy, i.e. during the visit of Khwāja Kilān to Agra or even after his departure. If the copy had existed before the Khwāja left Agra, it would have been natural for him to receive it before he left.

In rendering *navishta shavad* by “had written” is not the subjective force of *shavad* wasted? Cannot *navishta shavad* contain the idea of “whatever might have been written,” i.e. incomplete as it was, and thus indicate a time less remote and definite than does “had written”? *Mitalbid* could also yield a fuller notion than “had written,” e.g. “kept asking,” or “used to ask,” either of which forms would modify the sense as to time of transcription.

III. (*Emperor Humāyūn's Transcript.*)

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the sole evidence of the existence of this MS. is afforded by a marginal note of the Emperor Humāyūn upon a copy of the *Tūsuk-i-bābarī*, and by Mr. Erskine's translation of that note. The words of the translation (Mems., 303) are as follows :—

“Now that I am forty-six, I, Muḥammad Humāyūn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing.”

Some doubt having arisen in my mind about this passage, I have not ventured to include Humāyūn's transcript amongst MSS. of which the existence is established. The matter is of great interest, for the words just quoted and their context are valuable both historically and critically. They are a part of one of two notes made by Humāyūn

and which Mr. Erskine says occur in the Elphinstone Turkī text, i.e. that with which he collated his finished work. They do not appear in all the Turkī texts. (This point is taken up in each section of these notes.) One only appears in any of the considerable number¹ of MSS. of the Persian translation in which I have looked for them.

Of Humāyūn's two notes, the second concerns a fruit—the *amratphul* (Mems., 329, n.). Of this it is sufficient to say here that it is not found in any MS.—Turkī or Persian—to which I have had access. The Elphinstone, I regretfully repeat, has eluded my search.

The first note (Mems., 302–3) is that of which part has been quoted. It is necessary to consider it somewhat in detail. I must then leave it to scholars to judge whether it justifies the admission of "Humāyūn's Transcript" amongst facts.

I cannot quote the note in Turkī because I have not seen it in that tongue.² It is given below in full from Persian and English versions; the former is strictly the source of the latter, since it is an extract from B.M. Add. 26,200, from which Mr. Erskine translated.

B.M. Add. 26,200, f. 248, l. 6:

در همین منزل همین روز همایون در روی خود استره یا مقراض
 رساند چون حضرت مرحومی استره رساندن را در آن وقایع ذکر
 کرده بودند بنده داعی بتتبعاً آنرا ذکر کرد در آن تاریخ هشتده
 ساله بودم الحال در سن چهل شش سال بوده باشم حرره محمد
 همایون از نقلِ نقلِ خطِ مبارک آن حضرت منقول شد

Mems., 302–3:

"(At this same station and this same day, the razor or scissors were first applied to Humāyūn's beard. As my

¹ Mr. Erskine worked from two Persian MSS., i.e. B.M. Add. 26,200 and B.M. Add. 26,201 (Mr. Metcalfe's), the latter being, he says, "defective and incorrect." In these more facile days این حقیر was easily able to consult a round dozen.

² Dr. Leyden's manuscript translation from the Turkī gives no help, because it ends before the notes of Humāyūn are reached.

honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muhammad Humāyūn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing.)"

Having had occasion, on another ground, to note the occurrence of this passage in the Turkī and Persian versions of the autobiography of Bābar, I looked for it in all available MSS. I found it in none of the Turkī, but in at least fourteen of the Persian. Reiterated perusal awakened some deferential uncertainty as to Mr. Erskine's reading. It was a most regretful doubt, since this rendering not only provides a critical test of some points in the history of the MSS., but is full of human interest. Everyone would prefer to leave the king-in-exile to his pious task, untroubled by criticism. Everyone, too, who has enjoyed Mr. Erskine's writings, must desire to find him always in the right.

At this point occurred one of those fortuitous dovetailings which now and then fit into one's work the exact thing it needs. Mr. Beveridge, writing from India about a remarkable Persian *Wāqī'at-i-bābarī* which he had seen in Alwar, observed that it, as well as the lithograph of Mirzā Muḥ. Shirāzī, contains a copyist's note on the "shaving passage" (i.e. Humāyūn's note; *Mems.*, 302-3), to the effect that this passage was copied from Humāyūn's own handwriting.¹

¹ The Shirāzī passage (171, foot), confused and defective in several places, runs thus:—

در همین منزل همین روز همایون در روی خود استره یا مقراض
رساند چون حضرت مخدومی استره رساندن در آن وقایع ذکر کرده
بودند (omission) در آن تاریخ هشتده ساله بود من (بودم؟) در
سن چهل و شش سال بوده باشم محمد همایون از نقل خط مبارک
المحضرت منقول شد

Seen by the light of this remark, the questioned portion of Humāyūn's note, i.e. from *dar san chahal*, appears to me to read more naturally thus:—

“I am 46. Signed [i.e. he writes, حرر] Muḥ. Humāyūn.”

“*Copied from a copy of a copy of the blessed handwriting of His Majesty*” (Humāyūn).

The sentence italicized would then read as a scribe's note.

As is well known from Mr. Erskine's preface to the Memoirs, he translated from the Persian text, and collated his finished work with the Turkī MS. which Dr. Leyden had used. He writes (preface, vii): “From some marginal notes which appear on both copies of the translation [Persian, B.M. Add. 26,200 and 26,201] as well as on the Turkī original [Elphinstone MS.], it appears that the Emperor Humāyūn . . . had transcribed the Memoirs with his own hand.”

Now the Persian note (Mems., 302–3) on which is based the statement that a transcript was made by Humāyūn, is not “marginal” in either of the above-named Persian texts. These two only were used by Mr. Erskine. In both, the whole of the passage which Mr. Erskine attributes to Humāyūn, is incorporated uncritically in the text. Nothing differentiates it in any way. This is true also of all the other Persian MSS. that I have examined.

Mr. Erskine, however, chose to use the word “marginal.” This raises the surmise that the note may be truly marginal in the Elphinstone Turkī MS., since if Mr. Erskine had seen it embodied only in the text, Turkī or Persian, it seems probable that some word other than “marginal” would have passed from his pen, e.g. *interpolated* or *reproduced from a marginal note*. On the other hand, it must be remembered that his considered translation was made from the Persian, and that he collated only with the Turkī. If in collating he had had revealed to him by a marginal note on the Turkī MS., a fact, veiled in the Persian wording, of such great interest as the copying of Bābar's book by Humāyūn, it would have accorded with his practice in the case of

variants elsewhere for him to comment upon the discovery and upon the variation of the texts.

If Mr. Erskine's reading be correct and indisputably based on the Turkī, the copyists of the Persian MSS. have gone wrong, since they vary the note as their copies descend from the original. (Cf. Table, *infra*.) The reading adopted by the later scribes is of course of little weight, since this is due to the initiative of the earlier ones and in particular and chief of the earliest.

The later copyists indicate for their work three degrees of descent from the source, viz. :

(a) Copied from a copy of a copy of the handwriting.

Going back a step, the passage stands :

(b) Copied from a copy of the handwriting.

Earlier than this must have been a form of which I have no examples, viz. :

(c) Copied from the handwriting.

Perhaps this (c) existed only in the Turkī texts.

It seems that the first scribe, i.e. he who wrote as in example (c), either did not read what Humāyūn wrote in the way Mr. Erskine has read and translated, or that he did not set down his reading so clearly as to prevent his successor from falling into error and adding a '*naql*.'

Both the Persian texts used by Mr. Erskine are worded like example (a), which allows the inference of three descents from the "blessed handwriting." How would Mr. Erskine have worded his translation if example (b) had been before him?

If the whole of the note under discussion be attributed, as Mr. Erskine has attributed it, to one hand—Humāyūn's,

the reading is strengthened by the use of *ān* in *ān hazrat* and not *ain*. But if the words "Muḥ. Humāyūn" be taken as a signature and the following words as a copyist's note, the scribe would have no reason to make a distinction between Bābar and Humāyūn, and the grammatical force of *ān* would be less. As Mr. Erskine read the passage, *ān* is applied to the one person named by Humāyūn, i.e. Bābar.

Mr. Erskine's reading is not without a grammatical difficulty, since "Muḥ. Humāyūn" is the nominative of *manqūl shud*. Two other points attract attention in Mr. Erskine's translation—

(1) To allow of it, either the word *naql*, used without limitation, must be read in two senses in the same sentence ;

(2) Or the passage contains the information that Bābar wrote down two MSS., since Humāyūn transcribes from the duplicate (copy, *naql*) of His Majesty's handwriting.

Mr. Erskine uses 'copy' as equivalent to 'MS.' Can a first autograph MS. be truly called, *Anglice*, a copy (i.e. as we speak of one book in an edition), or *Persice*, *naql*, a duplicate ?

If *naql* be read as 'narrative,' the main difficulties would remain.

If one were to readjust a little and let in a copyist to account for one *naql*, an objection of a different nature would be started. Humāyūn would commemorate the descent of his transcript from Bābar, to the scribe, to himself—an undignified and improbable 'switchback.'

So much has of necessity been said as to the Persian MSS. that a few discursive complementary words further may be allowed.

In the thirteen MSS. tabulated below, the note attributed by Mr. Erskine to Humāyūn is essentially identical as far as and inclusive of the words *ḥarara-hu*, *Muḥ. Humāyūn*. The word *ḥarara-hu*, حراره, was perhaps a puzzle to some of

the scribes ; it takes various forms, never carries the *ḡamma*, and has sometimes a vagrant dot.¹

After the word "Humāyūn" the MSS. show a good deal of variation. This may be seen in the following table. It includes some details of reference, and, moreover, indicates some correspondence between the date of the MSS. and their degree of descent.

¹ As illustrating the use of the Ar. *ḡ* in this expression, Mr. William Irvine referred me to the inscription under the portrait of Jahāngīr which faces p. 115 of Mr. W. Foster's "Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe," and where the parallel expression *rāqama-hu* is used. The *ḡ* would explain the abnormal *mīm* on which Mr. Wollaston comments (J.R.A.S., Jan., 1900, p. 71). Mr. Irvine has mentioned to me another instance of *ḡ* حررد *ḡarara-hu*, which occurs in the colophon of a B.M. Persian MS., *Mūnisi-l-arwūḡ*, by Jahān-ārā Begam, daughter of Shāh-jahān.

| DESCRIPTION OF MSS.
(Pers.). | FOLIO REF. | DATE OF MS. | VARIANTS. | REMARKS. |
|---------------------------------|------------|---|--|---|
| B.M. Or. 3714 ... | 363a ... | End of 16th cent. (Rieu). | <i>naql az naql-i-khaṭ-i-mubārik</i> | An unusually fine illustrated MS. |
| " Add. 24,416 ... | 238a ... | " " " | <i>manqūl shud</i> ... | |
| " " 16,623 ... | 202a ... | 1638 A.D. (Rieu) | <i>az naql-i-khaṭ manqūl shud</i> | |
| " " 26,200 ... | 248a ... | Prob. 16th cent. (Rieu). | " " | Mr. Erskine's better MS. |
| " " 16,691 ... | 131a ... | 1735 A.D. (Rieu) | <i>az naql-i-naql-i-khaṭ manqūl shud</i> | |
| I.O. 29 (old cat.) ... | 218a ... | ... | " " | |
| Bodleian 405 ... | 264a ... | Not dated, and no estimate made by the Bodleian ... | " " | |
| " 180 ... | 141a ... | | " " | |
| " 341 ... | 165 ... | | " " | |
| A.S. Bengal 324 ... | No paging | No date | " " | Evidently related. Both have a mistake which makes Humāyūn go to Kābul the day preceding the entry of his note. |
| Bib. Lind. 160 ... | No paging | c. 1780 (Bib. Lind. Cat.) | " " | |
| B.M. Add. 26,201 ... | 118 ... | Early nineteenth century. | <i>naql dar naql-i-khaṭ</i> | |
| I.O. 330 (old cat.) ... | 163 ... | ... | " " | |
| | | | " " | |

IV. *Elphinstone MS. : Tūzuk-i-bābarī (Mems., 183 n.).*

This is the copy translated from by Dr. Leyden, and with it Mr. Erskine collated his finished work. It was purchased in Peshāwar by Mr. Elphinstone when on his mission to Kābul in 1809. On Dr. Leyden's death it would seem to have met with some misadventure, since Mr. Erskine speaks of it as "fortunately recovered" by Mr. Elphinstone, who had believed it sent to Europe with Dr. Leyden's papers. Mr. Elphinstone, having again become possessed of it, sent it to Mr. Erskine, and thus "reduced" him, "though heartily sick of the task, to the necessity of commencing work once more," i.e. of collating his own translation from the Persian and incorporation of Leyden's translation from the Turkī, with Leyden's original. This will have occurred before 1816, the date of completion of the Memoirs. Since that time I have found only one mention of the MS., viz. in a manuscript note made by Mr. Erskine and dated 1848, and I have not found the MS. It is one of special value and interest; by dwelling at length on my inability to find it, information may be obtained and the precious volume located.

Mr. Erskine's note is made upon a flyleaf of the B.M. *Tūzuk-i-bābarī* (Add. 26,324), which was once his own. This MS. is imperfect and disarranged. Mr. Erskine has analyzed its contents. The analysis is followed by the remark: — "N.B. The folios 25–38 are wanting in Mr. Elphinstone's copy of the original, *now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.*" The whole entry is signed by Mr. Erskine, and is dated Edinburgh, 25th December, 1848.

Led by this note, which was and is my only clue to the MS., I wrote to the Keeper of the Advocates' Library, Mr. J. T. Clark, for permission to see it. He replied that the Advocates' Library did not possess the MS., and incidentally mentioned that a copy of the Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine) had been missing for more than thirty years. After fruitless enquiry elsewhere for the MS., I acted upon

the coincidence of learning the loss of the translation when I had sought the original, and troubled the Keeper with questions as to the receipt of the Memoirs. It was possibly a gift, I thought, and some record of this might name the MS. This slender clue failed. The annals of the Library lead to the view that Mr. Erskine's work was received in due course under the Copyright Acts. The Keeper assures me as to the MS. that "recent exhaustive enquiries have failed to show that it has ever been the property of the Faculty of Advocates, there being no entry of it in either of the catalogues of the MSS., nor is it in the manuscript collection *uncatalogued*, as a recent individual examination of the contents of the MS. Room shows." The italics are the Keeper's. The word so distinguished is depressing to those who do not know the safeguards of the Library.

Of course, even Mr. Erskine may have been mistaken, but the reasons which led me to trouble the Keeper with repeated enquiries and to hope for success are not light. They are—

(1) Mr. Erskine's own intimate knowledge of and interest in Mr. Elphinstone's MS. This interest was persistent, as is shown by the memorandum just quoted, which was made thirty-two years after he had finished his translation. His literary work, however, had been faithful to *Bābariana*.

(2) Mr. Erskine made the note in the close neighbourhood of the Advocates' Library, i.e. in Edinburgh.

(3) The note is not hasty or casual. The information as to location of the MS. is designed and carefully inserted.

The MS. may be in private hands. It is not in any of the great libraries of London, Oxford, or Cambridge. It is not any one of the other MSS. enumerated in these notes. This is shown by consideration of their respective contents. It would be truly regrettable if it were lost. It has special features of great interest, and in particular the note which might decide the question of Humāyūn's transcript. Mr. Erskine describes it as "very correct" and "unfortunately

incomplete." Its continuous narrative ends before the battle of Khānwā¹ (Mems., 355 n.), and a short fragment only follows (Mems., 382 top to 389 top). It is unique amongst the Turkī texts which I have seen or know, in the particular that it contains both the notes of Humāyūn. This is a remarkable distinction. The notes may be autographic.

In quoting the *amratphul* note (Mems., 330 n.), Mr. Erskine says: "There is in the Turkī copy the following note of the Emperor Humāyūn. It is not found in either of the Persian translations." Unfortunately he does not quote any Turkī words, and it is only from his preface that one infers the note to be "marginal." It would be most useful to know in what way the note is vouched for in the Turkī as Humāyūn's. If with *harara-hu*, this would throw light on the other.

Dr. Leyden, as has been said, gives no help, his MS. ending at a point some eighty pages earlier in the Memoirs.

V. B.M. Add. 26,324. (Title absent.)

Mr. Erskine gives, on a flyleaf of this book, the following account of its contents: "This volume contains scattered fragments of the original Turkī Commentaries of Bābar, being apparently some leaves preserved from a copy that had gone to pieces, and which have been bound together out of order. These fragments are six in number, with a portion of a tailpiece containing the name of the transcriber and the date of transcription. The following table will assist in restoring them to their proper place."
 "N.B. The folios 25-38 v. are wanting in Mr. Elphinstone's copy of the original, now in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. See Memoirs of Bābar, p. 355, note." (Signed) "William Erskine, Edinburgh, December 25th, 1848."

¹ By a slip of memory Mr. Erskine (pref., xi) has indicated Pānipat (307) instead of Khānwā (355) as the last topic of Mr. Elphinstone's MS. In the intermediate pages (307-355) are eight notes referring to the Turkī text, and these include Humāyūn's on the *amratphul*.

This volume was formerly Mr. Erskine's, and was given to him by Major Yule in 1836. It was therefore not used in the preparation of the Memoirs.

The tailpiece states that the MS. was transcribed¹ by the "humblest of those who have charge of the *khanazādān*, Daud, son of 'Alī'u-l-kashmīrī, in 1629-30." Eight years later this same copyist produced a fascinating *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī* (which is catalogued as B.M. Add. 16,623), thus working twice after Bābar, once on the Turkī² and once on the Persian. The latter copy was made at Lahōr in 1638.

Neither of Humāyūn's notes occurs in this volume; their place falls in a *lacuna*.

راعی کمترین خانزادان داود بن علی کشمیری¹

² The date of this transcript and its finished beauty testify to the continued interest felt at Akbar's Court in the Turkī text. Mr. William Irvine assures me that this interest persisted much later. "Turkī," he writes to me, "was spoken, i.e. understood, at the Mughal Court well into the eighteenth century, and up to that time there were numbers of Qalmaq, Uzbek, and Qirghiz women servants and slaves in the harems. Within 50 or 60 years of the Mughal arrival in India, how much more usual must such knowledge have been."

By critics, Bābar's literary style is accounted one of the best amongst Turkī authors. His writings, like Mir 'Alī Shīr's, would be a textbook for all who read Turkī and who could get access to them. 'Abdu-r-raḥīm presumably made acquaintance with them in early youth, since there must have been a strong Turkī element in his father's household. His mother was a Mewatī, and his father died when he was three; but Bairam Khān was a full-born Turkomān, and of a family so distinguished amongst the Black Sheep that tribal position would be a source of pride. Bairam was great-grandson, through a son, of 'Alī Shīr Bahārū. His mother also was of good Turkī birth. One of his wives, Sālīma, was of the same degree of descent from 'Alī Shīr, through a daughter, Pāshā. Sālīma married Akbar later, and 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was brought up with Akbar's sons, of whom it is known that at least Sālīm learned Turkī.

'Abdu-r-raḥīm's parentage and upbringing presuppose familiarity with the Turkī language; his bias to learning presupposes that he would early become familiar with one of the masterpieces of that tongue. These things would naturally suggest him to Akbar as a fit translator of the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī*.

The author of the last fragment of Kehr and Ilminski's text says, in the words of Pavet de Courteille, "Quant au livre appelé *Bābarīyah*, بابریه, Mirzā Khān, fils de Bairam Khān, a été chargé de le traduire du turc en persan pour en faciliter la lecture à ceux qui ignoreraient la première de ces deux langues."

It is somewhat strange that the earlier translation of this *Tūzūk*, by Mirzā Pāyanda Ḥasan and Muḥ. Qulī, which was finished in 1586, four years before 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's, is passed over by contemporaries. It may be noted here that the B.M. copy of this translation does not contain Humāyūn's notes. They fall in a *lacuna*.

[Cf. Pers. Cat., Rieu, p. 799; I.O. Cat., s.r. *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī*; Bodl. Cat., s.v.]

VI. *India Office MS., Bib. Leydeniana, No. 178.* (No title.)

The India Office enjoys the reputation of possessing an unusually fine copy of the Turkī *Tūzuk-i-bābarī*. Several *a priori* considerations lead to the expectation that this will be the Mysore MS. (Tipū's), but the only example of our *Tūzuk* to be found in the Library is the one named above, which came from Dr. Leyden's collection.¹

Everyone approaches a famous MS. with deference and pleasurable anticipation, and in the case of the I.O. Turkī *Tūzuk-i-bābarī*, I most assuredly was not the proof of this rule. Unfortunately my respectful attitude towards it has been so rudely changed and by a disillusion so complete as to be comic. If I dwell upon my experience here, it is only to emphasize the case of the MS., and for this reason the personal intrusion will, I trust, be excused.

I had asked the loan of this MS., and the I.O. Library Committee had, upon a security bond, heavy as being the value of a book, acceded to my request. Pending final arrangements, I came to know more of our poverty in this *Tūzuk*, and took alarm at the risk to which a MS. is exposed in a private house, since a forfeited bond is no compensation for the loss of a valuable MS. I accordingly withdrew my request for the loan to be made to myself, and later on, by the kind intervention of Professor Robert K. Douglas, obtained permission for the MS. to be sent to his safe charge in the British Museum.

¹ A passage may be appropriately quoted from the *Journal Asiatique* (January, 1842) which shows that a bygone *savant* did not clearly distinguish between Tipū's MS. and *Bib. Leydeniana*. "Les Mémoires de Bābar, تۈزۈک بابری, faisaient partie de la bibliothèque de Tippoo Sahib, tué 4 Mai, 1799" "la bibliothèque entière fut offert à l'East India Company, à l'exception de quelques manuscrits réservés pour la société asiatique." "C'est maintenant dans cette bibliothèque, ainsi que nous lisons dans la grammaire turque de Davids que se trouve l'original des Mémoires." The writer of the above has not, however, observed that Davids names Leyden's MS. and not the East India Company's. "Heureusement," says Davids, "l'original de cet ouvrage intéressant existe encore, et le MS. se trouve dans la bibliothèque de la Compagnie des Indes. Il appartenait autrefois au feu Dr. Leyden." The *Journal Asiatique* leaps from the Mysore MS. to *Bib. Leydeniana, No. 178.* The former is not found in the Library; the latter is an ancient possession. It was at latest in 1832 that Davids saw it, and presumably, since Dr. Leyden died in 1811, it had passed much earlier into the hands of the East India Company.

It is with something like consternation that I find No. 178 unable to account for its reputation. It discloses itself so defective as to provoke the surmise that for some ninety years it has subsisted, in unquestioned honour, upon the fame of another transcript. It has contrived to deceive all round, and up till now, since the latest official utterance about it flatters it as "complete."¹

The grounds of this unpleasant surmise are as follows:—

(1) Competent advisers assure me that the transcript is modern and of nineteenth-century date. Its former owner, Dr. Leyden, died in 1811. The flyleaves of the binding are water-marked "S. Wise & Patch, 1805."²

(2) It carries no credentials either of its own rank or of owners earlier than Dr. Leyden. It does not bear the stamp of the East India Company or of the India Office. The sole indication of its ownership is "*Bib. Leydeniana*, 2,538" upon a flyleaf, an entry apparently made in its entirety in the library to which it passed after Leyden's death, i.e. either that of Fort William in Calcutta or of the East India Company in London. (The same flyleaf bears a pencilled "85" and an I.O. shelf-mark.) The binding is the identical brown of other books formerly Dr. Leyden's. The transcript has no distinction: no marginal frame, no frontispiece, no colophon, no title, no seals, no rubrics; year runs into year and event into event in the casual fashion of poorer Persian transcripts.

Dr. Ethé's description, which, it should be noted, is placed amongst those of Persian MSS., says nothing of how or when No. 178 passed into the possession of the India Office. It is catalogued as a *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī*, but it bears, strictly speaking, no title, since these words are casually dropped by a hand not the copyist's on a binder's flyleaf.

(3) The earlier part of the MS. has been much corrected, roughly and with disrespectful pen. The corrections cease

¹ Cf. Dr. Ethé's as yet unpublished Catalogue of the India Office Library.

² The flyleaves of a volume of Dr. Leyden's own MSS. (B.M. Add. 26,253) are water-marked with the same names and dated 1809.

suddenly. Mistakes occur after this point. Perhaps the attempt at rectification was abandoned.

A few of the errors which lower the character of the MS. for accuracy and careful transcription may be enumerated :

- (a) Cf. Ilminski, p. 40, ll. 8 and 6 from foot, "*khalīfa*" in each line. In No. 178, f. 42*b*, the words between the two *khalīfa* are absent. On the same page and in the last line the same fault occurs between two *sī*.
- (b) On the earlier pages of No. 178 it can be seen that a considerable number of omissions have been supplied by marginal corrections in a hand not the copyist's.
- (c) No. 178, f. 97*a*, has a marginal note at the beginning of an erased passage, "*az in jā tā nishān-i-dīgar ghalat ast.*" The complementary *nishān* is at the foot of f. 98*b*. Thus nearly two folios are interpolated. This is not a case of simple misplaced folios, since five and a half lines of the text are repeated. These are erased by the corrector at the beginning of the passage, and occur again f. 99*a* top.
- (d) No. 178, f. 223*b*. Here a few words which introduce the story of Bābar's poisoning by Ibrāhīm's mother (Mems., 347) are followed by a passage about Beg Mirak Mughal (Mems., 352, l. 9 ; cf. Ilminski, 396 and 402). After a few lines of interpolation the poisoning story is resumed.

Other similar errors might be added to this list.

(4) The MS. is singularly incomplete. This the following table (A) endeavours to show. Details are given to facilitate reference, and these include the initial page of each year. The English translation is the standard of reference, and this reference is further defined by mention of events. Through the events, collation with the French version is made facile.

The table sets down the minimum of *lacunæ*. A second table (B) notes the gaps by the standard of Ilminski's imprint, and shows the maximum proportion of this which is contained in No. 178.

| A.H. | Mems. Pages. | I.O. No. 178. Folios. | | FIRST TOPIC OF EACH YEAR OR FRAGMENT. | LAST TOPIC OF EACH YEAR OR FRAGMENT. |
|------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 899 | 1 | 1b | ... | Bābar's accession ... | Verse about Sl. Mahmud M. (p. 27). |
| 900 | 27 | 31b, foot | ... | 'Abdu'l-qadās' embassy | Muh. Khān Kūrān-Uratipa (p. 35). |
| 901 | 35 | 43a, 1. 4 | ... | Sl. Husan M.—Tirmiz | Mahdi and Khamza leave Bābar (p. 41). |
| 902 | 42 | 50a, 1. 7 | ... | Bayasungha M.'s prosperity | Muh. Mūnim M. defeated (p. 46). |
| 903 | 46 | 58a, 1. 2 | ... | Camp at Bāgh-i-maidān | Sayyid Kāmīl to Bārman (p. 63). |
| 904 | 63 | 77a, 1. 1 | ... | Return to Khojend | Ibrahim Saris in Ush (p. 70). |
| 905 | 70 | 86a, foot | ... | Qambar 'Alī summoned | Zāhir Begi and Shaibani (p. 83). |
| 906 | 83 | 105a, 1. 2 | ... | Shaibani at Bāgh-i-maidān | Ahmad Beg ridicules Tambob (p. 97). |
| ... | ... | 119b, 1. 8 | ... | ... | Battle of Kardzin and the three Ibrahims (f. 119c) (p. 94). |
| 907 | 97 | ... | ... | Distress in Samargand | Bābar's flight from Akhsi (p. 122). |
| 908 | 104 | ... | ... | Bābar's distress | Loss of Bābar's golden clasp. |
| 910 | 127 | ... | Supplement from Mems., 123-27. | Leaves Farghāna | Death of Khurasan Shāh (p. 169). |
| 911 | 169 | ... | ... | Death of Qutluq-Nigar Khānān | Joint kingship (p. 199). |
| 912 | 199 | ... | ... | Bābar goes towards Khurāsān | Repentance of Nāsir M. (p. 220). |
| 913 | 220 | ... | ... | Bābar leaves Kābul | Birth of Humāyūn (p. 234). |
| 914 | 234 | ... | ... | Desertion of officers | Rebellion (fragment), (p. 235). |
| 925 | 246 | 119b, 1. 8 | Supplement from Mems., 236-45 | Bābar marches for Bejaour... | Bābar goes to Lamghān (p. 281). |
| ... | ... | 157b, 1. 8 | ... | ... | Kepeki return Aug. 5th (p. 272). |
| 926 | 281 | ... | ... | Bābar at Khwāja Sayārān | Return to Kābul (p. 284). |
| 932 | 290 | 157b, 1. 8 | Supplement from Mems., 284-90. | Fifth invasion of India | Sikandar Shāh (p. 343). |
| ... | ... | 220b, foot | ... | ... | Days of week and hours (p. 331). |
| 933 | 343 | ... | ... | Birth of Farūq | Visit to Koel (p. 373). |
| ... | 345 | ... | ... | Waste of Biāna | ... |
| ... | 353 | ... | ... | ... | Guns and fortifications—Khānwa (p. 353). |
| 934 | 373 | ... | ... | Camp at Koel | Hunting expedition (p. 381). |
| 935 | 382 | ... | ... | Arrival of 'Askari | Honours to officers (p. 424). |
| 936 | 425 | ... | ... | Gualliar affairs | Gualliar affairs (p. 426). |

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

The four principal gaps in No. 178 swallow 247 pages of the Memoirs, viz. :

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Lacuna</i> (a). | 94 to 246 = 152 — 4 pp. Supplement | = 148 |
| „ (b). | 272 „, 290 = 18 — 5 pp. „ | = 13 |
| „ (c). | 331 „, 345 | = 14 |
| „ (d). | 353 „, 425 | = 72 |

Memoirs' pages lost by *lacunæ* in No. 178 ... 247

N.B.—Bābar's narrative ends with the Guālīār passage, Mems., p. 425. The 425 pages include 19 of Supplement (i.e. pp. 123 to 126, 236 to 245, 284 to 289), leaving a total of 406 pages of translation. At the most then, No. 178 contains the equivalent of 159 out of 406 pages of the Memoirs ($425 - 19 = 406$ translation pages of the Memoirs. $406 - 247 = 159$ Memoirs pages in No. 178).

If we refer No. 178 to Ilminski's imprint we find :

| | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>Lacuna</i> (a). | Ilminski, 111 to 276 | = 165 pages. |
| „ (b). | „ 306 „, 324 | = 18 „ |
| „ (c). | „ 374 „, 394 | = 20 „ |
| „ (d). | „ 403 „, 494 | = 91 „ |

Ilminski's pages lost by *lacunæ* in No. 178 ... 294

N.B.—Ilminski's 494 pages (to the Guālīār passage) are equal to 425 pages of the Memoirs.

At the most then, No. 178 contains the equivalent of 200 pages out of 494 of Ilminski's imprint ($494 - 294 = 200$).

There may be other gaps in No. 178. I have made no further examination.

Some marginal notes in the earliest pages, it is of interest to observe, do not seem to be emendations of mistakes but attempts to harmonize the text with some other. This may be a point of great interest in considering the history of the MSS. Words are struck out and others or phrases are substituted. This occurs certainly in some places where No. 178 is in accord with Ilminski; e.g. No. 178, f. 6a, has two lines marked with a marginal query and the word *rāq* erased. These lines are in accord with Ilminski, where the *rāq* occurs (p. 6).

It may be that No. 178 is a copy made for Dr. Leyden at the time when his interest was first drawn towards Bābar's book by acquaintance with the Mysore MS. Dr. Leyden obtained it, as may be inferred from the watermarks (1805) of the binding, before he became possessed of the Elphinstone MS., which was purchased in Peshāwar in 1808. The intimate relation subsisting between I.O. No. 178, and A.S.B. No. 121, is dwelt upon under the heading of the latter MS. (No. VII). Whether their common defects are due to the 'scamping' of their copyists or are reproductions from their source, I am unable to say.

No. 178 is annotated here and there by an English hand, in writing which, to the amateur eye, resembles Dr. Leyden's. The same may be said of those Turkī notes which I have conjectured attempt to harmonize the text with that of some other example.¹ Corrections of faults seem to be in another hand.

No. 178 does not appear to have had honour from Dr. Leyden. He did not translate from it. Nor, it may be added, did Mr. Erskine collate it with his translation or name it amongst MSS. which he used or knew. Having regard to his account of his work with Leyden's original (Elphinstone MS.), this seems to be an early disparagement of the copy.

It may be that the marginal notes, which appear to aim at producing agreement with some other text, are taken from the Elphinstone, one of the MSS. which most unfortunately I have been unable to trace.

Three facts, amongst others available, support the statement that Leyden did not translate from No. 178,—

(a) The broken passage about Bābar's flight from Akhsi (Mems., 122) is not in No. 178. It, together with the copyist's note quoted by Mr. Erskine and Dr. Leyden's own ejaculation, occurs in Leyden's MS. of his translation from the Turkī (cf. B.M. Add. 32,629-30).

¹ Specimens of Dr. Leyden's English and Arabic writing can be seen in his manuscript remains at the British Museum.

(b) No. 178 does not contain Humāyūn's notes; their place occurs on f. 176a, last line, and the passage (marked with asterisks by Ilminski) is absent.

(c) No. 178 ends with a passage corresponding to Mems., 353. Mr. Elphinstone's MS., which was used both by Leyden and by Erskine, ends on Mems., 389.

VII. *Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. D. No. 121 (Cat. 1890):*
"Tuzuk-i-bābari."

This MS. was formerly the property of the College of Fort William, and on this ground may earlier have been in Tipū's Ṣāhib's library.

Ignorance as to the details of the College library system forbids my knowing the import of the date given on a book-plate which, in this MS., is inscribed "C. of F. W., 1825." Many other MSS. formerly in the College and now in the India Office Library bear the same date. One has an interpolated "[1809]" before the 1825. This suggests that 1825 is not a date of acquisition, but of binding or cataloguing or inspection.

If it were a date of acquisition, the fact would make against the supposition that A.S.B. No. 121 came to the College from the Mysore library, because the great gift of the Mysore MSS. to the College was in 1800 (*circa*).

A consideration which predisposes against the conclusion that No. 121 was in the royal library at Seringapatam is its insignificance. All that has been said of I.O. No. 178 as an undistinguished MS. may be applied to this one. It has no mark of ownership earlier than the College stamp with date 1825.

It is closely related to I.O. No. 178.¹ Possibly they are parallel in descent, and possibly they are source and copy. In every point which I have examined they are identical. By rough computation, the volume of their

¹ This I have been able to ascertain by the courtesy of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who have sent it for me to the British Museum, through the kind intervention of Professor Robert K. Douglas.

contents is the same. Both have the error of transposing the poisoning of Bābar with the affair of Beg Mirak. Both have been much and carelessly corrected. In both are changes which take them out of verbal agreement with Ilminski. Neither has Humāyūn's note of Mems., 302-3. At the place of its possible occurrence (*circa* 339*b*; there is no paging) the two MSS. are identical, and the text runs on from "Raḥmat *piāda*" to the "Sun in Aries."

Unlike I.O. No. 178, A.S.B. No. 121 has a tailpiece. It is of no value unfortunately, being merely "*Tamām shud ain kitāb ba 'awan-i-mulku-l-wahhāb; tam-tam-tam.*" (These words occur also in No. XI, St. Petersburg University Library MS.)

If this were the Mysore *Tūzuk*, one would expect to find its satellite dictionary in the same library. This is not included in either of the A.S.B. Catalogues, at any rate under Stewart's designation of it—*Kitāb-i-ṣarfū nehv turkī*.

The size and character of A.S.B. No. 121 are those noted of Tipū's by Stewart.

This MS. is shown by the "No. 241" inscribed on a fly-leaf to be the example catalogued by Zuhūr 'Alī Barelawī in A.S.B. Cat. 1837.

VIII. Mysore MS. (Tipū's): "*Tūzuk-i-bābarī*."

This and No. VII may coincide. If they do not, I am unable to locate the Mysore MS.

The only places where I have seen it mentioned by name are Stewart's Catalogue of the Mysore MSS. (1808) and B.M. Add. 26,583. This latter is a volume of Dr. Leyden's own manuscript remains, the paper of which is water-marked "S. Wise & Patch, 1809." It contains a list of books which "formed part of the library of Tipṭu Sultān, and still [N.B., Dr. Leyden died 1811] remain in the College of Fort William, viz. exclusive of those taken to England by Marquis Wellesley and of the books presented by the prize agents to the Asiatic Society [1808]." In this list the *Tūzuk-i-bābarī* and its satellite dictionary are catalogued.

It is not altogether clear whether the MS. went from the College of Fort William to the Asiatic Society of Bengal or to the India Office. Inferentially the following two statements concern it, and would locate it in the library of the A.S.B. :

(1) Stewart (pref., i) writes : "Marquis Wellesley was pleased to order [*circa* 1800] that the Mysore MSS. should be transferred [i.e. from the E.I.C.] to Fort William and deposited in the College."

(2) In the Centenary Review of the A.S.B., Bābu Rajendra Lall Mitter writes (i, 25) : "On the abolition of the C. of F. W. the whole of its Sanscrit, Arabian, Persian, and Urdu works . . . were placed [1835] under the custody of the [A.S.B.] Society. . . . In 1846 . . . the books and MSS. became the property of the Society."

But there is evidence, as to the first of these statements, that *all* the Mysore MSS. did not go to the College of Fort William; and as to the second, that all which went to the College did not go on to the A.S.B.

This can be conveniently seen by consulting Dr. Loth's Arabic Catalogue of the India Office Library in connection with Stewart's Mysore Catalogue. If one takes (e.g.) Stewart's Arabic list (p. 31 ff.), one finds that of ten MSS. named, three went, not to the A.S.B., but to the India Office. (Loth, s.n. *Rauzatu-l-abrār*, *Muhudu-l-nabbī*, *Bohjatu-l-muhāfil*.) Dr. Loth notes them as "C. of F. W., 1825," and in the case of the first-named "C. of F. W., [1805] 1825." Another of the same set of ten is marked "[Tippu]," from which it would seem that it went neither to the College nor to the A.S.B. This is the *Mirātu-l-jinān* (Loth, No. 706).

Dr. Loth's Catalogue has other MSS. marked in both the above ways. It would therefore not be safe to accept either Stewart's or Rajendra Lall Mitter's statement without restriction.

If we now turn to what points to possession of the Mysore *Tūzūk* by the A.S.B., we find that an example of the

work is included as No. 241 in A.S.B. Cat., *Zuhūr 'Alī Barelawī*, Calcutta, 1837, 8vo, and again in A.S.B. Cat. 1890 (D. No. 121). In neither place is any description given. This example is our No. VII. As has been said, it bears no marks which may allow of its identification with Tipū's.¹

If now we turn to consider the possibility that the Mysore *Tūzuk* went to the India Office. It is not certain that it went to the A.S.B. The alternative location is the I.O. It is, however, not catalogued in this library.

It would be strange that the I.O. Library should acquire the reputation of possessing a fine *Tūzuk*, if it had never owned another example than Leyden's (No. 178). When Stewart catalogued Tipū's and had to get information as to what it was, from an Afghān trader, the rarity of the MS., taken with the almost certain absence of another copy for comparison, would explain an over-estimate by him of an inferior MS. (e.g. if A.S.B. No. 121 were Tipū's). But this would not account for the high repute in which Leyden's is held at the India Office. Can the past century, since 1811, have slipped by and left it unchallenged? The publication of the Memoirs aroused interest abroad and at home,—witness the works of Kaiser and Caldecott. Did Mr. Erskine never consult an I.O. copy, who knew well a good MS. (the Elphinstone), and was even in 1848 examining another?

There is a point in Dr. Ethé's Pers. Cat. which stirs hope that the I.O. may possess two *Tūzuk-i-bābarī*, and that one is good and the Mysore. The Turkī No. 178 (Bib. Leydeniana) is there said to be "complete." Of No. 180, an 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translation, Dr. Ethé says that it

¹ In considering questions of A.S.B. MSS. regard must be had to the great losses of which Bābu Rajendra Lall Mitter speaks as occurring from 1835 to 1884, and which exceeded 167 in Persian MSS. only. It is to be feared that losses continue. At the risk of being thought ungrateful for the kindness of the Society which has lent me two MSS., I cannot, when on the topic of losses, omit to say that both these MSS. brought to the British Museum a goodly company of book-worms, plump if sluggish. Both the books have newly cut incisions, the work of the worms. So much they gain by their European trip: they have been dealt with as mummies and quarantined in naphthaline. They will exist at least until their return to Calcutta. Everyone who has lived in Bengal knows the uphill fight for books. Should MSS. be allowed to remain in a climate which favours the book-worm and disfavors its pursuit?

corresponds with the Turkī text, and that both end with the Guālīār passage. The Turkī text he refers to cannot, as the Catalogue stands, but be the "complete" No. 178 (Bib. Leydeniana). This, however, does not contain the Guālīār passage.

Has there been a slip in the printing? Did Dr. Ethé describe two Turkī MSS., and have the two notices been disarranged and mutilated? Dr. Ethé compared Pers. No. 180 with a complete text (i.e. containing the Guālīār passage). He incidentally names Ilminski's imprint under No. 180, but if he had compared No. 180 with this, he could hardly have avoided reference to Ilminski's continuation—the "fragments"—and he would also certainly have compared the Bib. Leydeniana MS. with Ilminski's imprint before pronouncing it "complete."

A priori the double mistake in Dr. Ethé's catalogue seems more probably to have come in at the printing stage than at the time of his inspection of the MSS.

It is not practicable for me to judge (1) whether the A.S.B. No. 121 is Tipū's, or (2) whether Tipū's came to the I.O. or went to the A.S.B.? To decide this, more acquaintance with library annals and catalogues than is in my reach is needed. If evidence is forthcoming that the A.S.B. *Tūzuk* is really the Mysore, a part of what has been said here falls to the ground. It would be satisfactory to find that a more regal and worthy MS. had been Tipū Ṣāhib's, and that the I.O. and A.S.B. copies are (scamped) extracts from this.

IX. *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (Lord Crawford's).

This MS. was purchased in Paris at the sale of M. Alix Desgranges in 1865, and is now kept at Haigh Hall, Westmoreland. Its date is estimated in the Bib. Lind. Catalogue as *circa* 1780.

It is incomplete, ending with Mems., 75, where Qambar 'Alī asks leave to go to his country. It therefore stops far short of Humāyūn's notes, the first of which is on Mems., 302-3.

In the lower margin of the last page is a confused signature, of which so much is legible: *dastkhat Nūr Muḥ.* . . . *Abū'l-faẓl* . . . (?) *tamām*. This is written over what may be the catchword of the page next due.

X. *Hyderābād MS.*

Mr. Beveridge recently (February, 1900) saw this MS. in Hyderābād. It is a fine example, and owned by the family of Sir Salar Jung. I regret that the fuller information for which I hoped, has not reached me in time for insertion.

XI. *St. Petersburg University Library MS., No. 683: Bābarnāma.*

For most of the following particulars about this MS. I am indebted to Mr. C. Salemann, the director of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg.

Its former owner was Mīrzā Kāẓim Beg on whose death in 1871 it was purchased by the University. It was No. 193 in his collection catalogue, and is a comparatively modern transcript which Mr. Salemann thinks, on consideration of the handwriting, may have been made by Mullā Faiẓkhānov (فیض خان اوعلي). Its source is not known, but a marginal note on the last folio reads, اصل نسخه ده تمت سنه ۱۰۲۶ یازلمشدر i.e. the original of this copy was written in 1026 (A.D. 1617).

Comparison of the dates of transcription shows that it is not Kehr's source, but Mr. Salemann states that its text is "nearly the same" as Ilminski's. It and Kehr's may be copies of the same source.

It has no seals. It ends with the words which conclude the narrative of 935 H. (Ilminski, 494, l. 2). These are followed in the same line by تمت ال کتاب بعون الملك و سه شنبه . . . تابشوروب. Then, after a blank, the colophon runs: تمت فی سلخ شعبان سنه خمس و خمسين و مائت بعد الألف "Finished on the last day of Sha'bān in

the year 155 after the thousand (i.e. 1155 H., 1742 A.D.)." Kehr's transcript was made in 1737.

XII. *St. Petersburg Foreign Office MS., No. 360 (Cat. 1890):*
Bābarnāma.

This MS. was the sole source of Nicolai Ivanovitch Ilminski's imprint (Kazan, 1857).¹ It was transcribed in St. Petersburg in 1737, from an unnamed source, by Dr. George Jacob Kehr.

A few words as to the life of this German scholar are fitting in view of his important services to Bābariana. He was born on August 8, 1692, at Schleusingen, was educated at Hallé, and became in 1727 Professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Leipzig. His first book was published in the town of his birth when he was 19. Five of his works—all unrelated to the *Bābarnāma*—are catalogued by the B.M. and Bodleian Libraries. These were published in Leipzig from 1724 to 1730. One of them deals with Muḥammadan coins. In 1731 he was attached to the College of the St. Petersburg Foreign Office, and here, as he tells us himself, became Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Turkī. He was also entrusted with the task of elucidating the Muḥammadan coins of the Foreign Office.

Bernhard Dorn enumerates others of his works, of which one has the great interest of being a Latin translation of the *Bābarnāma*. Judging by Dorn's place and mode of entry, this seems to be an imprint in two quarto volumes. The MS. of this work is on the interleaves of Kehr's transcript of the *Bābarnāma*. Dr. Kehr's varied and laborious work marks him as a devotee of literature. He died in St. Petersburg, *circa* 1760.

Kehr's transcript being, comparatively, so ancient, the greater value attaches to his source. What this was, it is clear that Ilminski did not know; Kehr, he says, tells us nothing direct. All one learns of it, either from Kehr

¹ A translation of Professor Ilminski's preface is appended to this article.

or his editor, Ilminski, is that it contained so many folios, and that in the opinion of the latter it was written in Māvaran-negra (? Māvaru-n-nahr). Kehr's silence appears to point to the fact that the MS. from which he copied was well known and—of MSS. within his reach—unique.

It strikes one as singular that Ilminski should not have discovered and mentioned what was Kehr's source. One wonders the more at his silence on the point, because he regrets the defects in Kehr's MS. and is clear in his perception of the need of collation for production of a good text. There must have been difficulties in his way of which we are not informed. It should also be borne in mind that, in publishing his imprint, he did not aim at more than the production of a Chaghatai-Turkī textbook. His object was not primarily historical, but scholastic. This comes out clearly in his preface; so that, however much one may regret the limitations he has imposed on himself, one cannot blame him for keeping within them. Still, one regretfully wishes he had been more adventurous in his search for another MS. with which to collate Kehr's. Confessed failure to find one would have been more instructive than silence.

If, allowing a digression, we pass on from Kehr and Ilminski to the latter's translator, Pavet de Courteille, we are again confronted by a silence, and one still more remarkable, as to the source of the material worked upon. M. Pavet de Courteille relies implicitly on M. Nicolaï Ivanovitch Ilminski. He looks no further back than the printed *Bābarnāma* of 1857, and does not name the source even of this—i.e. Kehr's transcript. He does not appear to know that Ilminski expresses great obligation to Erskine's translation for the solution of difficulties and the filling up of *lacunæ*. It is therefore not without amusement that he is found in his preface underrating the direct Turkī element of the Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine) and highly estimating the purity of his own original—German-copied, Russian-edited, English-amended, and uncollated. While there is nothing in his own preface to indicate that he had

read the Russian preface of Ilminski, there is a good deal in the latter which leads to the supposition that he had not.¹

At the time when he undertook the monumental labour of copying the *Bābarnāma* and of translating it into Latin, Kehr was Professor in the College which now owns his transcript. As has been said, his Latin version is written on the interleaves of the Turkī MSS. Ilminski judges from it and from defects in the Turkī text that Kehr was not master of the Turkī tongue. He appreciates the patience and exceeding carefulness of the German scribe, and notes that on close examination every sign set down by him proved to have value. In worm-eaten passages the remnants of words were copied, and forms were traced where there had been failure to read sense. These difficult places were amended by Ilminski, with Erskine's help, and are indicated by him in his imprint.

The St. Petersburg Foreign Office Catalogue, for acquaintance with which in the B.M., I am indebted to Mr. A. G. Ellis, contains an interesting notice of Kehr's work on the *Bābarnāma*, from which the following passage may be quoted. The annotations of the patient scribe which it chronicles will say a good deal to those readers who are initiated in the same toilsome Way.

"Le professeur Kehr écrit de sa main en 1737 cet exemplaire, sur lequel a été faite l'édition de Kazan de 1857 entreprise par Nicolaï Ivanowitch Ilminski, et la traduction française, due à la plume de Pavet de Courteille. Gr. in folio, papier fort et blanc, très gros caractères nasta'liq; les lignes, d'inégale grandeur, sont tantôt plus, tantôt moins nombreuses à la page. De loin en loin, une note en Latin ou en allemand nous renseigne sur la marche du travail de Kehr (f. 370, r.): 'Huc usque scripsi ad vesperam d. 28 Martii, 1737' . . . 'd. 1 Aprili, 1737, Petropoli.' 'Bisher sind 17 Blätter vom dritten Zwölftheil'; enfin 'd. 27 Maji, 1737, Petropoli, huc usque scripsit Georgius

¹ Since writing this, I have seen some words of Professor F. Teufel which may indicate an opinion that Pavet de Courteille did not read, or at least assimilate, Ilminski's preface, since he says of some parts of this that Pavet de Courteille "hat [sie] nicht beachtet oder nicht bekannt" (D.M.G., vol. xxxvii, 142).

Jacobus Kehr, doctor philosophiæ et professor linguæ Arabicæ, Persicæ atque Turcicæ in Russo - Cæsareo Legationum Collegio.' ”

Again: “Hier endigt sich das achte Zwölftheil, folglich das zweite Drittheil von dem original Codice des *Bābar-nāma*; sind also von *den darinnen befindlich 420 Blättern* abcopirt 280. Restiren demnach noch 140 Blättern.”

Kehr's MS. opens with a pious invocation, which I have not found elsewhere, and has the distinction, rare amongst the Turkī texts, of carrying the narrative down to the Guālīār passage which ends the Persian translation (936 H.—1529 A.D., Mems., 425). The following table gives details which allow comparison on the point of completion with other Turkī texts. The standards used are the Memoirs and Ilminski's imprint.

| | MEMOIRS AND ILMINSKI. | LAST TOPIC. | LAST PAGE. | |
|-----------------|--|-------------------------|------------|------------------|
| | | | MEMS. | ILM. |
| 1. | Bābar's autograph MS. | Guālīār | 425 | 494 |
| 2. | Khawja Kilān's MS. | Not known to exist now. | | |
| 3. | (Humāyūn's transcript) | | | |
| 4. | Elphinstone MS. | Khaw. Obeidu-l-lāh | 389 | 448 |
| 5. | B.M. MS. (fragments only) | Rawal Udi Singh | 367 | 419 |
| 6. ¹ | I.O. Bib. Leydeniana MS. | Guns | 353 | 403 |
| 7. | A.S.B. MS. | Guns | 353 | 403 |
| 8. | Mysore MS. | (No information.) | | |
| 9. | Bib. Lindesiana MS. | Qambar 'Alī | 75 | 88 |
| 10. | Hyderabad MS. | (No information.) | | |
| 11. | St. Petersburg University MS. | Hasan 'Alī | 424 | 494 ² |
| 12. | St. Petersburg Foreign Office MS.
(exclusive of fragments) | Guālīār | 425 | 494 ² |

¹ This MS. is erroneously reputed to be complete, and is so catalogued. Cf. No. VI.

² Supplementary fragments extend to p. 506.

Besides giving us this valuable addition of Turkī text, which is equivalent to 54 pages of the Memoirs, the F.O. MS. has with it the interesting supplements which are well known through the French version. Ilminski regards at least one of these as indisputably authentic, viz. the plain tale of the battle of Khānwa. There is no inherent improbability of the authenticity of some other portions, which fill out or carry on Bābar's own narrative. They await the criticism and judgment of an expert.

It is clear that Kehr's MS. and its attached fragments are likely to yield valuable results. As yet they are practically uncriticized,¹ since uncollated.

Besides the *Bābarnāma* (Turkī and Latin) and the "fragments" above referred to, Kehr's great volume contains a second work. It is separated from the first by two blank pages, and is thus described in the F.O. Catalogue:—

"Un autre ouvrage chaghatai, incomplet d'après Ilminski dans la copie de Kehr, occupe les ff. 778–836. Une longue introduction vaute la haute mission qui incombe aux souverains terrestres, et particulièrement aux monarques musulmans (ff. 784b–787b), après quoi on lit de courts extraits de la biographie des princes Timurides qui ont régné sur l'Asie Centrale jusqu'à Humāyūn, sur lequel l'auteur s'arrête plus complaisamment. En voici la table des matières." The names which follow are (stripped of titles): Timūr, Shāhrukh, Ulugh Beg, Sa'īd (Kāshghari), Husain (Herāt), Ahmad (Mirzā), Maḥmūd (Mirzā), 'Umar Shaikh, Bābar, Humāyūn.

At this point the Foreign Office Catalogue has: "La date 1126 (1714) qui clot l'ouvrage est selon toute vraisemblance celle de l'original qui a servi à Kehr." Its position would seem to negative Ilminski's suggestion that it is the date of Kehr's source.

I have had occasion to collate somewhat in detail the

¹ Cf. Teufel, l.c., for philological criticism of the "fragments" and conjectural source.

French and English versions of the *Bābarnāma*. This, with some other convergent work, has made it seem to me possible that Kehr's original may claim descent from Bābar's earlier and less polished MS. This view rests, lightly and conjecturally only, upon the following considerations :—

(1) Some minor divergencies of statement (omissions, additions, variants), seem to indicate revision.

(2) Kehr's text includes an important passage about the adoption of Hindāl by Māham Begam, which is not in Erskine,¹ and therefore presumably not in the Elphinstone MS. As a record of domestic life and custom it is interesting, and it is, moreover, the only place where Bābar names Dildār, the mother of Hindāl, Gulrang, Gulchahru, and Gulbadan. Its intimate character, however, would lead to the expectation that it would be omitted rather than inserted on revision.²

(3) Neither of Humāyūn's notes is included (cf. Ilm., 340, 372).

(4) With Kehr's MS. is Bābar's plain tale of Khānwa. It may have formed part of another MS. It looks as though it were the original for which Bābar substituted Shaikh Zain's ornate *farmān* (Mems., 359). This *farmān* is in Kehr's MS.

A most interesting passage given by Kehr is that which P. de Courteille (II, 459) entitles "Dévouement de Bābar." It is followed by an account of Bābar's death; and of this Ilminski says that it differs from the *Bābarnāma* in diction and orthography, and is clearly the production of a person well acquainted with Bābar and his surroundings. He

¹ For a curiously contracted and, as it seems on examination of facts, erroneous parallel passage, cf. Mems., 350.

² Pavet de Courteille, II, 44-5. Bābar's mother is here spoken of in the French translation as alive and active in the episode of the adoption, i.e. in n. 925 (1519). Qutlūq-nigār Khānan died in 911 (1505-6). Ilminski's words which Pavet de Courteille transforms into "ma mère," i.e. Bābar's, are *hazrat wālida*. This is, I think, the counterpart of *sultān wālida*, the mother of the heir-apparent, here Māham. To Māham the context applies.

hazards the suggestion that it is taken from the introduction to the *Āin-i-akbarī*.¹

Another of the advantages afforded by Kehr's MS. is that it contains the conclusion of Bābar's adventurous flight from Akhsi (Mems., 122), a passage provokingly interrupted in the Persian translation. It was this rupture that prompted the double note (1) on the Elphinstone Turkī text by the copyist—"The remaining transactions of this year, 908 H., may God grant that they come to hand"; and (2) on Leyden's manuscript translation of the same text,—“In this I heartily join.” The St. Petersburg MS. fulfils the petition.

Before leaving this topic, it is useful to remember that although the Elphinstone MS. appears to be of early date, it was copied from another which was also incomplete, whether by reason of the loss of pages or of unfinished work. The fact is singular in view of the early date of the *lacuna* and the value of the MS. I have not yet examined earlier Persian texts on this point, and these may contain the passage wanting in No. 26,200.

¹ ? The *Akbarnāma*. In the *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne*, art. Bābar, M. Langlès writes: “Ces Commentaires, augmentés par Jahāngir, ont été traduits en persan par ‘Abdu-r-raḥīm.” Mr. Erskine (pref., ix), who had no acquaintance with the St. Petersburg MSS., expresses doubt as to the statement that Jahāngir added to the *Wāqī‘āt*. It may be that M. Langlès' statement is based on the St. Petersburg MSS., and that both scholars are right as far as each knew the MSS.

It is not groundless to conjecture that Sālim (Jahāngir) wrote the Kehr MS. fragment about his father's death, character, deeds, etc., under counsel of eye-witnesses. Sālim studied Turkī; ‘Abdu-r-raḥīm was his *atāiq*; Gulbadan Begum, whose interest in Sālim is historic, was alive after the presentation of the Persian translation to Akbar by ‘Abdu-r-raḥīm in 1586, and so too were other contemporaries of Bābar. Jahāngir (Sālim) says that he made additions to his father's book. Mr. Erskine emphatically states his opinion that as we have them, i.e. as he knew them, *excluding the St. Petersburg MSS.*, the Memoirs are as Bābar left them. This opinion does not touch the fragments which continue the narrative close down to Bābar's death.

The last fragment, which is by another hand (? Sālim's), (P. de C., II, 462), contains this passage: “Quand au livre appelé *Bābarīyah*, Mirzā Khān, fils de Bairām Khān, a été chargé de la traduire du turk en persan, pour en faciliter la lecture à ceux qui ignoreraient la première de ces deux langues.” Why was this irrelevant information about the Persian translation inserted? Is it a touch of local colour, as it well might be, if the fragment were Sālim's, and issued from the Turkī studies connected with his readings in Turkī and ‘Abdu-r-raḥīm's translation of the *Tizuk-i-bībar*?

XIII. *St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS., No. 590^{bba} :*
Bābarnāma of Senkovski.

For knowledge of the existence of this MS. and for the following particulars, I am indebted to Mr. C. Salemann.

This copy is known as the *Bābarnāma* of Senkovski, a designation drawn from its colophon, which reads: "N.B. J'ai achevé cette copie le 4 Mai, 1824, à St. Petersburg; elle a été faite d'après un exemplaire appartenant à Nazar Bay Turkestānī, négociant Boukhari, qui était venu cette année à St. Petersburg. J. Senkovski."

The MS. is incomplete, and ends on p. 183 with the words خلی یخشی طوی بولدی. Immediately follows the original colophon—

وقایع نامۀ پادشاهی موسوم | و مستی بولغای بید و نویش ملا
 عبد الوهاب | اخوند غجدوانی عفا الله تعالی عما غلطت [یده]
 | و قصر جدۀ سنۀ احدى و عشرين و مائة و الف | مطابق بارس
 ثلی رجب مرجب آیی نینک بیشی دا | دو شنبه کونی
 بخارای شریفدا | منسوخ بولدی | و تمام بولدی | الحمد | لله | م

This gives a new designation for Bābar's book, i.e. *Waqāyī'-nāma-i-pādshāhī*. From the emphatic *pādshāhī*, this title may indicate a distinguished source which seems likely to be the MS. belonging to the brother of the Amīr of Bukhārā (cf. No. XIV). Senkovski's original was, we learn from the above colophon, copied by Mullā 'Abdu-l-wahāb, *akhūnd*, Ghazdewānī, in Bukhārā, and finished on Tuesday, Rajab 5th, 1121 H. (1709 A.D.).

The MS. opens with a passage of which I have seen no other example:

بسم حق سبحانه عز و جل | حمد و سباس بی نهایت عالم نینک
 اول خداوندیغه و کاینات نینک پرورد کاریغه | بولسون کیم روی
 زمین نی ادمیلارغه میراث بویوروب و انینک اوستیدا کوناگون

ایل لار | و طایفه لار نی احداث وابداع قلیب استیفا' مراسم نسق
وعدالت و اداء لوarm [sic] لوازم [i.e. ضبط | و محافظت اوچون
سلاطین و ملوک نینک طبقاتی نی اول طایفه لار نینک اوستیکا
تیکیب | آلا ر نی اوزی نینک حمایت ورعایت شریفه سیدا
قویدی و اول مصطفی پیغمبرغه بی حد و بی | حساب ثنا
و ستایش بولسون کیم جهانی لارغه دین و شریعت بیریب الارنی
دوسرا نینک | افلاح و سعادت لاری غه مسأحق قیلدی امین
وصف ولایت فرغانه تنکری تعالی نینک | اله

It is of interest, as indicating Professor Ilminski's continued occupation with Bābar's text, to know that this MS. was sent to Kazan for his use, and was returned by him on March 12th (st.v.), 1885. Copied as it was from a MS. belonging to an inhabitant of Bukhārā, its penultimate source may be No. XIV.

XIV. *Bukhārā MS.*

Mr. C. Salemann informs me that his friends in Turkeṣtān say the Amīr's brother at Bukhārā possesses an old and very fine copy which he will not even show to Europeans.

XV. *Nazar Bay Turkeṣtānī MS.*

This is the MS. named as the source of the *Bābarnāma* of Senkovski (No. XIII).

APPENDIX.

APPROXIMATE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE OF THE *Bābarnāma*
OF N. T. ILMINSKI. (Kazan, 1857.)

The personality and deeds of the author of the *Bābarnāma*, Ṣahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar, as well as the importance of his book, have been made known in the learned article *s.v.* Bābar, of the "Encyclopædic Lexicon" (vol. iv). The work itself has been translated into English ("Memoirs of Bābar," Leyden & Erskine, 1826). It remains for me to give some information about my edition of the Chaghatāi text. My object in publishing it is to facilitate the study of the Chaghatāi dialect and of Turkī in general.

Chaghatāi, one of the numerous group of Northern Turkī or Tātār dialects, is the speech of those countries in which science and poetry flourished under Timūr and some of his cultivated descendants. Although in Māvaran-negra (? Māvaru-n-nahr), as in all Musalman lands, Arabic was exclusively the organ of learning, and although its poets liked to use the language of Sa'dī and Hafiz, they did not abandon their mother tongue. The greatest and most important monuments of Chaghatāi literature are the writings of Rubguzī, Mīr 'Alī Shīr, and Bābar, which belong to the ninth and tenth centuries of the Hījra. Foreign influence is clearly seen in them by the use of Arabic and Persian words and expressions, and not infrequently by the combination of sentences according to the Persian idiom, but, nevertheless, the structure of the sentence itself remains Tātār.

We may also conclude that Arabic and Persian had succeeded in influencing equally the conversational language of the more highly educated inhabitants of Mavran-nagra. No admixture, however, of other Turkī dialects can be traced in the above-mentioned writings.

Bābar remarks that the "common speech of Andijān is the same as the correct language of composition, so that the works of Mīr 'Alī Shīr, though he was born and flourished at Herī, are written in this dialect." [*Bābarnāma*, 3; Memoirs, L. & E., 2.] Bābar, writing without pretension to literary style and having

Mir 'Alī Shīr's works before him, has undoubtedly preserved his native Andījānī tongue in all its purity. The writings above-named afford the opportunity of studying Chaghatāī at its best period. Amongst them the *Bābarnāma* is pre-eminent: since it at once sets forth the author's personal impressions, is interpenetrated by his¹ character, and shows the natural force, precision, and flexibility of the language.

Chaghatāī, if it cannot serve as a basis for the investigation of other northern dialects, can at least afford important help towards forming conclusions as to the essential features of the original form of primitive Turkī. It was spoken in lands close to the cradle of the Turkī tribes, and the nomadic life in which Turkī thought and speech were born offered elements familiar and easy of comprehension to the townsfolk of Māvaran-nagra, who were in constant intercourse with the wandering tribes. Later on, the primitive faith underwent change (? by conversion to Islām) and science introduced new ideas, but, nevertheless, the persistent conditions were more favourable to the preservation of the primitive tongue than of any other Tātār dialect. Moreover, the Turkī authors named above are more than 300 years older than the Tātārs of to-day. It follows that we may with greater confidence look to the works of Rubguzī, Mir 'Alī Shīr, and Bābar for authentic features of primitive Turkī than to modern dialects, although these are more accessible to us. So far as can be judged by their transcription² (i.e. in Arabic character) the Chaghatāī sounds have retained their ancient guttural character and force, and Chaghatāī words form an obvious link between their corresponding words in modern Turkī and the primitive forms from which, by the action of phonetic laws, they have departed. In Chaghatāī the verbal forms are more numerous, more varied, and more comprehensive in meaning than in modern Turkī; and they reveal the origin of the altered forms existing in living dialects, and sometimes explain even their formative elements.

To serve as a trustworthy basis for the study of Chaghatāī, the *Bābarnāma* ought to be edited with the greatest accuracy from reliable and, as nearly as possible, contemporary MSS. written by native scribes. Unfortunately the Chaghatāī text is now forgotten

¹ Translation doubtful. I have brought it into agreement with the facts of Bābar's work.

² Perhaps "transliteration" is better. I am not sure whether the action is from spoken Chaghatāī to inscribed Arabic character or from sounds written down in the Chaghatāī character and transliterated to the Arabic.

in the very scene of Bābar's achievements; partly owing to the existence of the Persian translation, and partly because of the habitual indifference of Musalmans to works of secular history.

The sole source of my edition is a MS. which belongs to the School of Oriental Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (St. Petersburg), and which was transcribed by Professor Kehr in 1737. It is an enormous volume of 837 folios, interleaved for a Latin translation. The Chaghatāi text is written in a large, clear hand; the lines are far apart and of unequal length. Kehr gives no important information as to his source, saying merely that it contained 420 folios. At the end of his copy he has entered, in Arabic, the words "Finished in 1126 [A.D. 1714]." This is probably the date of his source.¹ From certain orthographical marks and signs which Kehr endeavours to reproduce, we are led to conclude that his original was written in Mavranagra.

If Kehr's MS. be collated with the English translation of the *Bābarnāma*, it is found defective in few points only. Of these the following may be named:—

(a) Kehr, 188. The Chaghatāi text is interrupted, and in its place is written, in the margin, an extract from the Persian translation, in which also several words are mutilated. I have restored this to its right place in the narrative, and have indicated the passage by asterisks. (*Bābarnāma*, 38–9.)

(b) In some places a few words and proper names are missing. Relying upon the English translation, I have indicated them by brackets.

(c) Kehr, 586–7. Here occur dotted spaces, which lead one to suppose that this passage was worm-eaten in the original MS. After comparing the remnants of words with the English translation, I have inserted conjectural readings and have indicated these by quotation marks. (*Bābarnāma*, 260–1.)

(d) Manifest omissions from Kehr's MS. (ff. 672b and 763b) are to be found at the end of his volume (ff. 809b and 813b).

On the other hand, Kehr's MS. makes important additions to the English version (cf. *Mems.*, 122, and *Bābarnāma*, 144–6; *Mems.*, 334, and *Bābarnāma*, 379–80):—

¹ Cf. No. 12, Foreign Office MS., where it will be seen that the application of this date to the *Bābarnāma* is of uncertain accuracy.

(1) The events of 908 H., which are broken off in the English version (Mems., 122) at their most interesting point, are completed here.

(2) A detailed account of the revenue of the Indian provinces is given, of which the English version names the total only.

The text of the *Bābarnāma* terminates on the last folio of Kehr's copy,¹ but ff. 764b and 809b contain some additions :—

(1) A detailed account of Bābar's battle with the Indian *rājas* (i.e. Rānā Sangā), a brief enumeration of subsequent events, and details of Bābar's last illness.

The last fragment, which begins abruptly, differs in style and orthography from the *Bābarnāma*. Moreover, the description of the battle with the *rājas* appears from some emphatic expressions to have been written by Bābar himself and given to the *munshi* Zainu-d-dīn, as the basis of his verbose *firmān*. It is impossible to refuse positively to regard this as authentic.

(2) Next comes a curious *addendum* about Bābar's death, his merits, writings, children, learned friends, etc., by an unknown writer, who was evidently intimately acquainted with Bābar and his surroundings. Possibly it is taken from the introduction to the *Āin-i-akbarī* of Abū'l-faẓl. Both these supplements are placed at the end of my edition.

Following the *Bābarnāma*² is a distinct and unfinished work—a brief review of the Timūr dynasty down to Humāyūn, about whom there are many details.

Kehr's determination to devote some months to the labour of copying the *Bābarnāma* is evidence that he esteemed it highly. His Latin translation shows that he was not fully master of Chaghatāi. There are indications throughout of scrupulous and laborious transcription. Where he failed to read or understand a word he was reduced to tracing, by guess, indistinct signs, and his pen, owing to his inexperience in writing Chaghatāi, of necessity made some lapses and omissions.

Faulty though it be as a MS., Kehr's copy can serve for an edition of the *Bābarnāma*. Exclusive reliance, however, must not

¹ This form of translation has been given to me by each of my several helpers. There is a mistake somewhere, since the statement is contradicted both by Ilminski's context and by Professor Smirnov's account of Kehr's MS. in the Catalogue of the Foreign Office Library. An appropriate reading would be "Kehr's transcript contains the last page of the *Bābarnāma*," i.e. the Gualīār passage.

² *Bābariana* would be more correct, since the fragments are also indicated.

be placed upon it, and other help must be had. For these reasons,¹ I have tried to purify the text of the *Bābarnāma* by eliminating, on examination, what seemed faulty in Kehr's transcript. For this purpose the MS. itself served me best, since, after careful scrutiny of every (doubtful) word and turn of expression, I concluded that their employment by Kehr had weight. Next, the English translation was of constant and valuable assistance. Lastly, help was found also in a Chaghatāi-Persian dictionary, published in Calcutta, and in the Chaghatāi-Turkī dictionary attached to the works of Mir 'Alī Shīr.

I cannot hide from myself that, these being the means at my disposal, it was not possible to make my edition wholly exact and accurate. To have done this it would be indispensable to collate several good Chaghatāi texts. Notwithstanding its defects, I venture to hope that it will prove of use to students of Chaghatāi and of general Turkī philology.

¹ Variant translation : "Such is the basis upon which I have tried," etc.

ART. XX.—*Addenda to the Series of Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli.* By H. NELSON-WRIGHT, I.C.S.

THE work of filling in the interstices left by Mr. Thomas in his Catalogue of Pathán Coins has of late made such steady progress, that the time would seem to have come to collect the scattered notices of new coins brought to light during the past twenty years, and to prepare a comprehensive catalogue of the coins of this period. Under present conditions the private collector, who desires to know how far his own coins add to the general knowledge, has to devote to his object an amount of research for which he is often little able to spare time, through journals and proceedings to which he possibly may not have easy access.

In order, however, that the catalogue suggested above may, when it is issued, be as complete as possible, the publication of the rarities in individual collections is an important preliminary, and partly with this idea and partly in the hope of encouraging other similar papers, I have written the present article. To my knowledge there are three private collections which contain a number of coins of the Pathán period not hitherto described.

To satisfy myself that the coins here given are unpublished, I have consulted the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay, and the Numismatic Society, together with the Catalogues of the British Museum, the Lahore Museum, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Mr. Rodgers's article on the Suri silver coins in the *Indian Antiquary* has also been examined.

The coins described are, with very few exceptions, from my own cabinet. By the kind permission of the British Museum authorities I have been able to add three coins

of Sher Shah, and I hope in a subsequent paper to notice some further Pathán coins in the Museum Collection which have been acquired since its catalogue was published, and which are new to Numismatics.

The coins have been weighed in the British Museum.

1. *Shamsh-ud-din Altamsh.*

Silver. Weight 155·2 grs. Mint ?

Date 62—. Pl. I, 1.

Obv.

السلطان الاعظم
شمش الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر ايلتتمش
سلطان نا(ل) صرامير
المومنين

Rev.

Area in circle.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين

Margin. عشرين وستماية

This coin is interesting as being the first of this weight, bearing the name of Al Násir la Din, the Khalif who reigned in Baghdad before Al Mustansir billah, and who died in A.H. 622. It may thus be assumed to be an earlier issue than the coin described by Mr. Thomas on p. 46 of the "Chronicles" as "the veritable commencement of the silver coinage of the Dehli Patháns." This coin came into my hands some years ago from Mr. C. S. Delmerick, of the Opium Department.

2. Mixed Metal. Weight 52·2 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 2.

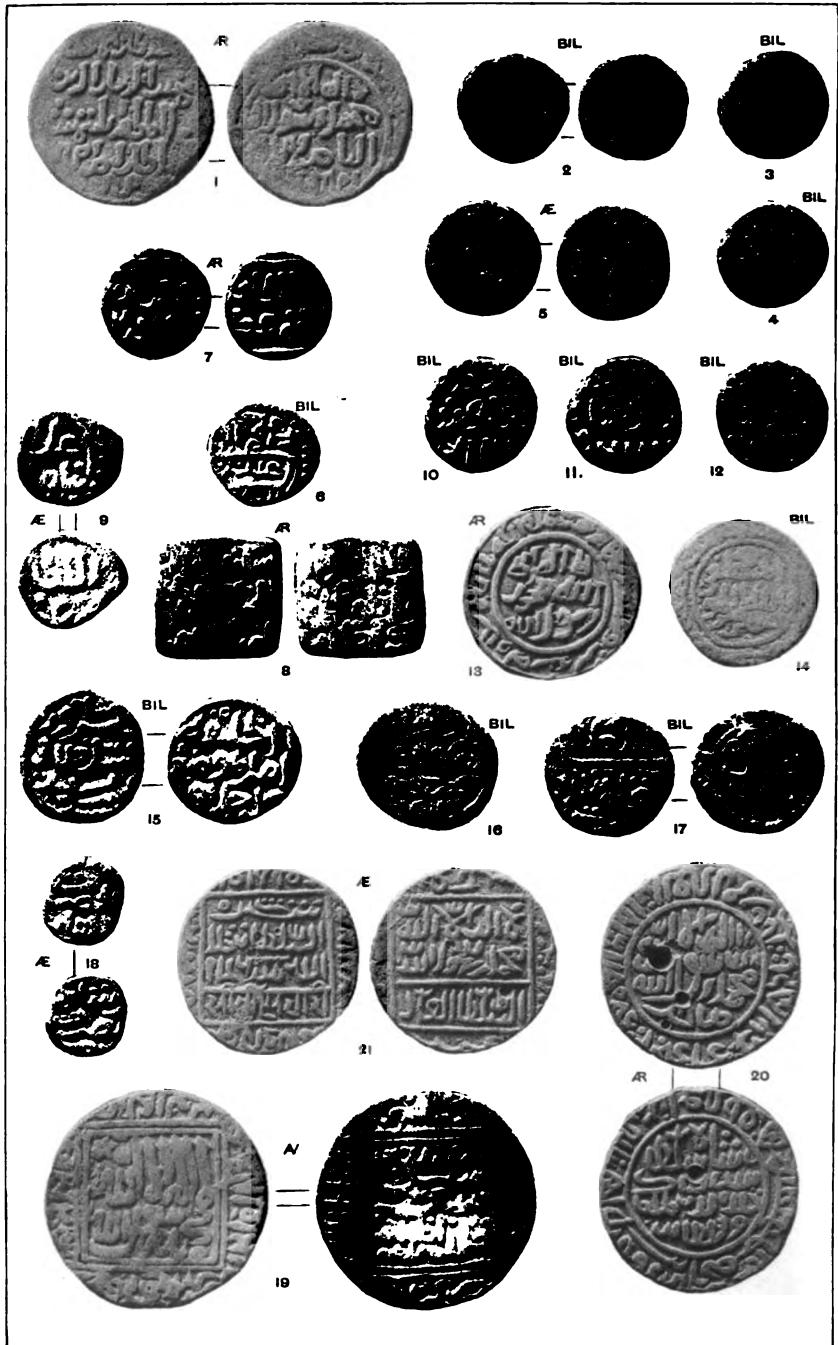
Obv.

In dotted circle.

.....
.. المعظ
.. ايلتتمه
.. السلطا

Rev.

Horseman to right.



PATHAN COINS.

The characters of the obverse and the outline of the horse are similar to those on the coin which is No. 5 on p. 15 of the "Chronicles." The coin is therefore probably of Sind mintage. The following three coins are unfigured varieties of the same king's issues:—

3. Mixed Metal. Weight 57·2 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 3.

Obv.

السلطان
عظم شمش
الدنيا والدين

Rev.

Debased horseman to right.

4. Mixed Metal. Weight 53·8 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 4.

Obv.

الدنيا
شمش
والدين التمش
.....

Rev.

Debased horseman (traces of).

5. Copper. Weight 53·5 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 5.

Obv.

السلطان
.....
الاعظ

Rev.

Horseman to right.

(Probably of Dehli mintage.) Cf. Thomas, pl. i, 9.

I ascribe this coin to Altamsh. I know of no duplicate.

6. *Ala-ud-din Khwarizm.*

Copper. Weight 50·5 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 6.

Obv.

[السلطان]
الاعظم
الفتح محمد
السلطان

Rev.

Kurman style of bull to left.
Above in Nagri, "Sri Muj."
On side of bull, عدل

Compare Thomas, No. 65 (p. 89). There are five coins in the Lahore Museum Catalogue (Nos. 36-40) which I take to be similar to mine. I see that Mr. C. J. Rodgers, who brought to light a great many varieties of Ala-ud-din's coins, has read the word on the body of the bull as غزنة, Ghazni. The coins have not, as far as I know, been figured, but, judging from my own coin, 'adl' seems to be the more probable reading.

7. *Muizz-ud-din Kaikubad.*

Silver. Weight 27·3 grs.

No mint or date. Pl. I, 7.

Obv.

معز الدنيا
والدين

In a square with two dots in
each segment.

Rev.

السلطان
الاعظم

In a square with two dots in
each segment.

This is, I believe, the only silver coin of this weight known to have been struck by the earlier Pathán Sultáns. Smaller pieces of slightly over 13 grains are known of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, and Jalal-ud-din Firoz. Further research will doubtless bring to light two-anna pieces of these sovereigns also. I obtained the coin described from Mr. C. S. Delmerick some years ago.

8. *Ala-ud-din Muhammad.*

Silver. Weight 161·3 grs. Size ·7.

Square. Mint? Date? Pl. I, 8.

Obv.

سكندر الشانى
يمين الخلافة ناصر
امير المومنين

Rev.

.....
علا الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر محمد شا
السلطان

Mr. Gibbs, in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1885, edited two gold square coins of similar legends to the above. I have a third, but I have not heard of any other square silver coin of Ala-ud-din.

9. Mixed Metal. Weight 26·5 grs.

Date 712. No mint.

Obv.

Parts of السلطان
عظم علا الد
نيا والدين

Rev.

Parts of ابو المظفر
محمد شاه
السلطان ٧١٢

10. Copper. Weight 21·7 grs. (a worn coin).

No date or mint.

Obv.

السلطان
عظم علا
.....

Rev.

In circle شاه
محمد
No trace of margin.

11. Copper. Weight 34·5 grs.

No date or mint.

Similar to No. 10 except in weight. A crudely executed coin.

12. Copper. Weight 21·5 gra.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 9.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|--------------------|
| In plain circle with an outer
circle of dots | In plain circle |
| علا الد
نيا والدين | السلطان
الا عظم |

These three varieties correspond in legend and design with the coins of higher weight given by Thomas as Nos. 135, 136, and 137 on p. 172 of the "Chronicles."

13. }
14. } *Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak I.*
15. }

Mixed Metal. Weight about 55 gra. Pl. I, 10, 11, 12.

These coins are varieties of Thomas, No. 163. They are published to illustrate peculiarities in the dies in use at the time. On one coin (No. 13) the date has been omitted. On the other two, by an inversion of figures, 721 is made to read as [7]16 and [2]17. The former appears to be similar to the coin noticed by Thomas in his footnote to p. 191. On p. 115 of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June, 1893, Dr. Hoernle, in describing a find of these coins, notices five coins bearing date 726 and three of 727, and remarks in connection with them that "the coins with the dates 726 and 727 are posthumous. Those of date 727 have not been found hitherto so far as I know." I suspect that on these coins only the last figure was legible. The coins now illustrated, however, show that the decimal figure is in both cases "1," and that the coins are not posthumous, but probably, as Mr. Thomas suggests, the work of an ignorant artificer. Similar coins exist in the British Museum.

16. *Muhammad bin Tughlak.*

Silver. Weight 169 grs.

Date 726. Mint, Dar-ul Islam (Dehli). Pl. I, 13.

Obv.

ابوبكر
المجاهد في
سبيل الله
محمد بن تغلق شاه

Rev.

Area. Kalima in circle.

Margin. ضرب هذه السكه
بدار الاسلام في سنة ست وعشرين
وسبعماية

This coin is similar to No. 184 in the "Chronicles," but the mint name was not there read. *Dar-ul Islam* is new in this variety. The British Museum possesses a duplicate.

17. Mixed Metal. Weight 125·5 grs.

Date 756. Mint? Pl. I, 14.

Obv.

الامام الاعظم
خليفه الله في
العالمين

Rev.

Area (in circle) المستكفي
بالله امير المو
منين

Margin

سال بر هفتصد خمسين وست

A coin similar to this was published by Thomas as No. 215 of the "Chronicles," but in the coin there figured the margin was illegible. This is the case with most coins of this type. The Khalif Al Mustakfi Billah ceased to reign in 740 A.H., but though news may well have travelled slowly in those days, coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak struck in the name of "Al Hakim Abu'l Abbas Ahmad," a son of Al Mustakfi, who succeeded to the Khalifate in 741 A.H., are known bearing dates from 748 A.H. onwards. The date 756 is therefore remarkable.

18. *Firoz Shah III.*

Mixed Metal. Weight 140·5 grs.

Date? Mint: The Plain of Sind. Pl. I, 15.

Obv.

فیروز شاہ
السلطانی
ضربت بساحت
سند

Rev.

الخليفة
امير المومنين
خلدت خلافته

If my reading is right (and it does not seem to admit of doubt) this coin probably marks the reduction of Tattah by Firoz Shah, or was struck during the sojourn of his army in the deserts of Sind prior to that event. This monarch made two expeditions to Sind, neither of which was very satisfactory in its results. The first was concluded by a retreat to Gujarat, while in his second attempt the Sultan got the better of his opponents by starving them into surrender, but only after considerable loss to his own army. A duplicate which I had of this coin is now in the British Museum. I know of no others.

19. Mixed Metal. Weight 134·1 grs.

Date 759. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 16.

Obv.

فیروز شاہ
سلطانی ضربت
بحضرت دہلی
۷۵۹

Rev.

الخليفة امير
المومنين خلدت
خلافته

The peculiarity of this coin is that the date is on the obverse instead of, as usual, on the reverse. In the British Museum Catalogue, No. 372, is a smaller coin of this type.

20. *Tughlak Shah II.*

Mixed Metal. Weight 72 grs.

Date 790? Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 17.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|-------------------|---|
| سلطان
تغلق شاه | In circle الله
عبد
ابو |
| | Margin خلدت [خلافته
بحضرت] دهلى ۷۹۰? |

I know of no duplicate of this variety, which seems to have been unknown to Mr. C. J. Rodgers.

21. *Abubakr Shah.*

Copper. Weight 162·6 grs.

Date 792. Mint?

| Obv. | Rev. |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ابوبكر شاه
ظفر ابن
فيروز شاه | المومنين
نائب امير
۷۹۲ |

In view of the existence of coins of Abubakr bearing the legends "Abubakr Shah Zafar Sultani," i.e. omitting the word 'ibn' before Zafar, I have classified this as a coin of Abubakr Shah. I am, however, doubtful whether it ought not to be ascribed to the son of that Sultan who appears to find no mention in history. In his fourth and sixth Supplements Mr. Rodgers describes coins—one of which bears considerable similarity to mine—which seem to prove the existence of a Firoz Shah, son of Abubakr. In the present coin the position of 'ibn' in the legend certainly points to the reading Firoz Shah Zafar bin Abubakr Shah. The legend on the reverse also reads from the bottom of the coin upwards. I know of no duplicate. It is unfortunately too imperfect a specimen to be figured.

22. *Nasrat Shah.*

Copper. Weight 34 grs.

Date 797. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 18.

Obv.

ساده
نصرت
۷۹۷

Rev.

بحضرت
دهلی

This is an unpublished type, and the smallest coin of Nasrat Shah so far known.

23. *Sher Shah Sur.*

Gold. Weight 166.9 grs.

Date 949. Mint, Shergarh. Pl. I, 19.

Obv.

Area. In double-lined square

شاه سلطان
شاه
املكه
خلد لله

Margins :

top فرید دنیا و
right الدین ابوالمظفر
bottom 949 ضرب شیرگره
left سیرساہی

Rev.

Area. In double-lined square
The Kalima.

Margins. The names and
titles of the four companions.

This coin is in the British Museum Collection, and was obtained from General Cunningham. There are many forgeries of the gold coins of Sher Shah. Genuine ones are very rare, but this coin appears to me above suspicion. Its legends are similar to those on the silver coin of the same mint described as No. 346 in the "Chronicles."

24. Silver. Weight 170·9 grs.

Date 951. Mint: Fatehabad, Faridpur. Pl. I, 20.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|--|
| Area in circle
شاه سلطا
شیرن
خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه | Area in circle. The Kalima,
below which is a word which
I cannot read. |
| Margin
فريد الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر
فخا باد سنه
٩٥١ | Margin
ابابكر عمر عثمان على
السلطان العادل
ضرب ٩٥١ |

The reading of this coin presents considerable difficulty. I have been able to compare it with another coin struck at Fatehabad by an independent Bengal sultan, and I am satisfied that the word between the date and the Nágri characters on the obverse must be taken as the mint name and read as Fatehabad. At the same time, the presence of the word ضرب (or what looks very like it) on the reverse margin, followed by words which I have tried in vain to decipher, admits an element of doubt in my reading.

The characters are crude, as frequently found in Bengal-struck coins. There is an uncatalogued duplicate of this coin in the British Museum. I know of no others.

24a. Silver. Weight 174 grs.

Date 946. Mint: Fatehabad, Faridpur. Pl. I, 21.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|--|
| Area in square
شیر شاه
السلطان خلد
الله ملكه ٩٤٦
سلسلسر ساهي | Area in square
above The Kalima
below السلطان العادل |
| Margins.
right فريد الدنيا
top ابوالمظفر
left والدين
bottom فخا باد | Margins.
right عثمان
top ابو بكر
left على
bottom عمر |

This coin has been figured by Dr. Hoernle in the J.A.S.B., 1890, to illustrate the reduplication of "Sri" in the Nagri. The mint, however, was not there read. It will be seen that the method of writing the mint name compares closely with that adopted in the coin described above (No. 27). In this case also the ill-formed characters stamp the coin as of Bengal origin.

25. Silver. Weight 171·6 grs. Pl. II, 22.

Date 949. Mint: Hazrat Rasulpur urf Patna ?

Obv.
Area in square
السلطان
شير شاه
محمد الله ملكه
श्रीशिरसाह
Margins.
left الموم (!) المظفر فريد
top الدنيا والدين
right ۹۴۹
bottom حضرت رسول پور عرف
پتنه ?

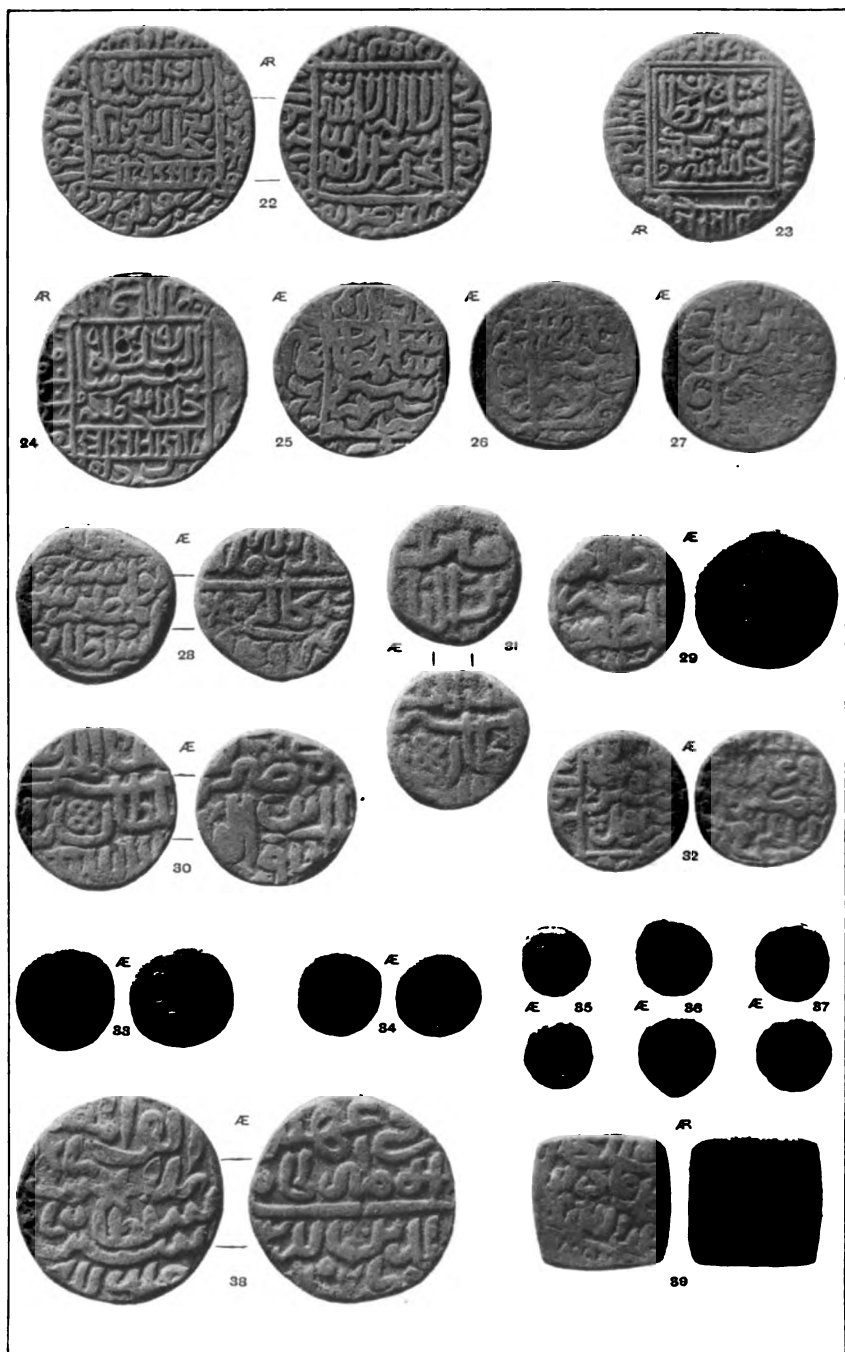
Rev.
Area in square
The Kalima
Margins. The names and
titles of the four companions.

The above reading of the mint names is professedly tentative. I can think of no better. Patna was considerably enlarged by Sher Shah and a fort was built there by him. It was also an important mint town in Akbar's reign. I cannot, however, find that it received the name of Hazrat Rasulpur. The coin is, I believe, unique. I figure it in the hope that some collector may possess a duplicate which will aid to a more correct identification. I obtained the coin at Shahjahanpur in the N.W.P. about four years ago.

26. Silver. Weight 160 grs.

Date 948. Mint, Shergarh. Pl. II, 23.

This coin is a variety of No. 346 in the "Chronicles," the legends of which are given above (see No. 23). The



PATHAN COINS.

difference lies in the fact that the date and mint are in the right margin, and the Nágri in the lower one. This coin belongs to the British Museum.

Mr. Thomas identifies this mint with Rohtás in Bengal, the fortress which Sher Shah took from its Hindu Raja by stratagem. I think it is more likely to be the fort of Rohtás, near Jhelum, which, we are told by the author of the *Tárikh-i-Sher Shahi*, was built by Sher Shah "on the road to Khurásán to hold in check Kashmir and the country of the Ghakkars," and which he called Little Rohtás (*vide* Elliot's *History of India*, vol. iv, p. 419). The perfection of the die points to the coin being struck in the Punjab rather than in Bengal. It is worthy of notice, too, that where the title Shergarh was affixed to a town already in being, the older name is given on the coins as an *alias*: cf. Shergarh urf Kanauj, Shergarh urf Shakk-i-Bhakkar, and Shergarh urf Dehli. It seems probable, therefore, that the Shergarh where this coin was struck was a new town built by Sher Shah.

27. Silver. Weight 174·8 gra.

Date 949. Mint: Shergarh, *alias* Hazrat Dehli. Pl. II, 24.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|---|
| Area in square. The usual legend (see No. 25, ante). Date at top. | Area in square
The Kalima. |
| Margins. | Margins. Names and titles of the four companions. |
| left أبو المظفر فرید
top الدنيا والدين
right ضرب شیرگزہ عرف
bottom حضرت دهلی | |

This coin has been figured by Thomas as No. 344 in the "Chronicles." He there calls it "unique"; though not that, it is very rare. I publish it here partly to supplement Thomas's reading, which ignored the right marginal legend, partly to confirm my remarks on the three dāms of Shergarh, Nos. 28, 29, 30, given below.

31. Copper. Weight 157·7 grs.

Date 950. Mint : Shergarh, *alias* Dehli.

The legends are the same as those given above on the *dáms*. A half-*dám* of this mint has not, I think, been previously figured.

32. Copper. Weight 314·2 grs.

Date 949. Mint Kalpi. Pl. II, 28.

Obv.

السلطان العادل
ابو شير شا
المظفر
سلطان

Rev.

خلد الله ملكه
ب كالبه *
ضر
٩٤٩

This type is not included in Dr. Hoernle's article, and has never been figured so far as I am aware. The coins of similar legends in the Lahore and Calcutta Museums appear to be without the distinctive mint mark—a six-rayed star—present on this coin.

33. Copper. Weight 148·5 grs.

Date? Mint, Kalpi. Pl. II, 29.

The legends are similar to those on No. 32. The mint mark is, however, different. A *dám* of this type was published by Dr. Hoernle in the J.A.S.B., 1890. I know of no other half-*dám*.

34. Copper. Weight 321·3 grs.

Date 951? Mint? Pl. II, 30.

Obv.

ابو المظفر
شاهر
سلطان
خلد الله ملكه

Rev.

في عهد
الامير الحامى
الدين الدنان
٩٥١

35. Copper. Weight 160 grs.

Date? Mint? Pl. II, 31.

Legends as on No. 34. Nos. 34 and 35 are a new variety of dām and half-dām of Sher Shah, not given by Dr. Hoernle.

36. Copper. Weight 153·1 grs.

Date 951. Mint, Sambhal. Pl. II, 32.

A half-dām, with the same legends as are usual on coins of this type. A dām of this mint was published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in his Second Supplement, J.A.S.B., 1880. This coin is in the British Museum.

37. Copper. Weight 39·5 grs.

Date 947. Mint? Pl. II, 33.

Obv.

سلطان ؟
شیر [ساده]
العادل
۹۴۷

Rev.

زینا
خليفة

One-eighth of a dām. A new type. The British Museum has a duplicate not catalogued.

38. Copper. Weight 29·5 grs.

No mint or date. Pl. II, 34.

Obv.

شاه
شیر
سلطان

Rev.

خليفة
الزمان

Probably one-tenth of a dām. The coin is worn. Mr. Rodgers published a coin similar in design, but weighing 63 grs., in his sixth Supplement, J.A.S.B., 1896. That must have been a fifth of a dām. I do not see how it can be called a quarter of a dām. In the same paper he gave another, probably a tenth of a dām, weighing 33 grs. The British Museum also have a coin weighing 31·4 grs.

39. Copper. Weight 21·4 grs.

Date 946. Mint ? Pl. II, 35.

Obv.

شیر
السلطان

Rev.

.....
الزمان
٩٤٦

A sixteenth of a dām. Coins of this weight are very rare. Mr. Rodgers noticed one in the J.A.S.B., 1896. I publish this to complete the set.

40. Copper. Weight 13 grs.

Date 94-. Mint ? Pl. II, 36.

Obv.

شاه
السلطان

Rev.

زمان
٩٤٠

Probably a twentieth of a dām, the full weight of which should be about 16 grs. The smallest coin hitherto published of this Sultan weighed 18 grs.

41. Copper. Weight 11·5 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. II, 37.

Obv.

شاه
[السلطان]

Rev.

[زمان]
خليفة

I believe this to be a coin of Sher Shah. If it is, it may be meant for a thirty-second part of a dām, and is probably the smallest coin that Sher Shah struck. The above set of five coins is remarkable as showing what minute fractions were provided for in the copper coinage of this Sultan.

42. *Islam Shah Sur.*

Copper. Weight 460·6 grs.

Date 960. Mint, Shahgarh ? Pl. II, 38.

Obv.

ابوالمظفر
اسلام شاه
سلطان
شير شاه
خلد الله

Rev.

في عهد
الامير الحامض
لدين الدنان
شاه ٩٦٠
[گره]

No other coin of this weight is known, as far as I am aware, among the issues of the Pathán Sultans. It foreshadows the heavy tankas of Akbar. The locality of Shahgarh is doubtful.

43. *Muhammad Adil Sur.*

Silver. Weight 168·1 grs. Square.

Date 96-. Mint ? Pl. II, 39.

Obv.

Area in square

شاه سلطان
محمد عادل
خلد الله ملكه
سليم محمد

Margins cut away.

Rev.

Area in square

The Kalima.

Margins cut away.

No square coin of this Sultan has been published. A similar, but I believe heavier, coin than mine was obtained by Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., shortly before I came across this one in the Cawnpore bazar. Square coins of Sher Shah and Islam Shah are known in gold, and the British Museum has a square silver coin of Sher Shah, which was figured

by Mr. Rodgers in the J.A.S.B., 1894. It is possible that Akbar took his idea of square rupees from the Suris, just as he continued in his copper coinage the system inaugurated by Sher Shah.

NOTE.—Since this paper went to press I have had an opportunity of seeing the Bodleian coin collection at Oxford. I found that it possessed specimens of the two coins described above as No. 1 and No. 8.

ART. XXI.—*On the Languages spoken beyond the North-Western Frontier of India.* With a map. By
GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.

BETWEEN the north-west frontier of our Indian Empire and the Pāmirs there is a tract of mountainous country inhabited by many different nationalities, speaking many different tongues. The Pāmirs themselves are a polyglot region. Taking Zēbāk, for instance, the district round it is the home of no less than four distinct speeches—one West-Iranian, Persian, and three East-Iranian, Wakhī, Shighnī, and Ishkāshamī. These last belong to the same Aryan group as Pakshtō. To the south-east of the Pāmirs we come to the Burushaskī spoken in Hunza and Nagar, a language of Scythian stock, whose immediate affinities have not yet been identified. South-east, again, of the Burushaskī area we come to Bāltistān, where another Scythian language, the Tibeto-Burman Bāltī, is the vernacular. In the valley of Kāshmir, there is Kāshmirī, and in the lower reaches of the Jhelum and in the Murree Hills, Chhibhālī, both of which are Indo-Aryan, and can be traced up to ancient Sanskrit. West of the Chhibhālī tract lies the British district of Hazara, of which the principal language is a form of Western Panjābī. Crossing the Indus we come to the Northern Pakhtō dialect of Pakshtō spoken in Peshawar, Śwāt, and Bajaur. West of Bajaur, beyond the Kunar River, we come to Laghmān. North of Laghmān lies Kāfiristān, through which we again reach the Pāmirs.

We have now described a circle, and it remains to consider the interior portion of this tract. It consists of a number of river systems. The first is the Gilgit Valley, leading

into the Indus shortly after the latter debouches from Bāltistān. Lower down, the Tāngīr and the Kāndiā fall into the Indus, which has hitherto been flowing westwards, but takes a southerly course after its junction with the latter river. The language of the Gilgit Valley, and of the Indus Valley from Bāltistān to the Tāngīr, is Shinā in various dialects. This form of speech also extends to the south-east of the last-named river, and occupies a large block of mountain country between Bāltistān and the valley of Kāshmīr.

From its junction with the Kāndiā to its entry into British territory, the Indus runs in a southerly direction through groups of hills, known collectively as the Indus Kōhistān, and inhabited by a number of wild tribes who all speak varieties of a language of Indo-Aryan origin, which, like Chhibhālī, can be traced to ancient Sanskrit, and which is called Indus-Kōhistānī or Maiyā.¹ Colonel Biddulph has given us vocabularies of two of these dialects under the name of Gowro and Chiliss. The Linguistic Survey of India, on which I am at present engaged, gives further details, including a brief grammar and specimens.

To the west of the Indus-Kōhistān lie, in order, the valleys of the Śwāt, the Panjkōrā, and the Kunar. Those of the first two are known as the Śwāt- and Panjkōrā-Kōhistāns respectively. Here the language of the bulk of the people was formerly an Indian one, allied to Indus-Kōhistānī, but is now, owing to Pathān domination, almost invariably Pakshtō. Only a faithful few still cling to their ancient language, though they have abandoned their Aryan religion, and the dialects which they speak are called Gārwi and Tōrwālī. These three, Indus-Kōhistānī, Gārwi, and Tōrwālī, together form one well-defined group of languages, Indo-Aryan in origin, and evidently descended from ancient Sanskrit. They form a connecting link in the chain of North-Western Indo-Aryan languages, commencing with Sindhī, and passing *via* Western Panjābī, through them, into Chhibhālī and

¹ The sign ~ over a vowel indicates a nasal pronunciation.

Kāshmirī. The Survey has made available grammars, vocabularies, and specimens of all of them. In this part of the country, Pakshtō itself hardly gets further west than the hills forming the eastern side of the Kunar Valley. Nowhere does it cross that river.

North of the Ṣwāt and Panjkōrā Valleys we find the country of Chitral, lying on both sides of the Kunar River, which is here known as the Qāshqār, Chitrār, or (to Europeans) Chitral. The main speech of this country is called Chitrārī, or Khō-wār, and is spoken as far east as Yāsin, where it marches with Burushaskī and Shīnā. Khō-wār is evidently related to the latter language. They form a pair belonging to the Irano-Indian stock, and to the Indian branch of that family. They are hence to be classed as Indo-Aryan. This is at once established by a consideration of their phonetic systems, but their grammars present certain peculiarities which will be alluded to shortly.

The two main affluents of the Chitral-Kunar River are the Bashgal and the Waigal, both of which join it on the west after passing through the hill country of Kāfiristān. The first-named is the most northern, and takes its rise in the southern face of the Hindū Kush. It joins the Chitral near the village of Narsāt. The Waigal, after itself receiving the waters of the Wēzgal, falls into the Chitral some way below Asmār. It is formed in the interior of Kāfiristān. The Valley of the Bashgal is the home of the Bashgalī language, which is the speech of the Siāb-pūsh Kāfirs generally. A vocabulary and a few grammatical forms have been published by Colonel Biddulph, and a formal grammar by Colonel Davidson is now, I believe, in the press. East of the Bashgal Valley, Wasī-veri, another Kāfir language, is spoken in the Wēzgal Valley. A grammatical sketch, specimens, and a vocabulary of this will be published by the Linguistic Survey. It is evidently distantly related to Bashgalī, and, like the remaining Kāfir languages, is spoken by the Sufid-pūsh Kāfirs. These remaining ones are Ashkun, spoken in the heart of the Kāfir country, and Wai, the language of the Waigal Valley. Regarding

Ashkun, no information of any kind is as yet available. All the efforts of my kind friends in Chitral and the Khaibar Pass have been unavailing. For Wai, we have some vocabularies of doubtful authority. This exhausts the list of the known languages of Kāfiristān. The two about which we have any certain knowledge, Bashgalī and Wasī-veri, are, like Khō-wār and Shīnā, certainly Indo-Aryan in their phonetic systems, but, also like them, possess grammars which present difficulties to the student.

We know that in prehistoric times the Aryan, or Irano-Indian, language split up into two, an Iranian and an Indian. We know also that the Iranian again split up into two branches, a Western and an Eastern. The modern representative of Western Iranian is Persian, and the most important one of Eastern Iranian is Pakshtō. The modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars are the present-day representatives of the Indian branch. These three branches are recognizable by well-defined phonetic laws. A convenient shibboleth is the Persian *dasht*, 'a hand,' which corresponds to the Pakshtō *lās* and the Indian *hāth* or *hast*. These four languages—Wasī-veri, Bashgalī, Khō-wār, and Shīnā—agree in following the Indian phonetic system, but in some grammatical particulars they show remarkable points of agreement with the Eastern Iranian tongues. The modern Indo-Aryan languages can all be traced back to the ancient Sanskrit spoken in Vedic times. This is true both of their phonetic systems and of their grammars, but by no course of derivation with which I am at present acquainted can I recognize the Sanskrit originals of some of the grammatical forms presented by these four. This may be my fault; it very possibly is so, for we lack the connecting link between them and the ancient language from which they are derived, which we possess in the Prakrits for the vernaculars of India. If we had such a link, i.e. specimens of the mediaeval language spoken below the Hindū Kush, the affiliation of the four with Sanskrit might be easy, but till this is the case, the most that we can say is that while their phonetic system is the same as

that of the Sanskrit-derived languages spoken further south, we are unable to say positively that they are derived from the Sanskrit with which we are acquainted. Judging from the well-ascertained facts regarding the origin of the modern true Indian languages, we may argue from analogy and say that it is probable that the four *were* derived from Sanskrit, but how they were derived, and by what stages, we are not at present able to say. This fact, together with the remarkable circumstance that some of their grammatical forms agree with those of the Eastern Iranian languages, has led certain scholars to suggest, with at least equal probability, that while the four are undoubtedly Indian, they are not necessarily Sanskritic, but are descended from a mother-dialect closely akin to Sanskrit, of which, possibly, ancient Sanskrit was a further developed form. This mother-dialect was, so to speak, left behind below the Hindū Kush, while the bulk of its speakers went on into India, and there founded the Indo-Aryan civilization, and the Indo-Aryan speech.¹ While it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to prove this contention, it can at least be said to be not impossible, and to explain some difficult points. If it is true, then the four languages represent a stage of the Indian branch of the Aryan family older than Sanskrit, a stage which had already developed all the phonetic system of that branch, but which still retained some linguistic connection with its Iranian sisters on the other side of the Hindū Kush. It only remains to state that there is no sudden change between these languages and the definitely Indian ones of the North Panjab. The two sets merge into each other by stages. The first stage consists of the Kalāshā, Gawar-bati, and Pashai languages, about which I am now going to speak, which are *almost* certainly Sanskritic, yet still show remarkable points of contact with

¹ An interesting point of agreement between these four languages and the Eastern Iranian ones is the infinitive in *k*. Thus, with the Eastern Iranian Wakhi of the Pāmirs, *chilgāk*, 'to desire,' and the Ormūri of Wazīrīstān, *ghōik*, 'to say,' compare the Wasī-veri *perum-tinik*, 'to beat,' the Khō-wār *bik*, and the Shinā *bōki*, 'to become,' and, finally, among languages to be dealt with later on, the Kalāshā *hik*, and the Gawar-bati and Pashai *bik*, 'to be.'

Khō-wār ; and the second of the Kōhistān languages already described, which are *quite* certainly of Sanskrit origin. This points us to a state of affairs in the olden time which is just what might have been expected, viz. the old parent language of the four gradually merging into its sister, the Sanskrit of the north-west of the Panjab, by insensible gradations, and not separated from it by any hard and fast lines.

The Kalāshā Kāfirs dwell in the *dōāb* between the Chitral and Bashgal Rivers. They have a language of their own, which is called by their tribal name. Dr. Leitner gave some information about it many years ago, which has now been supplemented by the Survey. Lower down the Chitral, at the junction with the Bashgal, in and about the country of Narsāt, dwell the Gawars, who also have a language of their own known as Gavar-bati, or Gavar-speech, of which a vocabulary was given by Colonel Biddulph under the name of Narisati. Still lower down, on the right bank of the Chitral, which has now become the Kunar, dwell the Pashais, who also have a language of their own. Pashai is spoken as far west as Laghmān, and extends as far north as the Waigal Valley, though whether it is the same as the Wai Kāfir already alluded to I have not yet been able to determine satisfactorily. At any rate, it is by far the most western outpost of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is an island of Indian speech in the heart of Afghanistan, and is bounded on the north by the Kāfir dialects and on the other three sides by Pakstō. These three languages, Kalāshā, Gavar-bati, and Pashai, are all very closely connected. They are certainly Indo-Aryan, and nearly certainly Sanskritic, though it must be pointed out that they possess some of the typical grammatical peculiarities of the four languages with which we have just been dealing.¹ Kalāshā, whose habitat is close to that of Khō-wār, possesses most points of continuity with that language, and forms a bridge between it and the other two, which in their turn

¹ For instance, the infinitive in *k* to which attention was called in the last footnote.

bridge over the gap between Kalāshā and the undoubted Sanskritic languages of the Panjkōrā, Śwāt, and Indus Kōhistāns.

To complete this list of languages spoken on the north-west frontier, wandering shepherds, known as Gūjars, inhabit the country between the Kunar and the eastern border of Kāshmir, and perhaps still further to the east. These have a language of their own—a purely Sanskritic one—which, curiously enough, is nearly the same as the Mēwārī spoken in distant Rajputana, and is closely allied to Gujarātī.

Full descriptions of Kalāshā and Gawar-bati appeared in the papers which I had the honour of presenting to the last Oriental Congress. Since then, through the kindness of Mr. J. G. Lorimer, I.C.S., Political Officer of the Khaibar, I have received complete specimens of Pashai, and, as this language has hitherto been almost unknown, the following further particulars concerning it will be of interest. The only information which up to the present time has been available has been a short list of 'Pushye'¹ words by Burnes, and two brief vocabularies, one of Laghmānī and one of Pashai by Leech. Leech was under the impression that these two were distinct languages, but really the names only connote two dialects of the same form of speech.

Pashai, properly speaking, is the name of the language spoken by the Dēhgāns of Laghmān and the country to the east of it. It is also called Laghmānī from the tract in which it is spoken, and Dēhgānī, because most of its speakers belong to the Dēhgān tribe. The boundaries of the language are said to be, roughly, on the west the Laghmān River, on the north the boundary of the Kāfirs, on the east the Kunar River, and on the south the Kābul River, but the riverain villages on the left bank of the Kābul speak Pakshtō, not Pashai. A certain number of Pakshtō-speaking communities are also found interspersed

¹ The only importance of this list is that the spelling of the name misled Lassen, who put it down, on Burnes' authority, as a distinct language. I owe this piece of information to the kindness of Dr. Kuhn.

LIST OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN BEYOND THE NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA,
EXPLANATORY OF THE ACCOMPANYING MAP.

| FAMILY. | GROUP. | LANGUAGE. | DIALECT. | WHERE SPOKEN. |
|------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Seythian | ? | Burghaski,
Khejunā, or Kunjūū | Standard
Wāshikwār | Hunza and Nagar. |
| " | Tibeto-Burman | Tibetan | Bākū | Yāsin and neighbourhood. |
| Iranian | Western | Persian | Badakhshī | Bālistān. |
| " | Eastern | Wakhi | Standard | Badakhshān. |
| " | (Ghalchah sub-group) | Shighni or Khugni | " | Wakhan, and near Zebak. |
| " | " | Sariq-qoli | " | Shighnan, Roshan, Gharan, and near Zebak. |
| " | " | Ishkashami, Zebaki, or
Sangichi | " | Taghdumbash Pāmir and Sarikol. |
| " | " | Munjani or Mungī | " | Ishkasham, Zebak, and valleys of the Dōrah and
Nugsan Passes. |
| " | " | " | Yūdghā or Leoṭkuh-
i-wār | Munjan. |
| " | Eastern | Pakhtō | Northern or Pakhtō | Upper part of the Lutkho Valley, south of the Hindū
Kush. |
| Indo-Aryan | Shina-Khōwār | Shinā | North-Western
Gilgitī | Swāt, Dir, and Bajaur. Parts of Hazara, Peshawar,
and the country to the west. As a <i>lingua franca</i> , up
the Indus Valley for a considerable distance. |
| " | " | " | Astōrī | North-west of Gilgit. |
| " | " | " | Brōkpā of Dāh-Hanū | Gilgit Valley. |
| " | " | " | Chilāsī | Astōr Valley. |
| " | " | " | Standard | On Indus, near Bālistān, and Ladakh Frontier. |
| " | " | Khō-wār, Arniyā, or
Chitrāri | | Indus Valley from near Astōr to Tūngir and Sazin.
Chitral and part of Yāsin. |

| Indo-Aryan | Kāṣṭh | Bashgali | Standard | |
|------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|--|
| " | " | Wasī-veri or Veron | " | North Kāfiristān, especially the Bashgal Valley. |
| " | " | Wai-gali or Wai | " | Spoken by the Prēnun Kāfirs. |
| " | " | Ashkun | " | The valley of the Waigal. |
| | | | | Nothing is known about this language except its name, and the fact that its speakers live to the south-west of the Prēnuna. Its classification is therefore provisional. |
| " | ? N.W. Sanskritic | Kalāshā | " | The Dōāb between the Bashgal and Chitral Rivers. |
| " | " | Gawar-bati or Narsāti | " | Round the confluence of the Bashgal and Chitral Rivers. |
| " | " | Pashai | Eastern | East Laghman. |
| " | " | " | Western | West Laghman. |
| " | N.W. Sanskritic | Indus Kohistāni or Maig | Kili Dubēri Jib | Kandiā and Dubēr Valleys. |
| " | " | " | Eastern | East side of Kohistān. |
| " | " | " | Western | Western Kohistān, round Kōli, Pālus, Batārā, Chilis, and elsewhere. |
| " | " | " | Southern | South Kohistān. |
| " | " | Gārwi | Standard | Šwāt Kohistān. |
| " | " | " | Diri | Dir. |
| " | " | Tōrwāli | Standard | Šwāt and Panjkōrā Kohistāns below Gārwi. |
| " | " | Kāshmiri | " | Valley of Kāshmir. |
| " | " | Chhibhāli | " | Hill country between the Kāshmir Valley and the Indus Kohistān. |
| " | Central Sanskritic | Hindi (Rājasthāni) | Gujari | Spoken by Gūjars over the country to the east of the Chitral-Kunar River. |

Total : Twenty-four languages ; thirty-five dialects.

NOTE.—Between Chitral and Chilas there is a mountainous tract of country which has not yet been linguistically explored. It is said to be principally peopled by Gūjars who speak their own language. There are several sub-dialects of Gūjari which differ slightly from each other.

at other places within these limits. The principal places and neighbourhoods in which Pashai is spoken are Barkōt, Sutan, Waigal on the side next the Kāfirs, Janjapur, Amlā, Sūr^ach,¹ Badiālī, Islāmpur, Bādshāh K^ale, Balatak, Kunada, Dēogal, Nurgal, Chaman, Najil, Sāū, Kulmān, Tagāo, Siāū, and Kulāb. Some of these are considerable tracts. The number of people speaking Pashai has been estimated at 100,000, and with regard to the Pashai region and its probable character this estimate does not appear to be unduly large or unduly small.

There appear to be different dialects of Pashai, but the variations are said to be not great. The distinction drawn by the people themselves is between the 'harsh tongues' of the hills² and the softer tongue of the more level country. I have myself examined specimens in two dialects, a western and an eastern. The differences are mainly ones of pronunciation. Thus, the short ^a, which is so common in Pakshtō, also occurs in the eastern dialect, but usually appears as a long *ē* in the western one. For instance, Eastern *puṭh^a*, Western *puṭhlē*, a son. Again, an Eastern *sh* becomes a Western *kh*, as in Eastern *shūring*, Western *khōring*, a dog.

In order to explain the accompanying map, I append a table giving the names of the various languages spoken beyond the North-Western Frontier of India, with their dialects and habitats.

¹ The small ^a above the line indicates the very short *a*-sound known as the *fāṭha-e afghānī*, which is so common in Pakshtō.

² One of these is called *Kulmānī* from being spoken in *Kulmān*.

ART. XXII.—*The First Preparers of the Haoma (Indian Soma).*

The Pahlavi translation and commentary on Yasna IX, 1–48 inclusive, for the first time edited with the collation of MSS., and now prepared from all¹ the MSS. also deciphered. By Professor LAWRENCE MILLS.

As this edition of a short section of the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna is intended to be followed by similar publications ultimately embracing the entire Pahlavi texts of the Yasna with the exception of those which have been already treated in my Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas, I make here full allusions to the MSS. which have been consulted in producing it.

The oldest codex provided with a Pahlavi translation is that catalogued as C I among the Zend MSS. in the Bodleian Library; but also known as J², referring to its former possessor, the late revered Destoor Jamaspji Minochoherji Jamasp Asana, High Priest of the Parsis in Bombay, by whom it was generously given to the Bodleian Library at the suggestion and on the responsibility of the present writer in July, 1889: It was at the time on private loan to me in domicile in Oxford, and from my residence it went to the Library. In this present article this MS is designated as D.J. (Destoor Jamaspji), as it was so designated by me in my first interrupted edition of the Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas many years before the MS. came to Europe for the first time, I having had possession of a collation of it kindly loaned by Dr. E. W. West. As I began with the designation 'D.J.' in the book referred to above before any collation of it had ever been published, and as I continued this usage in my Gāthas later, I preserve it here.

¹ With the exception of that numbered 4 in the Moola Firz Library in Bombay, which is, however, practically identical with D. (Pt. 4), being a copy from the same original.

[I should in passing recall the fact that this MS. was collotyped in its full original form and published by the Clarendon Press with an introductory note by me, as its Zend Avesta text had been entirely translated as collated in vol. xxxi of the Sacred Books of the East, and both the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts had been edited and translated as collated in the book referred to above. This collotyped facsimile may still be had of the publisher; see his latest catalogue. The volume consists of some 770 odd large pages (collotyped photographs), and is a most masterly piece of artistic workmanship completed at the Clarendon Press Works in Oxford. The actual tint of the ancient paper has been preserved, and is well set on a ground of brilliant white manufactured, as I believe, for such a purpose.]

The MS. which I termed D. was so called from Destoor Darab Peshotan Sanjana, the son of its late possessor, Destoor Doctor Beramji Sanjana, M.A., Ph.D. Here again I was first indebted to the kindness of Dr. E. W. West, who included a partial collation of it with Spiegel's text, in the same copy which contained the first collation of D.J. (CI or J²); see above.

This very valuable, but apparently not very ancient, MS. was later kindly loaned by its possessor the Destoor in Bombay to me for my use in domicile in the year 1890. And while it was present in Oxford, permission was accorded by the owner to have it collotyped. This was accordingly done at the expense of the Bodleian Library, with the result that we have a most effective facsimile, even more convenient for use (because safer) than the original MS. itself; and this is the document which has been used for this second time for the present purpose. Its press-mark in the Bodleian Library is Zend, d, 2. It is elsewhere referred to as Pt. 4. (I had termed it D. years before it came to Europe.)

The third MS. used for the present section is that numbered 12a of Haug's Collection in Munich.

Both its Pahlavi text and its Parsi-Persian translation stand in the Perso-Arabic character. It has, however, two

items which especially recommend it. First, it is said to have been transcribed by a person who was not a Parsī, a certain Mohammedan, as I am informed, and this shuts out the most mischievous source of all error in ancient documents, namely the inconsiderate zeal of the would-be emender. And secondly, the individual (?) in many parts of his work seems to have been afflicted with extraordinary caution, not to say timidity, refraining from translation where he felt the smallest doubt, and so erring on the side of safety. On the other hand, the MS. in some places is carelessly written as if in haste, and this makes it at times very difficult to decipher. To an eye constantly practised by reading Persian it is, however, seldom hopelessly obscured, especially when compared with the Zend, with the ordinary Pahlavi, and with Neryōsang. The codex was kindly sent to the Bodleian Library for my use only last year, in February, 1899; but the second part, or volume, of it had been most cordially sent me in Hanover for my use at the end of the seventies.

I do not designate the variations in its Pahlavi text from my own text or from that of Spiegel, not merely because its transliterations are of the old traditional type, and therefore more difficult to the student, but because it is my intention to edit it in its entirety, as I did that portion of it which reproduces the Gāthas (see the edition).

The fourth MS. is that leading one of Haug's Collection which I note as M. This codex, like the one just mentioned, was kindly sent to the Bodleian Library by the librarian of the Hof and Staats Bibliothek in Munich (much earlier than the others) in the year 1887 (April 5th), for my use in perfecting my text of the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthas; and naturally I did not fail to transcribe its variations from Spiegel's printed text throughout. It is correctly considered to be a transcription from Copenhagen 5, but as it differs clerically in many places from Spiegel's text, it cannot be an absolutely exact copy in so far as Spiegel's text approaches that description.

Fifthly, I carefully noted the chief variations in the codex

of Yasna fragments from Haug's Collection,¹ which consists of fragmentary texts, and which was sent for my use to the Bodleian in 1889 (May 25th). The variations have not very often been reproduced, as the texts differed in places so widely as to make it hardly fair to call a comparison of the document (with the others at hand) a 'collation' as of the same general texts. I term it *Mf*.

Sixthly, I regard Spiegel's printed text as being like *M*., in view of his notes to it, a valuable approximate transcript of the ancient codex 'Copenhagen number five' already referred to.

These are all the Pahlavi MSS. of the Yasna of which I have any accredited knowledge, with the exception of the one numbered four in the Moola Fīrūz Library in Bombay, to which reference has been already made in the note on p. 1 as practically identical with *D*. (Pt. 4), and it is therefore in so far replaced by that codex.

I should mention, however, three very valuable Zend MSS. with Sanskrit translations (texts of Neryōsang) which have been most kindly placed at my disposal, being sent to me personally in Oxford from Bombay by distinguished friends. The first is one which I describe as *J**, loaned to me by the late revered Destoor Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp Asana, and which is destined by his son and successor to be a gift to the Bodleian Library when I have finished my use of it. It was executed by an ancestor of the Destoor some time in the seventeenth century. I have described it more fully in the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, vol. ii, p. 523. Another is the MS. sent me by the courtesy of the owner, Mobed Mancherji Barozji (?) Powri. The codex was formerly in Surat; and it has been lately referred to as *S*¹. On opening it, I was immediately struck by the strong resemblance of the paper in texture and in tint to that of our Oxford MS. referred to above as *D.J.* (C I Bodleian, or *J*²). The handwriting likewise

¹ The numbering has, I think, been changed since I made my request for it to the Librarian; I therefore do not quote it.

has some points of similarity; but it also shows traces of the workmanship of different penmen. It extends from Yasna 1, 6 to Yasna 46, 19 (unfinished).

A third is a small MS. somewhat darkened by the rubbing off of the heavy ink upon the coarse paper; but it is evidently a codex of the greatest value. It only extends, however, from Yasna 1, 6 (1-5 prefaced by a later hand) to Yasna 19, 10 (in middle). It bears the two names—one Meher Naurozji Kutar in the interior at the end, and that of Mr. Manockji Perloz* of Orv(a)ola* (so?) on the front external cover. It has been bound for convenience, and this somewhat cramps its texts. I am on the point at present of returning it to Bombay. It was procured for me, as was S¹, through the most kind influence of my learned friend the Rev. J. J. Modi, Head Priest of the Parsis in Colaba near Bombay, and Secretary to the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund. I will take another opportunity to describe it more fully. (Still another MS. of the Yasna was sent me at the same time, but it is decidedly modern.)

These three Zend-Sanskrit MSS. have been used to correct and confirm the text of Neryōsang, which, of course, as in the Gāthas, I have closely consulted for my Pahlavi text.

It is with these materials that I offer my deciphered version, incomparably more difficult, though less impressive, than merely reproducing the original Pahlavi characters with no attempt to render their very obscure equivalents in our intelligible Latin letters.¹ And surely when we employ the printer to impress documents in letters which we ourselves do not explain, our occupation is not a very dignified one.

Referring to my venerated predecessor in this attempt, let me say that our indebtedness to our eminent *bahnbrecher*, Professor Frederick von Spiegel, is very great for having printed for us a text from one codex. It stands, however,

¹ I hope to add the text in the original characters in a future issue of this Journal.

to reason that his valuable work would have been greatly improved had he gained access to more than a single version. I reserve an English translation of my own text for a future work, or for future articles, in which I hope to re-edit Neryōsang's Sanskrit texts and treat the whole subject synoptically as I did in the Gāthas.

I beg, however, emphatically to call the attention of searchers to the remarks made in the Introduction to the Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas and in my contribution to the Transactions of the Ninth Congress (see above) as to the peculiar treatment necessary in explaining these *quasi verbatim* renderings of the Pahlavi commentators. An ordinary literary translation of them, such as would be naturally attempted by an unguarded writer, would be worse than useless, for it would be calculated to mislead investigators as to the true character of the work, so affording an excuse for superficial procedure from an ill-informed exaggeration of the inevitable defects. It was truly astonishing that no-one, not even those who most adhered to the importance of the Asiatic commentaries, had ever thought of guarding against the most obvious sources of error. First of all, the texts are thrown out of all natural order (as Pahlavi writings) by being forced to follow the order of sequence of their original the Zend, while the order of sequence of the words in a good Pahlavi sentence is of unusual importance to the syntax. They also offer, what had never been noticed, which is more than a single translation for the same word, the result of the frequent attempts of previous versions. But I need say no more here save to point the principle, fully acceded to verbally by scholars (old acquaintances of my own in Germany). A translation of the Pahlavi translations should be 'exposition,' interrupted at every step with explanation or additional translation of the alternatives. No literary rendering of a fluent character could be other than dangerously incomplete.

YASNA IX, 1-48.

(1) Pavan hāvanō raḍih¹ [pavan hāvan ī² gās] hōm madam
sūtūndō³ avō zartūshō

(2) pavan ātāsh⁴ pīrāmūn⁵ yōshdāsarīnishnih [amatash
ātāsh gās⁶ kāmīstō*⁷ khalelūnastanō⁸] (pavan) gāsānō
srāyishnih⁹ [amatash¹⁰ zak ashemvohūkō¹¹ ī¹² 13

III gūft mūn¹⁴ fravarānih¹⁵ avō levīnō].

(3) afash min valman¹⁶ pūrsidō zartūshō aīgh : mūn gabrā
hōmanih¹⁷ [hōmand¹⁸ lā pavan yasht¹⁹ fratūm yehevūnd²⁰
min levīnō pēdāk afash khavitūnastō²¹ aīgh hōm avō²². 23
yāmtūnēd amat²⁴ maḍō yehevūndō²⁵ ash pūrsidō²⁵
avāyast²⁶ (27 “ mitrōkō²⁸ khūp aītō²⁹ zartūshō ”) zak
pēdāk aīghash shnākhtō²⁹ hanā rāi maman³⁰ zak

¹ So, according to Parsi-Persian analogies.

² D.J. om. ī; D. has stroke.

³ D. ravad.

⁴ D.J. om. gās, which K⁵ and M. ins.

⁵ D. pīrāmūn; D. ins. va, or read -ō.

⁶ Diff. word from gās above: cf. gātu.

⁷ M. kāmīstō; D.J., K⁵ kāmīstō.

⁸ So D.J.; K⁵ shūstanō.

⁹ D. om. from ‘amatash’ to ‘srāyishnih.’

¹⁰ D.J. om. ash.

¹¹ So D.J. ī.

¹² D.J. ins. ī.

¹³ In this edition Spiegel's printed text without his conjectural emendations is regarded as representing approximately the celebrated MSS. “Copenhagen, No. 5.” But if M. is really a ‘copy’ of K⁵, it is difficult to see how it can differ so often as it does from Spiegel. Both may be copies with variations at times very useful; its Pahlavi should have been examined.

¹⁴ D.J. om. mūn.

¹⁵ Citation from Y. 12 (Sp. 13), fravarānē.

¹⁶ So D.J., D. valman; K⁵ anō.

¹⁷ D. homōnih.

¹⁸ So D.J., D.; possibly used here in the sense of ‘I’ as hōman is at times.

¹⁹ D. points ‘y’ in ‘yasht’; so D.J. yasht.

²⁰ D. yehevūnēd.

²¹ D. slightly differs.

²² D.J. g^hal.

²³ D.J., D., M. om. ‘ham.’

²⁴ D. mūn.

²⁵ So D.J. -dō.

²⁶ D.J. om. a sign, avāyad.

²⁷ Citation (origin will be discussed later).

²⁸ So D.

²⁹ So D.J.

³⁰ D. om. maman.

damānō¹ levatman yazadānō* vēsh² yehevūnd yekavīmunādō³ afash yazadō khshnākhtar⁴ būd⁵ hōmand⁶ afash denman fargardō narm yehevūnd⁷ afash avāyastō⁸ rāi levatman hōm lālā gūft⁹ aīt mūn aētūnō yemalelūnēd hōmand aūharmazd gūft yekavīmunād aīgh kolā II (dō) avō¹⁰ yāmtūnd¹¹ amat hōm mađō yehevūnd¹² ash mađō shnāsēdō¹³].

- (4) mūn li min harvispō ahūō i ast-hōmand¹⁴ am nēvaktar khadītūndō hōmanih maman at zak ī¹⁵ nafshman khadīh¹⁶ nēvakō¹⁷ kardō¹⁸ yekavīmūnēd hōmand¹⁹ amarg²⁰ [hōmand khadīh^{21, 22} pavan frārūnōih²³ amarg kardō yekavīmūnēdō va²⁴ lā aētūnō chīgūn valmanshān mūn bisrayā²⁵ ī yim jalđō afshān dēn tanō amarg kardō yekavīmūnādō vad barā min tanō kolā aīsh I²⁶ amarg (‘‘ amereza gayehya²⁸ stūna ’’²⁷)].

- (5) avō li valman²⁹ pasukhvō yemalelūnd³⁰ hōm ī aharūbō

¹ D. dāman.

² I do not think that D. means ‘veh.’

³ So D.J., M. -nād; K⁵ -nēd.

⁴ D. khshnākhtar (?), Ner. prakatātara.

⁵ D.J. būd, K⁵ yehevūnd, D. yehevūnēd.

⁶ So D.J.; but D. hōmōnd.

⁷ So D.J., etc., yehevūnd; D. -ūnēd.

⁸ So D.J.; others avāyadō.

⁹ D.J., D. gūft; K⁵ yemalelūnd.

¹⁰ So D.J.; K⁵, etc., ghal.

¹¹ So D.J., D.; K⁵ -tūnēd; D. ins. va or ō.

¹² So D.J., etc., -ūnd; D. -ūnēd.

¹³ D. looks like shnākhtō, but is probably as above.

¹⁴ D. divides with a stroke = ō, a mere dividing mark (?).

¹⁵ D.J. om. ī.

¹⁶ So D.; D.J., K⁵ jān.

¹⁷ So D.

¹⁸ So D.J.

¹⁹ D.J. ins. hōmand; D. adds -ō or va.

²⁰ I place the beginning of the gloss here.

²¹ D. marks the ‘d’ here.

²² D. om. tanō.

²³ So D.J., D. -nōih and D. ins. a sign not easily explained, ‘a,’ ‘h,’ or ‘kh’ (?).

²⁴ D.J., D. om. va.

²⁵ D. seems bisrā (?).

²⁶ D.J., D., M. aīsh I; Sp.’s K⁵ (?).

²⁷ This citation is in Zend characters; its location will be discussed elsewhere.

²⁸ The word ‘gayehya’ has been heretofore deciphered ‘gayehē (or e)’; but see my solution in S.B.E., xxxi, Introd. p. xxxiv, as followed by Darmesteter and others.

²⁹ D.J. ins. valman.

³⁰ D.J. -ūnd; D. gūft.

ī¹ dūraōsh [hōmand² dūraōshih³ hanā aigh aōsh min rūbānō ī⁴ anshūtān⁵ dūr yakhsenūnēd : rūshānō gūft aē⁶ hōmand ahōshih⁷ pavan hōm yehevūnēd]. (6) hōm⁸ hōmanam zartusht hōm ī aharūbō ī dūraosh ; zakō ī⁹ zak ī (*sic*) li [bavī-¹⁰]-hūn¹⁰ avō¹¹ khūrishn [khūrishn¹² rāī] barā hūn.¹³ (8) madam li pavan stāyishnō sitāy *dēn yazishnō¹⁴ chīgūn li akharich ī¹⁵ sūd-hōmand stāyēnd¹⁶ [ash zak ī¹⁷ lak va¹⁸ lak rāī].

- (9) afash gūftō zartushtō aigh namāz avō¹⁹ hōm.
 (10) mūn lak²⁰ fratūm hōm min anshūtān dēn ast-hōmandān²¹ gēhānō hūnīd²² hōmanih²³ va²⁴ mūn²⁵ zak tarsakāsīh²⁶ kardō aigh²⁷ zak nēvakīh aigh vad am²⁸ yehevūnēd maman avō valman mađō āvādīh.
 (11) avō li valman pasukhvō gūft²⁹ hōm ī³⁰ aharūbō ī³¹ dūraōsh. (12) vīva[n]ghān³² li fratūm min anshūtān³³

¹ D. om. ī.

² M. seems to ins. avlā, but it has the signs of cancelling over it.

³ D. adds -ash.

⁴ D. om. ī.

⁵ So D.J.; K⁵ marđūmān.

⁶ D.J. ins. aē.

⁷ Possibly ahōshash.

⁸ D. seems hōmanō (?).

⁹ D.J., D. ins. ī.

¹⁰ So I restore 'hūn' in view of the Zend text and of Neryōsang, also in view of the following hūn.

¹¹ So D.; others val-; no vacant space in D.J., D., or M.

¹² D., K⁵, M. (and D.J. val), D.J. ins. khūrishn (or 'khvarishn').

¹³ D. ins. liturgical item.

¹⁴ D. āyaz-.

¹⁵ D.J. ins. ī; perhaps irrational.

¹⁶ So D.J., or read with others -yend.

¹⁷ D.J. om. ī.

¹⁸ D.J. ins. va.

¹⁹ D. om. avō.

²⁰ D.J., D., M. om. hōm here.

²¹ D.J. ins. ī.

²² D.J., D. as often extra stroke.

²³ D. hōmōnih.

²⁴ D.J., D. ins. va.

²⁵ D.J., M. irrational min (accidental omission of signs).

²⁶ So D. clearly; others -agahih (?), or the like.

²⁷ D.J. ins. aigh.

²⁸ Did he suppose erenāvi to be a first personal like 'aoji'?

²⁹ So K⁵; D.J. yemalelūnd.

³⁰ D.J. om. ī.

³¹ D.J. or M. ins. ī (-ūbī).

³² D.J. om. ī.

³³ D. marđūmān.

dēn ast-hōmandān¹ gēhān hūniḍō¹ 'm; valman zak ī² tarsakāsīh³ kardō avō valman maḍō āvādīh. (13) amat min valman⁴ benman⁵ lālā zerkhūndō⁶ mūn yim ī⁷ shēt ī hūramak. (14) mūn gadman-hōmandtūm min zerkhūndān⁸ yehevūnd [khvēshkārtum] khūrkhshētō-⁹ (va)¹⁰ -nigīrishntūm min anshūtāānō yehevūndō [hūchashmtūm hōmand gadman aītō¹¹ ī khvēshkārīh va aītō¹² ī pavan tanō ī gabrā va¹³ zak ī¹⁴ pavan tanō ī yim ham-dēnā¹⁵ yehevūnd hōmand¹⁶ aīgh khvēshkārīh hōmand¹⁷ rūshanō gūft hōmand gadman hanā aītō ī¹⁸ pavan tanō ī¹⁹ gabrā gadman-hōmand²⁰ yakhsenūnēd va²¹ khvēshkārīh zak rūbāk vabdūnyēn²²].

(15) mūnash kardō pavan zak ī valman khūdāyih²³ amarg pāh va²⁴ vīr ahōshishnīh²⁵ mayā va²⁶ aūrvar [aīgh zak ī²⁷ lā avāyast^{28, 29, 30} khōshk³¹ lā khōshkō].

¹ All.

² D.J., D. om. i.

³ So D.; we must reproduce D.J., etc., as tarsagahīh (*sic*) or the like. Mf. seems to add -ash.

⁴ D.J. ānō.

⁵ So D.J., D. or barman; cf. ٦٣; K⁵ pūs.

⁶ So D.J.

⁷ D.J., D. ins. i.

⁸ So D.J., D.; M., K⁵ zerkhūndak.

⁹ So D.J.; others om. the 'kh' in khūrkhshēt (or 'khvar-').

¹⁰ Superfluous va.

¹¹ D.J., D. aītō.

¹² Neryōsang has 'asti.'

¹³ D.J., D. ins. va.

¹⁴ D.J. om. i.

¹⁵ D. has ham-dādīstān.

¹⁶ D. hōmōnd as often.

¹⁷ D.J. om., so D.

¹⁸ D.J. om. i.

¹⁹ D. om. i.

²⁰ D. hōmōnd.

²¹ D.J., D. ins. va, or end -ō.

²² Otherwise vādūnyēn.

²³ D.J., D. khūdāyih (D.J. has ānō for valman); K⁵ khūdāyih (or 'khvaḍ-').

²⁴ D.J. om. va.

²⁵ So; see the Zend and the Parai-Pers. Pahl. text ahoshhōmōnd. That was erroneous, for it was understood as 'deathlessness'; but it may have arisen from an 'akhōshk-'. D.J. seems to have anavā²⁶zhishnīh (or -hishn); but if so, the word is over-written. I do not think ahūō-zāyishnīh (so) was meant here, though the characters might correspond.

D. seems to have aōshishnō with vīr repeated; hardly nīr-aōshishnō. Should it be emended to read dūr-aōshishnō, or dūr-khōshkishnō, or dūr-hoshishnō (P) ?

²⁶ D.J. om. va.

²⁷ D.J. om. i ?

²⁸ D. avāyad diff. shape.

²⁹ K⁵ avāyast.

³⁰ D. (P), M. ins. lā here.

³¹ D. om. khōshk here.

- (16) khūrishn ī vashtamūnānō¹ anavāzhīshnō [aigh amat khadūk I vashtamūnđ būđ² khadūk mađo yehevūnđ].
 (17) pavan zak ī³ yim⁴ khūdāyīh⁵ ī arvand lā sarmāk yehevūnđ⁶ va⁷ lā garmāk⁸. (18) lā zarmānō yehevūnđ va⁹ lā margīh va lā arēshkō¹⁰ ī¹¹ shēdāān-¹² -dāđō [hōmand hāmāi¹³ yehevūnđ hōmand¹⁴ barā min vinās lakhvār dāsht yekavīmūnād¹⁵ hōmand¹⁶].
 (19) xv-sālakō¹⁷ hu-(hū-)-rōdishnō¹⁸ frāzsātūnđ hōmandabū va benman¹⁹ kadārzhāi [hōmand būrzak²⁰ pavan stāyishnō ī pūsar gūft aigh benman²¹ aētūnō nēvak yehevūnđ ī²² abū²³ va²⁴ abū²⁵ aētūnō nēvak yehevūnđ chīgūnō²⁶ benman²⁷]. (20) hamāi²⁸ vad amat shalitāi²⁹ yehevūnđ (i)³⁰ hūramak yim ī³¹ shēt ī³² vīva(n)ghānō³³ benman [denman mindavam aētūnō yehevūnđō].
 (21) mūn lak dadīgar hōm min anshūtāān³⁴ dēn ast-hōmandān

¹ So D., Mf., and Ner.'s original; others -ntānō; D.J. places khūrishn (khvar-) in (16); K⁶, M., -mūnānō. I can only suggest this, but M. seems anavāsihišnō (*sic*; so D.J.).

² So D.J.

³ D.J. om. ī.

⁴ D.J. ins. ī.

⁵ D. seems -dāyīh.

⁶ D.J. om. yehevūnđ.

⁷ D.J., D. om. va.

⁸ D.J. might be garmāi (?).

⁹ D.J. om. va.

¹⁰ D.J., D. om. ē in the word.

¹¹ D.J. om. ī.

¹² D. shēdāyān.

¹³ D.J. hamāi; but possibly meant for hamāk; Ner. favours the last with sarvām.

¹⁴ D. extra stroke.

¹⁵ D. hōmōnd (or hōmanend); M. hōmand.

¹⁶ So D.J.; K⁶ shnatak.

¹⁷ Parsi-Pers. marks the 'hu-.'

¹⁸ So D.J.; K⁶ pūs; D.J., D. om. va, or misplaces it.

¹⁹ So the Parsi-Pers. and D., and not būrzōk (*sic*) or būrzōk with K⁶ (nor-zāk).

²⁰ So D.J., D.; others pūs.

²¹ D.J. ins. ī.

²² D.J., D. om. -ō from abū.

²³ D.J. ins. va.

²⁴ D.J. ins. ī.

²⁵ D.J., D. om. ī.

²⁶ So D.J., D.

²⁷ D.J., D. -tāi.

²⁸ ī supplied when reading shalitāi.

²⁹ D.J., D., M. ins. ī in 'yim-ī-shēt.'

³⁰ D. ins. ī.

³¹ D.J., D. om. -ō.

³² So D.; D.J. marđūmān.

gēhānō hūnīd¹ hōmanih mūn zak tarsakāsih² kardō
[zak³ nēvakih aīgh vad am yehevūnād] va⁴ maman
avō valman mađō⁵ nēvakih.⁶

- (22) avō li valman⁷ pasukhvō gūft hōm ī aharūbō ī⁷ dūraōsh.
(23) āsvīyān^{8,9} li dađigar min anshūtān¹⁰ dēn ast-hōmandānō
gēhānō hūnīd¹¹ hōmanam valman¹² zak tarsakāsih¹³
kardō va avō valman mađō āvāđih. (24) amat¹⁴ min
valman pūs¹⁵ lālā zerkhūnd¹⁶ mūn afzārvis feridūnō¹⁷
[hōmand afzārvisih¹⁸ hanā¹⁹ yehevūnd aīgh ash²⁰ khā-
nakō²⁰ min madam-mānd²¹ ī abīdarān kabed yehevūndō
va²² zakich ī²³ dahāk pavan stahmakih²⁴ lakhvār
vakhdūnd afash khūdāyyih²⁵ hanā va²⁶ khvēshānō ī aē²⁷
pēdāk lā yehevūnd valman dāshtō]. (25) mūnash makhī-
tūnd²⁸ azō²⁹ ī dahāk ī III-zafar³⁰ ī III-kamār ī VI-
ash ī hazārō³¹-jōstār [ī³² adāđōk³³ ī pavan gōharakō]

¹ D.J., D., M. insert extra stroke; can it be hūnō-īd, 'ō' before the verbal termination?

² So D. plainly; others -agahih (P).

³ D.J., D. om. i.

⁴ D.J., D. om. va.

⁵ D.J. om. i.

⁶ D., M. (notice this striking difference of M. from K⁵), D.J., K⁵ āvāđih.

⁷ D.J. has ānō and om. next two i's.

⁸ Or āthviyān (so I much prefer).

⁹ D.J. om. i.

¹⁰ So D.J., D.; K⁵, etc., marđūmān.

¹¹ D.J. again extra stroke.

¹² D.J. avō, or ānō.

¹³ So D. plainly; others -agahih (sic?).

¹⁴ So D.J. amat; K⁵ mūn.

¹⁵ D.J., D., M. pūs; K⁵ benman.

¹⁶ D.J. om. (P).

¹⁷ D.J., Mf. -ūn.

¹⁸ Does M. mean -visi-ash?

¹⁹ D. seems ānō.

²⁰ So D.J., D. nearly (khānō- or khānō-); cf. Ner.'s veçmanī; D.J., K⁵ khadūk.

²¹ So D.J.; K⁵ and others avarmānd.

²² D.J. ins. va.

²³ D.J. om. i.

²⁴ Or 'stahmakash'; D. stahmbō (sic).

²⁵ So D.J.; K⁵ might be khūdāi (sic) (or 'khvad-').

²⁶ D.J. om. va.

²⁷ D.J. om. aē.

²⁸ So D.J., D.; K⁵ zađ.

²⁹ So D.J., D.; K⁵ azōk (so).

³⁰ D. seems zifar.

³¹ D.J. seems to divide differently.

³² D. om. i.

³³ D.J., Mf., and D. om. ō and have adāđak; K⁵ (Sp.) has adāđōk.

- (26) ī¹ kabad aōjō shēdayyā drūjō ī² sarītar³ avō gēhān
 ānō⁴ zyānkār [ī² darvand]. (27) mūnash kabad aōjtūm
 drūj frāz karinīd⁵ ganrāk⁶ mīnavad madam avō ast-
 hōmandānō gēhānō pavan margīh ī⁷ zak ī⁸ aharāyih⁸
 gēhānō [aīghash min drūjō^{9,10} ī stih khadūkō⁹ zak
 stahmaktar yehabūnd⁹ “ kō thvām yim ahurem
 mazdām¹¹ . . . ” zak hanā¹² amār aīgh kolā zak
 zyān zīsh pavan dāmānō ī aūharmazd tūbānō yehevūnd
 ash barā¹³ kardō va lūman¹⁴ ? (*sic*) (or better var-
 hōmand) yehevūnd ; mindavam zīsh tūbānō¹⁵ yehevūnd
 kardānō afash lā kardō].
- (28) mūn lak saḍīgar hōm min anshūtāān dēn ast-
 hōmandānō¹⁶ gēhānō hūnīd¹⁷ hōmanih¹⁸ va mūn zak
 tarsakāsīh¹⁹ kardō va maman avō valman maḍō āvāḍih.
- (29) adīnōsh²⁰ avō li valman pasukhvō yemalelūnd²¹ hōm
 ī²² aharūbō ī dūraōsh.
- (30) srītō (better thrītō²³) ī sāāmānō²⁴ ī²⁵ sūd-khvāstār (!)²⁶

¹ D. ins. i.² D.J. om. i.³ D.J. om. the 'li' or 'rt' of K^b (Sp.), but seems to mean sarītarān, so D.⁴ Instead of avō, M. seems ānō (from later hand).⁵ D.J. seems kirinīd (*sic*), but the first 'i' is somewhat elevated.⁶ D. has ganāk, om. the supposed 'r.'⁷ M., D. ins. i.⁸ D.J. ins. i ; others om.⁹ So D.¹⁰ D.J. perhaps has I.¹¹ Citation in Zend characters, location discussed later ; the words are simple.¹² D., or M. ānō.¹³ D.J. om. barā.¹⁴ So according to the signs ; also 'val denman' would be represented by them ; but Ner.'s vāñcakō (so reading) suggests an emendation. Var-gūman is also a possible decipherment ; 'hesitating' (?). I am not at all confident as to 'lūman' as = 'us' or in any respect (cf. Old P.P. Gl.) ; perhaps 'var-hōmand' is to be substituted.¹⁵ D.J. tubānō (*sic*).¹⁶ So D.J., om. i.¹⁷ D.J. superfluous stroke.¹⁸ D. hōmōnih, as often.¹⁹ So D., but with accidental 'shih' for 'sih' ; others -gahih (?).²⁰ D.J., D. om. adīnōsh.²¹ So D.J. ; others gūft.²² M. om. i.²³ I strongly hold to this decipherment.²⁴ Or sāhmānō.²⁵ D.J. ins. i.²⁶ One of the translator's rare egregious blunders, caused doubtless by the separation of the termination '-ishtō' from 'sēv-' (so) in some ancient MS. In

- [hōmand srītihash¹ (thrītihash¹) hanā yehevūnd aigh benman² i saḍigar yehevūnd afash sūd-³ -khvāstārīh hanā⁴ yehevūnd⁵ aighash⁶ sūd i⁷ damān nēvak⁸ khāvitūnastanō⁹ bavīhūnastō¹⁰] li saḍigar min anshūtān dēn ast-hōmandānō¹¹ gēhānō hūniḍō¹² am¹³ valman zak¹⁴ tarsakāsīh¹⁵ kardō maman¹⁶ avō¹⁷ valman zak¹⁸ maḍō āvāḍih. (31) amat min¹⁹ valman²⁰ II (dō) benman* lālā zerkhūnd hōmand²¹ aūrvakhsh²² va keresāspō.
- (32) dādōbar* zak I²³ yehevūnd aūrvakhsh [aighash vijir va dādō-barīh²⁴ kardō] va²⁵ dād²⁶ -ārāstār [aighash²⁷ dād i frārūn barā hankhetūnd²⁸]. (33) va zakō²⁹ i zakāi³⁰ avarkār³¹ yūdān³² (? or 'gōshanō (?),' same characters and meaning) gēsvar³³ va gadvar keresāspō, [aighash

itself, however, the rendering is rational enough; 'sūd-' is in so far, of course, correct. The same blunder occurs, curiously enough, at Y. 28, 5, but the term of *sevištō* (or 'sēv-') at Y. 33, 11, is not mistaken, nor is the *supl. -iaht-* again mistaken anywhere else in the Gāthas, though it is left unrendered sometimes.

¹ I strongly hold to this decipherment.

² Is it 'barman'? See above.

³ D. has sūdīhash and khvāstārīh.

⁴ D. om. hanā.

⁵ D.J. om. yehevūnd.

⁶ D.J. om. ash.

⁷ D. om. i.

⁸ D.J. ins. i.

⁹ So D.J., D. (?), M. -stō; K⁶ -tanō.

¹⁰ D.J. has extra stroke, or (?) -nō-astō (*sic*).

¹¹ D.J., D. om. i.

¹² D.J. again with the extra stroke. Ner. 'viveda,' reading 'khavitūndō am.'

¹³ D.J. om. i.

¹⁴ So D.

¹⁵ So D.J. and M. ins.

¹⁶ So D.J.

¹⁷ D.J. om. zak.

¹⁸ D.J., D. om. min.

¹⁹ D.J. ānō.

²⁰ D. has generally hōmōnd.

²¹ D.J., D., M. om. i.

²² D. has hanā for I.

²³ D.J. ins. va.

²⁴ D.J. om. va.

²⁵ D.J., M. seem dādō i; D. has dād, but 'āi' (*sic*) for 'ā' in ārāstār.

²⁶ D.J., D. ins. ash; D. om. i after dād.

²⁷ So D.J., D.; Sp. -nād; D.J., D. om. fol. va.

²⁸ So D.J., and om. i.

²⁹ D.J. ins. va.

³⁰ D.J. om. va.

³¹ Some prefer to transcribe gōshanō (? rather applied to animals); D.J. ins. va.

³² M. has the signs for 'g.'

kār pavan gaḍ vēsh kardō ; māyōdād¹ gūft aē² hōmand³ dādō⁴ ī tājik yehevūndō afash min gēsvar barā gūft mähgōshō-aspō⁵ gūft⁶ hōmand hanā'sh lā skikūftih⁷ maman⁸ gēs⁹ türkän⁹ ich¹⁰ yakhsenūnd]. (34) mūnash makhitūnd¹¹ azō¹² ī¹² srūbar ī aspō-aūpardō¹³ ī¹⁴ gabrā-aūpardō ī vish-hōmand, ī¹⁴ zardō. (35) mūnash madam vish¹⁵ rānīnīd yekavīmūnēd¹⁶ susyā¹⁷-bālā zak ī zardō [hōmand, denman zak zīsh¹⁸ pavan kamār lālā vazlūnd¹⁹ ("khshvaēpaya²⁰ vaenaya barešna²¹")²² zak zīsh²³ pavan zafar barā neflūnast²⁴ āitō²⁵ mūn²⁶ (am)²⁶ aētūnō yemalelūnēd hōmand kolā II (dō) khadūkō²⁷ zak ī ānd²⁸ bālā²⁹ lālā vazlūndō³⁰ va zak ī³¹ ānd³² dirāngih³³ barā neflūnastō³⁴ āit mūn aētūnō yemalelūnēd hōmand

¹ So K⁶, M.; D.J., D. have mähvindād.

² So D.J., D. aigh.

³ D. om. hōmand.

⁴ D. dādih or dādash.

⁵ So K⁶, D.; D.J. om.

⁶ D.J. om.; D. gūft; K⁶, M. yemallelūnd; D.J. om.

⁷ D. shikūftih.

⁸ M. om.

⁹ So D. pl. (türkōānich, N.B.); others türkō-ch.

¹⁰ D.J., D. om. i.

¹¹ So D.J., D.; others zad.

¹² D.J. curiously om. azō ī here, but may have mūnash azō before makhitūnd.

¹³ M. seems va ī.

¹⁴ D. om. i.

¹⁵ D. om. vish (curiously); has madam (avō or ānō).

¹⁶ D.J., D. -nād.

¹⁷ So D.J., D.; K⁶ asp.

¹⁸ So D.J., D.; K⁶ zak ash.

¹⁹ D.J., M., D. khsh, etc. (in Zend characters).

²⁰ So K⁶, M. (?); D.J. vainaya; D. vanayata.

²¹ So K⁶ barešna; D. barešna; D.J. barenuš; cf. yt. 19, 40.

²²⁻²¹ All in Zend characters.

²³ D.J. begins a new section here. D.J. om. second zak ī; D. om. i.

²⁴ So D.J., D.; K⁶ (Sp.) zak ash.

²⁵ M. om. Sp.'s final -ō; D. ins. i.

²⁶ So D.J., M.

²⁷ So D.J. ins. am; cf. mām, or amānō in 43.

²⁸ D.J., D. om. final -ō; and D. ins. va.

²⁹ D.J., D., M. mark 'd.'

³⁰ Mf. bālā.

³¹ So D.J.

³² D.J., D. om. i.

³³ So D.J., M.; K⁶ looks as if it meant 'chand' (the 'ch' Zend).

³⁴ So most rationally. The Parsi-Pers. M8. has the traditional d-r-ān-ā; D. separates the final sign which I decipher as '-gih' here; cf. Old Pers. drāngā.

³⁵ D. ins. i.

- kifr**¹ (?) ash¹ madam pōšhtō² khōshkō yekavīmūnād.³
 (36) mūn pavan valman madam keresāspō khayā pavan
 zak asīnīnō⁴ dig⁵ pītō⁶ pūkhtō.⁷ (37) zak⁸ ī avō⁹
 rapisvīnō damānō; taftō¹⁰ mar [aighash garm yehe-
 vūnd] khvisad*¹¹ [aigh II-(dō)-ragelman¹² yehevūndō¹³].
 (38) afash frāz zak ī¹⁴ asīnīnō¹⁵ dig¹⁶ frāz spūrd¹⁷ zak
 ī¹⁸ ashardīnīdak¹⁹ mayā barā sātūndō.²⁰ (39) fravōn
 pavan tars barā tajīdō²¹ gabrā - mīnishn²² keresāsp
 [hōmand mardum* - mīnishnīh* hanā yehevūnd aigh
 ash²³ libbemman pavan gūs dāsht].
- (40) mūn lak tasūm hōm²⁴ min anshūtāān dēn ast-hō-
 mandānō²⁵ gehānō hūnīd²⁶ hōmanih va²⁷ mūn zak ī²⁸
 tarsakāsīh²⁹ kardō va mūn³⁰ avō³¹ valman mađō āvādhīh.

¹ Kafārīh? or kafārash, if correct, would mean kaf = 'froth' + -? The Parsi-Pers. indicates *kafri*; so, not acceding to 'ash.'

² We are greatly indebted to D. here for giving us the intelligible pōšhtō, or pōšht va.

³ So D.J., etc.; D. -nēd.

⁴ D. has extra stroke as below.

⁵ So D.J., M.; K⁵ -ō.

⁶ M. om. pīt (curiously); D.J. pītō.

⁷ So D.J., M.

⁸ D.J. om. ī.

⁹ So K⁹ may be deciphered; but D.J. has valman.

¹⁰ So. D.J.

¹¹ So; D. khvāst; see Old Pahl. Pāzand gl. khāst; D.J. khvisad or khvīst (?).

¹² D.J. ins. va, or has -manō.

¹³ So D.J.

¹⁴ D.J. om. ī.

¹⁵ D. has extra stroke (?).

¹⁶ So M.; D.J., D. digō or -va; D.J., D. om. ī; K¹⁶ has -va, or -ō.

¹⁷ D.J., D. have spūrd; K¹⁷, M. have extra irrational stroke *spūrānanađ* (?), or was it meant for a causative spūrān-; cf. pers. causat. -ān-.

¹⁸ D. ins. ī.

¹⁹ Cf. Pers. ashardan = 'to bake.'

²⁰ So D.J.

²¹ So D.J., D.; K²¹ curiously om. tajīdō, which might also be reproduced as tachīdō, or indeed tazīdō (?).

²² So D.J.; K²², M. mardum-mm-**.

²³ D. om. ash.

²⁴ D. hōmand (?).

²⁵ So D.J.; others have a superfluous ī.

²⁶ D.J., D. continually show an extra stroke; can it be an inserted 'ō' between hūn and īd, hūnō-īd (?), as sometimes at the term. of a noun before a final suffix; possibly it may be hūnīd for hūnīnīd (causative); but I make the suggestion that the somewhat mysterious sign hitherto rendered as 'ō' may be after all a mere sign of division after, or between, consonants, but irregularly applied; cf. ved. §.

²⁷ D. ins. va.

²⁸ D.J. ins. ī.

²⁹ So D., fully and clearly as always; others must be rendered *tarsagahīh, or something like it.

³⁰ D.J.; K³⁰ va maman; D. may be va zak (?).

³¹ D. zak?

- (41) afash avō li valman¹ pasukhvō gūft hōm ī aharūbō² (ī) dūr-aōsh.
- (42) pūrūshaspō³ li tasūm min anshūtān dēn ast-hōmandān⁴ gēbānō hūnīdō'm⁵ valman zak⁶ tarsakāsīh⁷ karđō va zak avō valman mađō āvādīh. (43) amat min valman lak lālā zerkhūndō hōmanih⁸ lak avējak⁹ zartūshtō den¹⁰ mihanō¹¹ ī pūrūshaspō¹² ī¹³ javīdō-shēdayyā¹⁴ ī¹⁵ aūharmazd-dēnā¹⁶ [aītō mun javīd-shēdayyā ash¹⁷ lakhvār aē¹⁸ mān yemalelūnēd]. (44) dēn zak ī nāmīk aērān-vēj¹⁹ [aīgh vēh²⁰ dāitīk^{21, 22, 23}] lak fratūm zartūsht ahunaver frāz srūdō [aīghat yashtō²⁴ ī vāj²⁵ li (?) karđō²⁶] barā yedrūnishnih²⁷ [pavan barā gōbishnih] III. vad²⁸ avō zak ī²⁹ akhar (45) pavan khrōzdyek³⁰ frāz³¹ srāyishnih [tūkhshākīhā³²].

¹ D.J., D. om.

² D.J. curiously om. aharūbō; I supply ī.

³ D. has ū in Pūrū-; others Purū-; D.J., D. om. ī.

⁴ So D.; and D.J., D. om. ī.

⁵ D.J., D. as usual extra stroke (for n, ū, or ō (?)).

⁶ D.J., D. om. ī.

⁷ So D. as always.

⁸ D. hōmōnih.

⁹ Or avējak.

¹⁰ D.J. ins. ī.

¹¹ D. mihān.

¹² D.J., D. have pūrū-; ins. ī.

¹³ D.J. om. ī.

¹⁴ So D.J.; D. shēdā.

¹⁵ D. ins. ī.

¹⁶ D. -dādistān.

¹⁷ D.J., D., M. om. ash.

¹⁸ So D. seems aē mānō for the amānō of the others; the Parsi-Pers. has the same; as to amānō, cf. the 'am' in 35. I have among other suggestions thought of a possible lakhvar-hōmand = 'a repeated' javīd-s-; and 'lakhvar-ham- ānō' (again the same, that (?)).

¹⁹ So D.

²⁰ D.J., D. om. shapīr ī; D. has vēh.

²¹ So D. -īk; D.J. dāitihō (?), but perhaps meaning dāitīk; K⁵ -tīh (or -āih (?)).

²² D.J., D. om. ī.

²³ D.J. om. va.

²⁴ So D., also so marked in M. 'y.'

²⁵ Or for 'bāj'; so D., solving, perhaps, our difficulty. Otherwise it would be a remnant of a shattered ahunaver, i.e. 'naver' (so); the Parsi-Pers. has nāver (so). Ner. has unfortunately no gloss here.

²⁶ So D.J. Ner. has unfortunately no gloss here.

²⁷ D. marks 'ded-.'

²⁸ D.J., D. om. the extra stroke.

²⁹ D.J. om. ī.

³⁰ D. marks 'y' under; forms of the letters are varied in the MSS.; see Zend text. Khraozhdyehya; the Pahl. word here imitates the Zend closely. 'k' is a common ending; see even vohūk.

³¹ M. might be vaj (?), om. 'fr.'

³² D.J. curiously om. 'k.' I prefer tvakhsh- to tūkhsh- everywhere, but the trouble to arrange a thoroughly critical edition is so great that I postpone such matters.

(46) lak dēn damīk nikānō¹ kardō² hōmand harvispō³ shēdayyā zartūshtō mūn pēsh⁴ min zak vīrā-rōdishnō patīd hōmand⁵ madam pavan denman damīk [pavan shedayyā⁶ karpīh hōmand kolā zak mūn tanō minavad tūbānō yehevūnd kardanō ash karp⁷ barā shikastō⁸ va⁹ zak mūn lā tūbānō¹⁰ yehevūnd kardanō benafshan¹¹ barā tebrūnastō¹² kālbut barā¹³ tebrūnastō¹⁴ hanā aigh¹⁵ min zak frāz pavan shedayyā¹⁶ karpīh vinās lā tūbānō¹⁷ yehevūndō¹⁸ kardanō vad pavan stōr-¹⁹ karpīh va anshūtā-karpīh kevanich²⁰ avō²¹ kunend²²]. (47) mūn aōj-hōmand²³ hōmanih²⁴ va²⁵ mūn takik hōmanih²⁶ mūn tūkhshāk hōmanih²⁷ mūn²⁸ tiz hōmanih²⁹ mūn³⁰ aitō aigh pīrūzkartar-yehabūnd³¹ yekavīmūnih min zak ī minavadān dām [min dāmō³² ī minavadān nafshman].

(48) afash gūftō zartūsht aigh namāzō avō³³ hōm.

¹ D. nikān.

² So D.

³ So D.

⁴ So D.; others levīnō.

⁵ D. as always (?), hōmōnd.

⁶ D. shēdā.

⁷ D.J.; K⁵ M. kālbut.

⁸ So D.J., D.; others tebrūnast.

⁹ D.J. ins. va.

¹⁰ Om. -ō.

¹¹ So D.; D.J., etc., khōd.

¹² D. skikast.

¹³ D. om.

¹⁴ D. shikast.

¹⁵ So D.J.; D.J., D. om. maman; and D. om. hanā.

¹⁶ D. shēdā.

¹⁷ M. tūbān.

¹⁸ So D.

¹⁹ D.J. short vowel.

²⁰ D.J. kevanich ī.

²¹ D. ghal.

²² So D.J.; others vabdūnāfīd (so?).

²³ D. -mōnd.

²⁴ D. -mōnih.

²⁵ D.J. ins. va.

²⁶ D. hōmōnih. I prefer tvakhsh-, but have avoided quibbling departures from usage throughout.

²⁷ D. hōmōnih; D.J. ins. mūn.

²⁸ D.J. ins. mūn.

²⁹ D.J., D. ins. mūn.

³⁰ So D.J., D.; K⁵ dādo.

³¹ So D.J., D.; K⁵ dāmāno.

³² D.J., D. have this avō.

ART. XXIII.—*Notes on Indian Coins and Seals.* Part III.
The Kulūtas, a people of Northern India. By E. J.
 RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE identification of the kingdom of Kulūta, which Hiouen Tshang visited, with the present valley of Kullu seems to be quite beyond dispute;¹ and the lapse of more than twelve centuries and a half has effected so little change in the conditions, that Hiouen Tshang's description and the account in Hunter's Gazetteer are curiously similar. Like its neighbour the kingdom of Chamba (Skt. *Canpakā*), it belongs to the eastern or Jālandhar group of Hill States in the Panjab.² At present this group consists of twelve states, but, according to Cunningham, there were formerly only four—Jālandhar, Chamba, Kullu, and Mandi. Of the first and third we have a detailed description by Hiouen Tshang,³ and, as will be seen (*inf.*, p. 541), it is possible that he mentions the second under another name. In our attempts to unravel the tangle of ancient Indian geography, the untying of one knot fortunately often leads to the untying of others. The identification of the Kulūtas may enable us to identify, with a greater or less amount of certainty, other peoples who occur with them in the geographical lists. It may, therefore, serve a useful purpose, if we examine in detail all the known occurrences of the Kulūtas in literature and on inscriptions and coins.⁴

¹ Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 142.

² *Id.*, pp. 130 ff.

³ *Id.*, p. 136.

⁴ For these references, I am indebted to Fleet's *Topographical Index to the Brhat-samhitā*; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*; Wilson's *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (ed. Hall); Telang's *Mudrārākṣasa* (Bomb. Skt. Ser.); and the P.W.

HIOUEN THSANG: (in India A.D. 629-645.)

Hiouen Thsang's visit to the kingdom of Kulūta is described in the fourth book of his travels.¹ From *Chi-no-po-ti* (*Cinapati* = the modern *Patti*, according to Cunningham²), he had proceeded to *She-lan-t'o-lo* (*Jālandhara*, called also *Trigartta*), thence to *K'iu-lu-to* (*Kulūta*), and thence to *She-to-t'u-lu* (*Śatadru*, the kingdom of the *Satlej*). About the identification of these places, broadly speaking, there can be little doubt. In his account of *Kulūta*, Hiouen Thsang also gives the directions and distances of two other places, *Lo-u-lo* and *Mo-lo-so* (possibly to be read *Mo-lo-po*),³ though it appears that he did not visit them, but obtained his information about them from hearsay. The former has been identified with *Lahul*⁴; but with regard to the position of the latter there is a difference of opinion. Cunningham⁵ identified it with "*Mar-po*, the actual name of the province of *Ladāk*"; but Vivien de St. Martin,⁶ on the strength of a note inserted by the Chinese editor to the effect that another name for the place was *San-po-ho*, has no hesitation in identifying it with *Caṇpakā*. It must be admitted that neither the direction nor the distance given by Hiouen Thsang suits the position of Chamba in relation to Kullu; but he may have been misinformed, or a mistake may have crept in from some other source. *San-po-ho* must surely be intended to represent *Caṇpakā*, but the Chinese editor may have been mistaken in supposing it to be another name for *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*). We shall have occasion to continue the discussion of this point hereafter (*inf.*, p. 541).

¹ *Si-yu-ki*; Beal, i, p. 177; Julien, ii, p. 203. Also *Life of Hiouen Thsang*: Beal, p. 77; Julien, i, p. 103.

² p. 200.

³ Vivien de St. Martin, in Julien, iii, p. 331 (but in his *Errata alphabétique*, p. 570, he says, *Efface ce mot*); Cunningham, p. 143; Beal, i, p. 178, note 33.

⁴ Cunningham, p. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Memoire analytique sur la carte*, etc., in Julien, iii, 334.

MAHĀBHĀRATA.

The Kulūtas are mentioned in the topographical lists contained in the Bhīṣma-parvan of the Mahābhārata under the guise of a description of the country of Bhārata given by Sañjaya in answer to a question of the blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. These lists are included in Wilson's translation of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. They are, no doubt, late additions to the epic,¹ and, like other similar catalogues of names of persons and places given in the Purāṇas, are now, owing to the ignorance and carelessness of successive transcribers of the MSS., in many cases almost hopelessly corrupt. The only hope for the restoration of these corrupt passages lies in the positive evidence afforded by inscriptions and coins. The śloka in which the reading *Kulūta* is to be restored appears thus in the Bombay (1862) edition of the Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma-parvan, Adhyāya 8, 52:—

Kāśmīrāḥ Sindhusauvīrā Gāndhārā Darśakās tathā |
*Abhisārā *Ulūtāśca, Saivalā Bāhlikās tathā || 52 ||*

Wilson (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, ed. Hall, ii, p. 174) reads *Utūla*, and notes also the variants *Ulūṭa* and *Kulūṭa*. He adds: "the Rāmāyaṇa has Kolūkas or Kaulūṭas among the Western tribes." The identification thus suggested will be discussed below in our examination of the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa to which Wilson refers. The credit of first seeing that the variants in the passage just quoted from the Mahābhārata were mistakes for the name *Kulūta* is due to Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, who, in his note to Wilson, says: "The Kulūtas—not Kulūṭas—are a real people: see Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. ii, p. 165; ² M. V. de Saint Martin's *Mémoire Analytique sur la carte de l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 81–84, and his *Étude sur la Géographie Grecque*, etc., pp. 300–303." It will be seen that this emendation is abundantly supported

¹ Cf. the mention of Hūṇas in the second śloka quoted from this passage of the Mbh. There is no reason to believe that there were Hūṇas in India before the reign of Skandagupta, c. 452–480 A.D.

² The first passage quoted from the *Mudrārākṣasa* (*inf.*, p. 535).

by the fact that the peoples mentioned together with the Kulūtas in this śloka also occur with them in other passages of Sanskrit literature.

Farther on in the same passage (śloka 64) we find the mention of a people called *Kulatthas*, of whom nothing else seems to be known :

Yavanās Cina-Kāmbojā dāruṇā Mlecchajātayaḥ |
Sakṛdgrāhāḥ Kulatthāśca Hūṇāḥ Pārsikaiḥ saha || 64 ||

These lists are so thoroughly corrupt that it is doubtful whether scholarship will ever succeed in restoring them to their original state. Conjectural emendation is often very tempting, but it will be safer not to make any corrections except such as are supported by some positive evidence. In the present case, it need only be pointed out how liable two forms such as Kulattha and Kulūta would be to confusion. The possibility of such confusion should be borne in mind when we find the Kulūtas in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* (*v. inf.*, p. 535) called Mlecchas, and mentioned in association with much the same peoples—Cīnas, Hūṇas, and Pārsikas (or Pārsikas)—as in this passage. It also suggests a possible explanation of the fact that there are two tribes called Kulūta in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (*v. inf.*, p. 533).

RĀMĀYAṆA.

The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, to which Wilson refers, occurs in the Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa, xliii, 8 (Bengal recension, ed. Gorresio):

Maṛīpattanam caiva ramyaṃ ca Jaṭilasthalam |
*Suvīram Aṅgalokaṃ ca tathā *Kolūkam eva ca || 8 ||*

Wilson's conjecture that *Kulūta* should be restored here is probably founded on the variant *Kaulūṭa* which he notices. Apart from this, there would seem to be nothing in its favour. The places included in this list are distinctly stated to be in the West. Aṅga is undoubtedly the country around Bhagalpur, in Bengal. Jaṭilasthala cannot be

identified with certainty ; but it is not improbably a variant of *Jaṭhara*, the name of a people who are mentioned together with the Āngas in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*.¹ Of the position of Marīci-pattana nothing seems to be known. It is evident, therefore, that the place, the name of which is disguised under the variant forms *Kolūka* and *Kaulūṭa* in this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, must be sought for in Bengal rather than in the Panjab.

BRĤAT-SAMHITĀ : (Varāha-mihira, *ob.* 587 A.D.)

Varāha-mihira places peoples of this name in two divisions of his astrological chart—(1) the north-west division and (2) the north-east division. In order to distinguish clearly between these two peoples, it will be well to compare the different passages in which they are mentioned.²

(1) KULŪTAS OF THE NORTH-WEST DIVISION.

- XIV. *Dīśi paścimottarasyaṃ*
Māṇḍavya-Tukhāra-Tāla-Hala-Madrāḥ |
Aśmaka-Kulūta-Lahada-
Strirājya-Nṛsiṃha-Vana-Khasthāḥ || 22 ||
Veṇumatī Phalgulukā
Guruhā Marukucca-Carmaraṅgākhyāḥ |
Ekavilocana-Śulika-
Dīrghagrīvāsyaśeśāḥ. || 23 ||

(2) KULŪTAS OF THE NORTH-EAST DIVISION.

- XIV. *Aiśānyāṃ Meruka-Naṣṭarājya-*
Paśupāla-Kīra-Kāśmīrāḥ |
Abhisāra-Darada-Taṅga-
Kulūta-Sairindha-Vanarāṣṭrāḥ || 29 ||
Brahmapura-Dārva-Dāmara-
Vanarājya-Kirāta-Cīna-Kaunindāḥ |
Bhallāpalola-Jaṭāsura-
Kunaṭha-Khaṣa-Ghoṣa-Kucikākhyāḥ || 30 ||

¹ Fleet, *Topographical List*.

² *Ed.* Kern.

It must constantly be borne in mind that there is no certainty as to the reading of many of the names in these lists. A glance at Dr. Kern's various readings will show to what extent the existing MSS. differ from one another. No variants, however, are given of the name Kulūta in either passage. We must suppose, then, either that the readings are correct, or that, if there is a mistake in either case, it is one which goes back to a period before the date of the existing MSS. The two passages are quoted by Alberuni¹ (A.D. 973-1048) with variants in the case of many of the names; but here, again, our word Kulūta appears substantially unaltered. It is, of course, sometimes a matter of opinion how words should be divided. In the first passage *Kulūtalahaḍa* is regarded by the Sanskrit editor, Kern, as two words, and by the Arabic editor, Sachau, as one.

Whether there were really two peoples bearing the name Kulūta, or whether, in one case, this form is a wrong reading for some other name, cannot, perhaps, be determined. In glancing through Fleet's *Topographical List*, one cannot fail to notice that, in several cases, e.g. *Abhira*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Bhadra*, *Ghoṣa*, *Kirāta*, peoples having the same name are placed in two or more divisions. The question is whether this represents an actual state of things, or whether, in some cases, other and perhaps less known names have been altered into these by the copyists. In any case, the Kulūtas of the Kullu valley are certainly those of the north-east division mentioned in our second passage.

These Kulūtas must surely, also, be those referred to in x, 11, where they are mentioned together with the Trigarttas and Cīnas, and in the next śloka, x, 12, where they are mentioned with Taṅgaṇas, Khasas (*i.e.* Khasas), and Kāśmīras. The Kulūtas of iv, 22, and xvii, 18, occurring in lists including the Madras, are probably those of the north-west division.

¹ *Trans.* Sachau (ed. 1888), vol. i, pp. 302, 303.

MUDRĀRĀKṢASA : (ViśĀKHADATTA, probably c. 600 A.D.)

This play was formerly held to be not earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century of our era, chiefly on the authority of Wilson, who identified the Mlecchas, who play an important part in the story, with the Muhammadans, and supposed the period of its composition to be that during which Muhammadan power was gaining the ascendancy in India. This is, however, an assumption which cannot be sustained. The word *Mleccha* has various applications. It is used to denote different foreign tribes, such as the Hūṇas, who invaded India and settled in the northern districts of the Panjab; and it occurs in the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Skandagupta, which is dated in the 138th year of the Gupta era = A.D. 457-8.¹ The period of the plot of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is, of course, that of the Maurya Candragupta in the third century B.C.; but there is not the slightest attempt to draw an historical picture, and the conditions of the drama are doubtless those of a period not long anterior to the date of its composition. As Telang has shown, in the excellent Introduction to his edition of the play, a considerable number of indications point rather to the seventh century A.D. as its most probable date. Indeed, if the name *Avantivarman* which, in some MSS., is substituted for *Candragupta* in the concluding śloka, refers, as is by no means unlikely, to the Maukhari prince of that name, the date of the play must be within a few years of 600 A.D.²

The Kulūtas are mentioned in two passages:—

Act i, p. 48 (ed. Telang) :

Cānakya. *Āḥ jñātam | Upalabdhavān asmi prañidhibhyo
yathā tasya Mleccharājyalokasya madhyāt pradhānatamāḥ pañca
rājānaḥ parayā suhṛttayā Rākṣasam anuvarttante | Te yathā |*

¹ Fleet: *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, iii, p. 62; *Topographical List of the Brhat-samhitā*, Ind. Ant., 1893, p. 186, s.v. *Mleccha*; cf. also the ref. given by Telang, *Mudrārākṣasa* (Bomb. Skt. Ser.), p. xxviii.

² That the Maukharis were great patrons of literature may be inferred from other sources, e.g. from the introductory stanzas to the *Kādambarī*.

*Kaulūtaś Citravarmā Malayānarapatih Śimhanādo nṛsimhaḥ
Kāsmīraḥ Puṣṭaparākṣaḥ kṣataripumahimā Saindhavaḥ Sindhu-
ṣenah |*

*Meghākhyah pañcamo'smin prthuturagabalaḥ Pārsikādhirājo
Nāmāny eṣāṃ likhāmi dhruvam aham. Adhunā Citraguptaḥ
pramārṣṭu || 20 ||*

Act v, p. 207 :

Rākṣasa . . .

*Paścāt tiṣṭhantu virāḥ Śakanarapatayaḥ sambhṛtās Cina-
Hūnaiḥ*

*Kaulūtadyaśca siṣṭaḥ pathi pathi vṛṇuyād rājaloḥaḥ Ku-
māram || 11 ||*

In the first line of the latter passage, the Calcutta edition has *Kīrāḥ* instead of *Virāḥ*. This reading is probably to be preferred. The *Kīras*, as will be seen from other passages, are constantly mentioned together with the *Kulūtas*. Its reading *paricṛṇuyād* in the second line is also an improvement. On the other hand *Cedi-* instead of *Cina-* is an excellent instance of the way in which an unintelligent copyist will constantly substitute a known for an unknown name quite regardless of sense.

The geographical positions of the tribes mentioned in these two passages are discussed by Telang in his Introduction, pp. xxx ff.

KĀDAMBARĪ: (Bāṇa, c. 600 A.D.)

Probably no historical importance whatever is to be attached to this passage. It occurs in Jābālī's story of the previous life of the parrot Vaiśampāyana, and refers to a damsel named Patralekhā, a daughter of the King of Kulūta, who was taken captive when Kulūta was conquered by the great king (i.e. Tārāpīḍa of Ujjayinī), and was sent by the Queen, Vilāsavatī, to Prince Candrāpīḍa to be his betel-bearer.

*Iyam khalu kanyakā mahārājena pūrvam Kulūtarājadhānim
avajitya Kulūtesvaraduhitā Patralekhābhīdhānā bālikā satī
bandhjanena sahāntiyāntahpuraparicārīkāmādhyaṃ upanītā |*

p. 101 (ed. Peterson) : trans. Miss Ridding, p. 75.

CHAMBA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMAVARMADEVA AND ĀSAṬADEVA : (c. 1050 A.D.)

The following historical facts bearing on our subject are to be noted from Professor Kielhorn's edition of this inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, p. 7.

The identification of princes of Chamba (Caṇpakā) mentioned both in this inscription and in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī makes it certain that its date is about the middle of the eleventh century A.D. At this period the dynasties of Caṇpakā and Kulūta were related. Sālavāhana, the predecessor of Somavarmadeva and Āsaṭadeva—the Sāla of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī who was conquered by Ananta of Kashmir—is described as one “who was asked the favour of bestowing royalty, in return for services rendered, or to be rendered, by his kinsman, the lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage.”¹ Neighbouring peoples such as the Trigarttas (Jālandhara) and Kīras, who are elsewhere found in association with the Kulūtas, are also mentioned together with them in this inscription, which is thus of the greatest importance as confirming the testimony of the literary documents.

COIN OF THE KULŪTA KING VĪRAYAŚA.

The characters of the Brāhmī inscription on the obverse of this coin are those of columns vii, viii, ix of Bühler's *Tafel III*, i.e. of the first or second century A.D. Another fact leads us to a similar conclusion. On the reverse we find simply the title *ra-ña* in Kharoṣṭhī characters. It has been

¹ p. 8: *sevā - vidhi - vyagra - svakūlya - Kulūtesva(śva)ra - karma-vyatihāra-prārthyamāna-rājyātpa(rpa)ṇa-prasādasya.*

noticed before (J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 372) that on coins bearing inscriptions in the two alphabets the importance of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet tends to diminish as time goes on. On the earliest known coins of this class (probably first century B.C.)—e.g. the small silver coins of the Kuṇḍas and Audumbaras—the Kharoṣṭhī inscription is quite as full as the Brāhmī. At later periods it is first curtailed and then abolished altogether. This process can also, as we have seen, be traced on the coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas. We shall probably, therefore, not be far wrong if we attribute this coin to the first or second century A.D.—perhaps rather to the second than the first.

THE KULŪTAS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

We, therefore, find traces of the Kulūtas from about the first or second century A.D. to the middle of the eleventh. They are called Mlecchas in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, where they are found in the company of the same tribes as in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (*v. sup.* Kulūtas of the N.E. Division, p. 533). The term *Mleccha* meant 'foreigner' generally,¹ and was particularly applied to those foreign invaders who had settled on the northern frontiers.² But, whatever may have been the nationality of the Kulūtas, they had, as their coin shows, adopted Indian names by the first or second century A.D. So far as we are able to trace the history of foreign invaders in early days, this seems to have been the case regularly. The Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālava begin with foreign (perhaps Persian) names,³ but rapidly become Hinduized; and the occurrence of the name Vāsudeva in the Kuṣana dynasty and of such names as Udayāditya among the Hūṇas points to the same fact. The question whether there were two tribes called Kulūta, as indicated by Varāhamihira, cannot be determined at present. The Kulūtas of the Chamba Copper-Plate (*v. sup.*, p. 537), of

¹ E.g. Chinese in *Life of Hiouen T'sang*, Julien, i, p. 230; Beal, p. 167.

² *Id.*, Julien, i, p. 76. "Au nord de Lan-po (Lamghan) les pays frontières portent généralement le nom de Mie-li-tch'e (Mlêch-tcha's)."

³ J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 374.

Hiouen Tssang, of Varāhamihira's N.E. Division, and of the *Mudrārākṣasa* are almost certainly, as is shown by the common association of names, the ancient inhabitants of the Kullu Valley. There is no reason to doubt that the coin belongs to the same tribe. Its *provenance* (Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 67) and the fact that coins of the Kuṇḍas, who are mentioned with these Kulūtas by Varāhamihira, are found in the same district (*ibid.*), alike point to this conclusion. As we have seen, the supposed mention of Kulūtas in the Rāmāyaṇa cannot be maintained. With regard to the Mahābhārata, a comparison of the first śloka quoted with the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* makes us think that the Kulūtas here named must be those of Varāhamihira's N.E. Division. On the other hand, the second śloka, in which we have supposed a possible mistake of *Kulathās* for *Kulūtas*, has so many names in common with the passages from the *Mudrārākṣasa*—Cīna, Hūṇa, Pārsika and 'Mleccha peoples'—that we should feel inclined to come to the same conclusion in this case also. Altogether, we have here a puzzle of which the solution is not yet apparent.

The constant association of the same names together with the Kulūtas may enable us, perhaps, to identify some of these :—

Cīnas (Cīnas). This name has often been translated 'Chinese,' and there has been a considerable difference of opinion among scholars whether or not such a translation was admissible.¹ It would seem more reasonable to suppose that the word simply denoted the inhabitants of *Cīnapati* (*Chi-na-po-ti*), which Hiouen Tssang visited shortly before Kulūta.² He derives the name from the fact that king Kaniṣka had formerly kept some Chinese hostages there (*l.c.*). As to the present site of Cīnapati, Cunningham's identification with Patti seems most probable.³ In any case, it was certainly not far from Kulūta.

¹ *Vide* the references given by Telang, p. xxxi.

² *Si-yu-ki*, Beal, i, p. 173; Julien, ii, p. 199.

³ *Vide*, however, Beal, *l.c.*; Vivien de St. Martin, in Julien, iii, p. 332, identifies it with Katoch, which seems rather to be Jālandhara.

Jālandhara. From Cīnapati, Hiouen Tshang proceeded to Jālandhara and thence to Kulūta. With regard to the general identification of Jālandhara, or Trigartta as it is also called, with the modern Kāngra or Katoch, there seems to be little doubt,¹ though, of course, it must be borne in mind that the extent of these kingdoms probably varied from time to time, and that a name which was at one period applied only to a part may at another period have denoted the whole. The proximity of Jālandhara to Kulūta and to other places habitually mentioned in the same lists enables us to suggest another identification.

Kiras. In an inscription² dated Śaka 7[26], which mentions two rulers of Jālandhara, we have a dynastic list of the Rājānakas of Kīragrāma. Surely this must be the capital of the Kīra people, who are so often mentioned together with the Kulūtas. As we have seen, the three peoples, Trigarttas, Kīras, and Kulūtas, occur together in the Chamba Copper-Plate Inscription (*v. sup.*, p. 537). It is noticeable, moreover, that the Kīras, who, according to the reading of the Calcutta edition, which is probably correct, are mentioned together with the Hūṇas in the second passage quoted from the Mudrārākṣasa (*sup.*, p. 536), are also found with them elsewhere.³

Udumbaras. From considerations of *provenance*, Cunningham had classed the coin, which is now proved to have been struck by the Kulūta king Virayaśa, among those of the Udumbaras. The fact is interesting as tending to show that the territories of the two peoples were not widely separated. Whether his identification of the name Udumbara with the later Damari, or Dahmari, can be sustained is not so certain. One is tempted to see some connection with this latter name in the form Dāmara, which occurs with Kulūta and the rest among the places comprised in Varāhamihira's N.E. Division (*sup.*, p. 533).

¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

² Kielhorn: *List of Inscr. of North. Ind.*, No. 351; *Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 112.

³ Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, ii, p. 11. Bhera-ghāt Inscr. of Alhapa-devi (Cedi-sam. 907), l. 11, "Kīraḥ kīravād āsa pañjaragrhe Hūṇaḥ praharṣam jahau."

Canpakā. As has been stated above (p. 530), the Chinese editor of the *Si-yu-ki* gives *San-po-ho* as another name for *Moloso* (possibly *Mo-lo-po*), and Vivien de St. Martin has no hesitation in identifying it with *Canpakā*, in spite of the difficulties which have been indicated above. The correspondence in form between the two words is indeed striking; but it must be borne in mind that the Chinese editor, while perfectly right in his intention to transliterate *Canpakā* by *San-po-ho*, may have been wrong in his identification of *San-po-ho* with *Mo-lo-so*. As usual in these cases, the possibilities of error are numerous, and any special pleading in favour of one or other probability is apt to do more harm than good to the cause which we have at heart—the ascertainment of *fact*. It must be clearly understood, then, that the following attempt to solve this difficulty is founded on assumptions which remain to be proved or disproved by subsequent discovery—viz., that Hiouen Tseang was wrong as to the information which he gives from hearsay about the locality of *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*), that his Chinese editor was right in supposing *San-po-ho* to be another name for *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*), and that *San-po-ho* is to be identified with *Canpakā*.

It is, at any rate, curious that Chamba, by its name *Canpakā*, is known neither to Varāhamihira nor to Hiouen Tseang. Is it possible that it may have been known to them by another name? The Chinese editor's equation *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) = *San-po-ho* suggests that the *Malaya* of our first extract from the *Mudrārākṣasa* may be intended to represent this *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) = *San-po-ho*. Both Wilson and Telang have been puzzled¹ to find this place-name from distant south-western India thrown in among 'Mleccha' tribes of the extreme northern frontier. Telang hints that *Malaya* in this passage may be a misreading. This is quite possible. It is simply suggested here that it may be intended to represent—correctly or incorrectly—the Chinese *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) = *San-po-ho* = *Canpakā*.

¹ Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. ii, p. 165; Telang, *Mudrārākṣasa*, p. xxxii.

Perhaps we may venture to go one step farther, although we feel that we are now on very uncertain ground. The exact determination of the territory of the Mālavas is a well-known puzzle in Indian topography. The evidence of coins, associating them with the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas, tends to place them somewhere in the north of the Panjab. They are placed by Varāhamihira in the northern division, and in every case but one in which they are mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* they are associated with northern peoples.¹ Mr. Fleet solves this difficulty boldly by saying,² "Varāhamihira places them too much to the north; as they are undoubtedly the people of Mālwa, from whom (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 404) the Vikrama era derived its original appellation." But is it not just possible that there may really have been two peoples—(1) the Mālava of the north represented the *Μαλλοὶ* of the Greek writers, by the coins having the inscription *Mālavānām jaya[h]*,³ by the Malaya of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and by the *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) of Hiouen Tshang; and (2) the better-known Mālava of the south called *Mo-lo-po* by Hiouen Tshang?

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

I was unfortunately unable to see a revise of my first instalment of *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals* (p. 97), and, in consequence, some misprints and wrong references remain uncorrected.

p. 99, lines 12, 25 : *for* opposition *read* apposition.

p. 100, line 1 : *for* *Dajaka* *read* *Dojaka*.

¹ *Vide* *reft.* in Fleet, *Topographical List*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 107.

p. 105, note 1: The reference to the publication of an ancient inscription of Ceylon is wrong in two particulars. The author is Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, and not Dr. Hoernlé, and the page on which the observation quoted from him occurs is 140 and not 170. It should be added, too, that with reference to the substitution of *śa* for *sa* in another word occurring in the inscription—*śagasa* for *saṅghassa*—he goes on to say “these two characters are, therefore, interchangeable and do not represent श and स.”

p. 119, line 22: *for Bengal read Bombay.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE AŚOKĀṢṬAMĪ FESTIVAL.

Ganhati.

April 17, 1900.

MY DEAR SIR,—In my article on Aśwagrāntā, published in the January number of the Journal, I made reference, on p. 25, to the Aśokāṣṭamī festival. Perhaps it may be of interest to state that the Hindus bathe in the Brahmaputra in Assam, on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, in order to become Aśoka, free from sorrow. They also use in performing *pūjā* on this occasion the flowers of the Aśoka-tree (*Jonesia Asoka*). The customs of the people therefore leave the original meaning of this curious name for the eighth day of the light half of the lunar month Chaitra in the same uncertainty as it is left in by the dictionaries. Colebrooke had already called attention to the name in 1792 in the "Asiatic Researches," iii, 277.

I may also state for your information that I intend to ask the Kamrup Local Board for a small grant of money to preserve the carving of the Ananta Sajya (reproduced in your Plate II) from destruction by the erection of a small building over the carving.

Since I wrote the article above referred to, the shrine has been honoured by a visit from Her Excellency Lady Curzon of Kedleston, who examined the carving with great interest.—Yours faithfully,

P. R. GURDON,

Honorary Director, Ethnography, Assam.

*To Professor Rhys Davids,
Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society.*

2. THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME BĀBAR.

Bābar appears to be a lengthened form of the word ببر, *babar* or *bībar*, and is commonly explained as meaning 'tiger.' In our Persian and Hindustānī dictionaries the word ببر is rendered both as 'lion' and as 'tiger'; while Lane, in his Arabic dictionary, gives as one explanation of the word, "a certain Indian animal, stronger than the lion, between which and the lion and leopard, or panther, exists hostility." He also says that the word is foreign, or Persian. The word occurs several times in Jahāngīr's Memoirs, and in one place, B.M. MS. Add. 26,215, p. 245a, he distinguishes it from the شیر, *sher* or tiger, and speaks of having had both these dissected in order to find the cause of their courage. It seems to me that he understood the word as meaning 'leopard,' and as he speaks on more than one occasion of having despatched the *babar* by a single shot, it probably was a smaller animal than the tiger. In one place in Afghanistan, either Bābar's tomb or the entrance of the inscription-cave described by Darmesteter, two leopards are sculptured, which seems to show that *Bābar* was supposed to mean 'leopard.' In Zend the word is *bawri*, and in Balfour's Cyclopaedia and Jerdon's "Mammals of India," p. 99, the form *bibla* is given. Is not, then, the word the same as the Greek βᾶλός, which appears in Latin as *varius*, and means 'the spotted'? In Anglo-Indian slang the leopard and the tiger are commonly distinguished as "spots and stripes." The word may also be connected with the Greek *pardos* or *pardalis*.

H. BEVERIDGE.

May 5, 1900.

3. PAHLAVI WORDS, DERIVATION AND SIGNIFICANCE.

Bombay.

May 3, 1900.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to the Pahlavi words *akhtman* (*akhtā*) and *ntshman* (*ntshā*) as they are used in passages such as the following, I submit for the criticism of the members

of the Royal Asiatic Society a brief note suggestive of their special significations in the respective quotations given below.

These Pahlavi passages, which occur in (1) *Yâdgâr-t-Zarîrân*, § 65, and in (2) *Arđâ-t-Vîrâf*, chap. ii, §§ 1-2, run thus :—

(1) “Va âkhar yemalelunîd Kai-Vishtâsp-Shah aîgh hat hamâk bend va akh va vispûhragân î li, Kai-Vishtâsp-Shah, va zakich î Hûtôs, zyam akhtâ va nîshâ, mûn min bend vad bentâ 30 azash zâd yekavîmûnêd, hamâk yemîlûnt yehevûnd; adînam denâ avîzak Dîn î Mâzdaiasnân chî-gûnam min Aûharmazd mekablûnt barâ lâ shedkûnam.”

(2) “Va ôld Vîrâf râî 7 akhtâ yehevûnd, va ôldshân kôlâ 7 akhtâân Vîrâf chîgûn nîshâ yehevûnt hûmand.”

The translators hitherto of these citations have, in their interpretations, attached to the two words *akhtâ* and *nîshâ* the ordinary meanings of ‘sister’ and ‘wife’ in which they are generally used in Pahlavi. But I believe that these two words have distinct readings and significations in the texts above-mentioned. The decipherment in the first case is not *zyam akhtâ va nîshâ*, “who is my sister and wife,” but *zyam khajîd mûn nîshâ*. Here the two words *khajîd* and *mûn* are joined together in the original text by an ignorant copyist to form the commonly known word *akhtman*, which means ‘sister.’

In the first passage the word *akhtman* in the text is properly *khajîd* plus *mûn* (the latter can also be read *man*, a pronoun sometimes used in Pahlavi as the Pazend synonym of the Huzvareš *li*).

The word *khajîd* is derived from the Avesta *hva*, ‘self’ (Skt. *sva*), and *chi* (Skt. *chi*), ‘to choose.’ Literally, it means ‘chosen by one’s self.’ It is identical with the modern Persian *khazîdan* or *khûzîdan*, which signifies ‘to invite to marriage’ or ‘to solicit for the hand of a maiden.’¹ Hence my version of the Pahlavi text (1) is :—

¹ See under the word, Maulavi Fazl-i-Ali’s Dictionary, p. 237.

"And afterwards the king *Kai-Vishtâsp* spoke thus:— 'If all the sons, and brothers, and princes of mine, (who am) *Kat Vishtâsp Shah*, and of *Hûtôs*, who was chosen by myself (to be my spouse), (and) who (was married to me and) is my wife, and by whom are begotten 30, including sons and daughters; (if they) are to die together, then (too) I shall not forsake this sacred Mazdayasnian Revelation such as I have accepted from *Aûharmazd*.'"

The Pahlavi expression *syam khajtd* suggests to us that the courting or solicitation for the hand of a maiden was not unknown to the Irânians in the age of the Avesta. The failure of such a solicitation does not seem to have been uncommon, as the highest power, like King Vishtâsp, emphatically expresses the successful result of his courtship in his subsequent connubial union with *Hûtôs*.



In the second Pahlavi passage quoted above, the word *ntshâ* is not used in its ordinary import of 'wife' or 'woman,' but it seems to be, as in other Pahlavi MSS., an erroneous reading of the original *ntsmô* or *ntsmān*, which means 'soul,' 'life,' 'vital power,' etc. (cf. S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, chap. xiv, § 1). This much discussed passage can therefore be rendered: "Virâf had seven sisters, and all these seven were unto Virâf as dear as (his) soul."

A further progress in the decipherment and interpretation of more Pahlavi texts will, I hope, enable us to throw better light on such ambiguous and obscure Pahlavi words and expressions.—Yours sincerely,

DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA.

4. SANTAK OR SIGN-SIGNATURES IN INDIA.

SIR,—Perhaps some of the readers of your Journal may kindly help me to obtain further information as to the origin of the *santaks* or marks used to attest the signatures of illiterate persons in some parts of India, and as to the use of similar marks in other countries.

In the Orissa districts of Bengal every man has according to his caste and family a distinctive mark, which, if unable to sign his name, he is supposed to draw, and may generally use as a crest. In most cases these marks are rude or conventional drawings of an implement used by members of a profession: for instance, a Bhandári or member of the caste of barbers makes a square which is called the *darpan santak* or looking-glass sign; a Khandait or member of the old warrior caste uses a *khanda santak* or sword sign; and a goldsmith makes a simple circle supposed to represent a touchstone. Many castes use more than one mark, and custom appears to determine which of them is used in any particular family. The most general mark is the figure of Jaganath  which any Hindu may use, and the most exclusive is the peacock confined to descendants of the old royal family of the peacock line. To illustrate the use of the *santak*, we may suppose that Fagu Paharāj, an illiterate Brahman, asks Rām Mahanti to sign a paper for him. Rām Mahanti would write “e  *kuṣabatu santak likhitan Fagu Paharāj*,” i.e., this symbol of the ring of kusa-grass was made by Fagu Paharāj, and would probably add the words “by the agency of Rām Mahanti.” Whether this addition was made or not the form of signature would show that Fagu Paharāj was a Brahman, and that he could not or did not sign his own name, the mark only being, in theory, made by him. I have made a collection, by no means complete, of such marks, and I shall be greatly obliged for information as to the existing literature on the subject, and as to the prevalence of similar customs elsewhere.

J. E. WEBSTER, I.C.S.

To Professor Rhys Davids.

5. THE TĀRĪKH AL ḤUKAMĀ OF MUḤAMMAD SHAHRISTĀNĪ.

SIR,—Dr. Cureton¹ states in the preface to his edition of Shahristānī's Book of Sects (London, O.T.F., 1846), p. ii, note e, that there were two copies of Shahristānī's Tārīkh al Ḥukamā, or Lives of Philosophers, in Mr. Bland's library, though one appeared to have been transcribed from the other. He also said that he had seen a Persian translation of the work. This had been brought to England by Mr. Fraser, but it was afterwards bought by the Prince of Oude and taken back to India.

Mr. Bland's manuscripts were bought by the Earl of Crawford in 1866 through Mr. Quaritch, and now form part of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana at Haigh Hall, Wigan. In the privately printed hand-list of that collection (1898), p. 90, No. 36, there is an entry of Shahristānī's work, and Mr. Edmond, the Librarian at Haigh Hall, has kindly sent it to me at the British Museum. There Mr. Ellis has been good enough to examine it, and he has found it to be identical with the anonymous work described by Dr. Rieu at p. 601b of the Arabic Catalogue, and which Dr. Rieu considers to be the work, not of Shahristānī, but of Shamsu-d-din Shahrazūrī. The B.M. copy and the Bib. Lind. copy have exactly the same style of binding, and there can be no doubt that both originally belonged to Mr. Bland, and that they are the two copies described by Dr. Cureton. The contents of both are the same, and the B.M. copy, which is the older of the two, is evidently the one from which the copy now in the Bib. Lind. was transcribed. The British Museum copy, it appears, was purchased by the authorities from Dr. Cureton's executors.

Though the Arabic MSS. of the Tārīkh al Ḥukamā do not give the author's name, the Persian translation (Rieu's Persian Catalogue, Supplement, p. 68c, No. 100, I) states the author's name as Shahrazūrī; and the work cannot be by Shahristānī, for it contains the biography of Sahrawardī,

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Whinfield for the reference.

who was put to death in 587 A.H., whereas Shahristānī died in 548 A.H.

When I was in India I made many inquiries about Shahristānī's work, but failed to find it, though Shahrazūrī's was not uncommon.

The probability is that Shahristānī never wrote "Lives of Philosophers," and that the mistake originated with Hājī Khalfa, who mixed up the two names Shahristānī and Shahrazūrī. In his reference to the former (Fluegel, ii, p. 125) he gives no details, which seems to imply that he had never seen the book, whereas in his account of Shahrazūrī's work (Fluegel, vi, 321) he describes the contents and gives the exordium.

H. BEVERIDGE.

June 7, 1900.














6. AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN.

DEAR SIR, — Probably I was wrong in making such a loose translation of *Akkadā* and *Šu[merā?]* in my paper "Sumerian or Cryptography" in the January Part of the Journal (p. 94). Instead of Akkad and Sumer, I ought to have said "the Akkadian" and "the Sumerian."

I was thinking of the passage in K. 2,619, where we have *Elamā Elamū*, *Kaššā Kaššū*, *Sutā Sutū*, *Qutā Qutū*, *Lullubā Lullubū* (accusative and nominative), and *Akkadū* (nom.), all occurring with the meanings of Elamite, Kassite, Sutite, Qutite, Lullubite, and Akkadian, each of these adjectives standing for the nation it represents, though there is no prefix for country.

Akkadā means, therefore, 'Akkadian,' and is to all appearance accusative. But did somebody "place the Akkadian" above, or did he "write Akkadian" above? I have said in my paper that this fragment of an inscription (K. 14,013) "raises the question whether the position of the two districts is referred to." Few, in all probability, will say that this phrase requires amending, for this question would in any case still remain.

That *Akkadā* and *Šu[merā]* may refer to the languages is not only possible, but probable. That the position of the writing on the tablet is referred to, however, one may be allowed to doubt. Supposing that the upper line were Akkadian and the lower line Sumerian, a man who could read would know this without being told, and to one who could not read such information would be useless.

Perhaps K. 14,013 is a parallel text to K. 11,856, where, after references to      , *é-dub-ba-gu-la*, "the house of the great tablet," or better, "the great tablet-house," the words     , *ina šal-ši Ak-k[a-da-a?]* occur. This would seem to refer to the rooms, or shelves, or receptacles, where the various classes of tablets were kept, for it means "in the third the Akkadian"; and that the language is referred to here, is proved by the non-Semitic line, which has  , *eme Uri*, "tongue of Akkad."

But this, like the others, is tantalizingly incomplete.

I am glad to have Professor Tiele's criticism, as it proves that my language, notwithstanding my desire to be cautious, was not sufficiently guarded and precise.

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

7. NOTE ON INDIAN COINS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

Naini Tal, N.W.P.

May 28, 1900.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—At pp. 115 and 116 of the *Journal* for January, 1900, Mr. Rapson discusses the coins of Virasena and refers to the question whether they should be classed with the so-called Muttra coins. There cannot be the slightest doubt that they are found most commonly in the places where the Muttra coins are found, but they are also found further to the west and south. Most of my Muttra coins (I have ten of those figured in plate viii, Cunningham's "Coins of Ancient India," besides a number

I am still working at) were found on the ancient site of Sankisa or the neighbouring village of Sarai Aghat, the former in the Farukhabad district and the latter in Etah. I have never, however, got a Muttra coin in Qanauj, though I have obtained several of Virasena there. A more important fact, however, is the inscription I found in the south of the Farukhabad district at Jānkhat, a village five miles south-west by south of Thatia, and nine miles south-east of Tirwa, in the Tirwa tahsil (the place is marked on the map in the Gazetteer of the Farukhabad district). As is usual in those parts, every carved stone found is placed on a mound in or near the village site, and the collection is called the *Gawān devi*, or village gods. When in camp I always examined these, and on January 21st, 1896, as I was leaving the village I found an inscription on the back of one stone, the front of which had a carving, the nature of which I forget. I had no materials for taking an *estampage* and at that time did not know the Brahmi letters, but took two eye-copies. From a volume of Cunningham's Archaeological Reports I made out the name Virasena written exactly as it is on the coins, and a few months later Mr. V. A. Smith, as soon as he saw the copy, read the date 113 Grishma. Looking at the copy again, I am inclined to think that between the word Virasena and the date the word Samvatsara occurs, and the symbol read by Mr. Smith as 100 is really the final *-ra* of Samvatsara. This would make the date 13 of the Samvat era, or B.C. 45. I attempted to get the stone sent to the Lucknow Museum, but the owner of the village, a man much under the influence of the Brahmans, wrote that the villagers refused to let it go, and I had left the district before I realized the importance of the find. Dr. Führer promised to send a man to take a cast or *estampage*, but apparently omitted to do so. If possible I shall go there next cold weather, but it is uncertain whether I can get there, as the place is some distance from the railway. The middle of the lower part of the stone has lost the inscription, and the appearance led me to believe it had been used to sharpen chisels on.

On p. 110 of the same number Mr. Rapson publishes a Muttra coin with a new name, Śeṣadātasa, and writes that only three specimens are known. Three years ago I sent a specimen, which I still possess, to the Bengal Asiatic Society for publication. The Society could not allow a plate for my paper, which was therefore not published, and at that time I thought the symbol for Śe- was a combination of *ta-* and *ra-*. There is no doubt, however, to my mind, that Mr. Rapson's reading of Śeṣa is correct. The letter immediately before Śe on my coin is blurred, but appears to be the combination *-jño* as in No. 10 of Mr. Rapson's paper. The top of the *-da-* is gone, so that it is impossible to say whether it has the long *-ā-* attached to it or not.

I should also like to mention that my specimen of Brahma Mitra (Cunn., *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. viii, No. 12) is either of mixed metal or was washed with silver, and I have one round coin of Virasena.—Yours sincerely,

RICHARD BURN.

8. SANSKRIT DEED OF SALE.

Göttingen.

June 17, 1900.

DEAR SIR,—In his interesting article on “A Sanskrit Deed of Sale concerning a Kaśmīrian Mahābhārata Manuscript,” Dr. Stein, above p. 191, has stated that the date of that deed corresponds to Thursday, the 10th July, 1682; but the 10th July, 1682, old style, was a Monday, and new style, a Friday. Really the original date, “Thursday, the 1st¹ of the dark half of Âśvina of the laukika year 58 [i.e. the Saptarṣi year 4758],” corresponds to Thursday, the 7th September, 1682, old style.—Yours truly,

F. KIELHORN.

¹ On p. 191, line 3, Dr. Stein has “the 8th day,” but from pp. 188 and 189 it is clear that the day was the 1st.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

JALKUT MACHIRI, SAMMLUNG HALACHISCHER UND HAGGADISCHER STELLEN AUS TALMUD UND MIDRASCHIM ZU DEN 150 PSALMEN, von R. MACHIR BEN ABBA MARI. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben, etc., von SALOMON BUBER. 2 vols. pp. xviii, 354, 296. (Berdyczew, 1899.)

The full history of Biblical Catenae has still to be written. Homiletical interpretations of portions of the Bible are known in great numbers, and the best editions of the smaller books are due to the industry and the critical learning of Mr. Buber. He has been the first to place the editions of such works upon the basis of modern criticism, and to furnish the student with absolutely reliable texts. To him more than to any other man this branch of ancient Hebrew literature owes almost everything of value. He has now turned also to the edition of what I have called the Hebrew "Catenae." It is not the place here to enter into any details as to the probable origin of this kind of collections, in which all the previous works have been utilized, in the same manner as we find the homiletical works of the Fathers of the Church and of other great scholars used in the mediaeval Christian compilations which go under this very name of Catenae. To each verse of the Bible a number of interpretations is given culled from those writings and strung together on the thread of the biblical text, forming thus a kind of "Chain" of interpretation. I have dealt largely with similar compilations in Hebrew

literature for the first time in my "Exempla of the Rabbis," where I have also drawn special attention to the works of a certain Machir ben Abba Mari, of uncertain age and country and until then almost unknown. Of his extensive labours in that direction only three books have thus far escaped destruction, viz., the "Yalqut," i.e. "Collection" or "Catena" to Isaiah, in an unique and incomplete MS. in Leyden, then to Psalms in two MSS., one a modern and unreliable copy in the Bodleian in Oxford and a very old copy which up to quite recently had been considered lost. It was known to have existed somewhere in Russia, but every trace had been lost for the last fifty years. Through the intermediary of Mr. Buber I have been able to recover that lost MS.; it is now my Codex Or. No. 100. A third book of Machir is in the British Museum, viz., to some of the twelve Minor Prophets. That to Isaiah has been edited by Mr. Spira with my assistance in 1894, and I have placed my Codex of the Catenae to Psalms at the disposal of Mr. Buber, with the result that we now welcome the present edition. It could not have been entrusted to a more capable and scholarly editor than Mr. Buber, with his wide experience and profound learning, could be. Apart from the literary importance which attaches to the publication of an old writing, the value of these Catenae is greatly enhanced by the assistance which they render to a critical edition of the primary works from which the compiler has collected his materials. Machir was painstaking and exact. To each quotation he prefixes the name of the Book from which it is taken, and, where possible, also the subdivision, such as chapter or section. In editing the MS. Mr. Buber has subdivided each verse into as many sections as there are quotations in the commentary, so as to make the reference to it easy. He has verified the quotations, and he now gives us the precise indication of these sources, where they are to be found in our modern editions, giving folios for the Talmud and minute divisions and sections of the haggadic writings contained in the "Yalqut." With his usual thoroughness the editor discusses in the Introduction the

time when and the place where our author lived, and the relation in which his Jalqut stands to another more popular compilation also known by the same name, which had been the cause of his disappearance, as it was more complete and richer in haggadic quotation. Mr. Buber controverts some of the views expressed by me on this question, which I still consider as open: he himself does not come to any definite conclusion. An index of the sources quoted in the work increases its practical value for critical purposes. All scholars interested in this branch of literature will gratefully accept the new gift offered to them by the veteran savant, and will still more appreciate it, considering that it is issued at so low a price as 5s. 6d. for both volumes well printed.

In conclusion, I may remark that I am now preparing the edition of the British Museum MS. Catena on the Minor Prophets, and will thus complete the edition of Machir's "Yalqut," in which I have taken a special interest for many years.

M. G.

THE DHAMMAPADA. Second edition, by V. FAUSBÖLL.
8vo; pp. 94. (London: Luzac & Co., 1900.)

This is the first Pali text to be issued in a second edition, and the fact that a second edition is not only possible, but is urgently wanted, shows that Pali studies have entered upon a new stage in their forward progress. How great has that progress been since, now nearly fifty years ago, this book was first brought out! Then the Pali scholars in Europe could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and there were none at all in America. Now there is scarcely a Sanskrit professor in Europe or America who does not read Pali; and many of them have contributed to the solution of the historical questions raised by the publication of the Pali texts. That curious attitude of mixed contempt and dislike (born from exclusive familiarity with the priestly

view of things Indian), which used to be taken up by some Sankritists, has now nearly passed away. It is taken for granted that a successful solution of the current problems in the evolution of Indian religion, philosophy, social institutions, laws, and customs can only be expected when all available evidence, including that preserved in the Prakrit books, shall have been duly considered. And everyone knows how very large and important a part of such evidence now available to Indianists has been made accessible to them by our distinguished honorary member, the editor of this volume.

It is chiefly two ways in which this edition differs from the first. In the first place, whereas the MSS., and the native editions, always spell the words according to the plan afterwards systematically laid down for the spelling of Pali, many of the verses included in this anthology were evidently (as one can see from the metre) originally pronounced otherwise. No doubt the verses were put together at different times and in different places. It is not necessary therefore to endeavour to make them all conform to the same fashion of speech. But where the metre clearly shows that the author pronounced, and would have written, *klesa* for *kilesa*, *arya* for *ariya*, *cetya* for *cetiya*, and so on, the present edition has been printed accordingly.

This is the first systematic attempt in the editing of a Pali text to get behind the MSS. and the commentaries, and restore a more ancient reading. It will be received, there can be little doubt, with favour, and be widely followed. Hitherto this has been scarcely possible. But now that we have so many Pali texts before us, of all ages, and from all the countries where it was the literary language, we can begin to distinguish with a reasonable degree of certainty between the usages of different times and places; and can hope to be able to reconstruct the most ancient form of it.

As time goes on we shall assuredly be able also to get behind our MSS. on other details, on modes of expression, for instance, relating to doctrine, especially as to the person

of the Buddha himself. For though it is increasingly certain, as our knowledge grows wider, that the Pali canon contains our oldest authorities, it is also certain that they, too, had an evolution. The works included in the Canon are admittedly of different ages, though all of them, with one possible exception, were composed in the North of India. In the process of that evolution they will have been subject, within certain limits, to change, and it is not too much to hope that we may be able before long to define those limits.

The other innovation is the pointing out of the passages from which the verses in this anthology have been taken, so far as has been ascertained since the first edition was published. The editor has traced 131 out of the 423 verses to earlier Buddhist books, and has pointed out parallels to 50 others found in later Indian literature—the *Mahā Bhārata*, for instance, and *Manu*, besides the later Buddhist works. These parallels are not always very close, and in several cases amount to little more than similarity of idea. The editor might have enlarged this list. Thus, with

| | | | |
|--------|----------|---------|--|
| Verses | 13, 14 | compare | Thera Gāthā, 133, 134. |
| „ | 26, 27 | „ | Majjhima, 2. 105. |
| „ | 51, 52 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 323, 324. |
| „ | 69 | „ | Samyutta, 1. 85. |
| „ | 70 | „ | Jacobi, Jain Sūtras, 2. 39. |
| „ | 80 | „ | Majjhima, 2. 105. |
| „ | 85–89 | „ | Anguttara, 5. 232, 253;
Samyutta, 5. 24;
Milinda, 200 (on 87). |
| „ | 94 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 205, 206. |
| „ | 98 | „ | Anguttara, 1. 281. |
| „ | 116 | „ | Jātaka, 4. 490. |
| „ | 119, 120 | „ | Jātaka, 3. 291. |
| „ | 126 | „ | Mahā Vastu, 2. 424. |
| „ | 127 | „ | Milinda, 150. |
| „ | 128 | „ | Divyāvadāna, 532. |
| „ | 131, 132 | „ | Udāna, 2. 3. |

| | | | |
|--------|----------|---------|---|
| Verses | 136 | compare | Thera Gāthā, 146. |
| „ | 145 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 19. |
| „ | 147 | „ | Majjhima, 2. 64. |
| „ | 148 | „ | Samyutta, 1. 97 ;
Lalita Vistara, 328. |
| „ | 149 | „ | Udāna, 1. 5. |
| „ | 157 | „ | Udāna, 5. 1. |
| „ | 170 | „ | Sutta Nipāta, 1, 119 ;
Kathā Vatthu, 64. |
| „ | 172, 173 | „ | Majjhima, 2. 104. |
| „ | 176 | „ | Iti Vuttaka, 25. |
| „ | 183, 184 | „ | Dīgha, No. xiv. |
| „ | 188-190 | „ | Udāna Varga, 27. 29. |
| „ | 200 | „ | Samyutta, 1. 114. |
| „ | 218 | „ | Therī Gāthā, 12. |
| „ | 228 | „ | Udāna, 6. 2. |
| „ | 230 | „ | Anguttara, 4. 6, 28 ;
Samyutta, 1. 65. |
| „ | 241, 242 | „ | Anguttara, 4. 195. |
| „ | 252 | „ | Anguttara, 5. 174 ;
J.R.A.S., Vol. V, p. 225. |
| „ | 260 | „ | Manu, 2. 154, 6. |
| „ | 266, 267 | „ | Samyutta, 1. 182. |
| „ | 271, 272 | „ | Mahā Vastu, 3. 422. |
| „ | 282 | „ | Attha Sālinī, 76. |
| „ | 315 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 653, 1005. |
| „ | 325 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 101. |
| „ | 330 | „ | Vinaya, 1. 350. |
| „ | 337 | „ | Jātaka, 5. 72. |
| „ | 339, 340 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 760. |
| „ | 362 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 981. |
| „ | 364 | „ | Iti Vuttaka, 82 ;
Thera Gāthā, 1032 ;
Mahā Vastu, 3. 422. |
| „ | 369 | „ | Mahā Vastu, 3. 523. |
| „ | 370 | „ | Samyutta, 1. 3. |
| „ | 371 | „ | Jātaka, 5. 99. |
| „ | 379 | „ | Thera Gāthā, 637. |

| | | |
|------------|---------|--|
| Verses 382 | compare | Majjhima, 2. 104;
Thera Gāthā, 203. |
| „ 388 | „ | Udāna, 1. 5. |
| „ 398 | „ | Samyutta, 1. 16, 63. |
| „ 414 | „ | Anguttara, 4. 290. |
| „ 423 | „ | Majjhima, 2. 144;
Anguttara, 1. 165;
Samyutta, 1. 167. |

More than half of the verses have thus been traced, and it is most probable that the person who made the collection now so well known under the name of the Dhammapada took them from the sources thus discovered. In those cases, however, in which the verses recur in later Buddhist works, either Pali or Sanskrit, it is not probable that they were taken from this anthology. It is more likely they were taken from the sources from which the Dhammapada itself drew.

Where the verses occur, either in whole or in part, in brahmin books, we may be sure they are not borrowed either from any Buddhist anthology or from the sources thereof. In this case the verses are never Buddhist. They simply set out in rhyme some worldly moral maxim. They may have been, like so many proverbs, common property to all Indians, before the Buddhists adapted them; or occasionally perhaps a maxim, first thrown into verse by some Kshatriya or Buddhist, received sufficiently wide acceptance to become common property, and was then adopted by brahmin writers. In such verses a word or two is sometimes changed, and it would make an interesting article to point out the changes, some of which are very suggestive, and discuss the reasons for them.

We congratulate Professor Fausböll on the great care and thoroughness with which this present work has been done; and would venture to suggest to him that a similar second edition of his *Sutta Nipāta* is very much wanted by all interested in Pali studies.

THE UPANISHADS. Vols. II, III, and IV. pp. 193, 311, and 374. (Madras : Natesan & Co., 1898, 1899.)

This is the continuation of the translation into English of Śankara's commentaries on the old Upanishads, of which the first volume was noticed above, J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 145. The second volume contains the Kāṭha and Prasṇa, and the third and fourth volumes contain the Chāndogya. There are still no indices of any kind, and no references to the pages of the text of the commentary. If the publisher will provide at the end of the series a full index of subjects treated, and another of the Sanskrit words discussed and explained by Śankara, the series would become a valuable work of reference, and would find a place on the shelves of every student of Indian thought. We would once more urge Mr. Seshacharri to take this matter into serious consideration.

GEORGISCHE DICHTER, übersetzt von ARTHUR LEIST.
(Dresden : E. Pierson.) M. G. JANASHVILI, TSARITSA
TAMARA (in Russian). (Tiflis : M. Shavadze.)

A few travellers—notably Mr. James Bryce—have written about the Georgians, but their picturesque country has been but little visited by Englishmen. It is, however, one of the most charming regions upon the face of the earth, and well deserves the praises which Herr Arthur Leist has bestowed upon it in the work at present under our notice. The inhabitants are a fine manly race, worthy of such a land. Of the language and literature of this people almost nothing is known in England, but there are indications that we shall be soon made more familiar with it. Mr. Oliver Wardrop, now Vice-Consul at Kertch, has given us a translation of a notable book among the Georgians, the so-called “Book of Wisdom and Lies,” by Sulkhan Orbeliani; and his sister, Miss Marjory Wardrop, has not only published a translation of some Mingrelian tales, but promises us a version of “The Man in the Tiger's Skin,” the national epic.

But we must not keep Herr Leist any longer waiting; he has indeed done yeoman service in the cause of Georgian literature, and we may add Armenian ("Armenische Dichter," Dresden, 1898). The first edition of the present work was published in 1887; in 1889 appeared from the pen of our author a version of the epic of Shota Rustaveli ("Der Mann im Tigerfelle," Dresden); and he now issues a second edition of his anthology with many new pieces, and a very useful summary of Georgian literature in the Introduction. The Georgian language is still a veritable crux for the philologist, and Professor Schuchardt, of Gratz, has recently taken it in hand and essayed to explain its perplexing verbal system, which reminds us very much of Basque, although the two languages have no words of their vocabulary in common. It has two alphabets, one called the ecclesiastical and the other the military. At present we only know from the labours of Brosset, Tsagarelli, Erckert, and others, that there are four languages which greatly resemble each other: Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazi, and Suani. These four are unlike all other languages as far as linguistic classification has been conducted. Georgian is the only one which boasts any literature; the others have songs and folk-tales merely. After long contests with their Mohammedan neighbours the Georgians were annexed by Russia at the beginning of the present century. Their literature goes back to the eighth century, but the great period—the *Blüthezeit*, as the Germans would term it—was in the thirteenth century, in the reign of Queen Tamara, the great sovereign to whom everything glorious in the national history is assigned. Mr. Janashvili has written her life in Russian. In most of the early Georgian literature a Persian influence can be traced. But the reader who wishes to know about their authors must be referred to Herr Leist's excellent Introduction, where a great deal of information is conveyed in a very compact form. For his extracts in the present volume Herr Leist deals only with the poets of the present century—in fact, those who have flourished during the new period of the country under Russian influence and that

of the West generally. He begins with Gregory Orbeliani, who died in 1883 at an advanced age. The poems strike us as full of colour. In the present volume they are all lyrical. Love and wine are frequent topics. With these patriotism is intermixed, as in the lines (p. 23) on the death of Heraklius II, the last native king of Georgia. We ought to add that short biographical notices of the poets are prefixed to the selections from their works. Perhaps the most conspicuous of the modern Georgian poets is Prince Elias Chavchavadze, who received his education at St. Petersburg. He is one of the most conspicuous citizens of Tiflis, where he dispenses a generous hospitality. He is also editor of the journal *Iveria*, the columns of which frequently contain valuable data on the folklore and traditions of the Georgian tribes. The "Hermit," by Prince Chavchavadze, has been translated into Russian; and there is an English version by Miss M. Wardrop, which, we believe, was the first translation of a Georgian poem which has appeared in our language. The feelings of a genuine patriot are expressed in his lines "On the Banks of the Kur" (p. 59 in Herr Leist's translation):

"So hör' ich wieder dein vergessenes Rauschen
 O Heimatsstrom und aufgewacht vom Schlummer
 Regt meine Seele wieder banger Kummer
 Denn nur betrübt mag deinem Spiel ich lauschen."

In the present volume they are rendered most musically. After dealing with several others of the modern poets, Herr Leist winds up with some Volkslieder, among which the *Grabschrift der Königin Tamar* is very striking. The aphorisms from Shota Rustaveli will be read with pleasure, and will tempt the reader to be further acquainted with the curious poem from which they are selected. He would do well to make himself familiar with Herr Leist's translation of the *Vepkhkvis-Tqaosani*, in which he has used a judicious system of compression. Altogether, we can certainly promise the Western reader considerable pleasure from Herr Leist's volume. A *terra incognita* will be open

to him; the picturesque scenery and equally picturesque inhabitants of delightful Georgia come back again to us as we open his pages, and the pretty little illustrations with which this dainty book is published increase its poetic charm. But it is not in poetry only that modern Georgians have distinguished themselves. There are many excellent contributions to history and ethnology. Unfortunately, however, these are either in the Georgian or Russian languages, and therefore not easily available to an English philologist. Among these must be mentioned the elaborate history of Georgian Literature by Professor Khakhanov, now appearing in Russian, and the valuable papers on the same subject by Professor Marr in the Journal of the Minister of Public Instruction.

In the year 1873 Demetrius Bakradze, a Georgian antiquarian, called the attention of his countrymen to the great destruction of antiquities going on in this ancient and picturesque country. He stirred his fellow-citizens with such zeal that a Museum was finally founded for their preservation. This institution was opened on the 27th July, 1888, with a speech by Palladius, then Exarch of Georgia and now Metropolitan of St. Petersburg. Two excursions have since been made over large portions of the country, and the results have been that many manuscripts, documents of various kinds, inscribed stones, and other reliques of the past have been collected, partly preserved in monasteries and partly in private families. This collection has now been put under the care of Mr. M. Janashvili, an indefatigable antiquary, who has done much service to Georgia by his pen. His short history of the country is the one allowed by the Government to be used in schools where Georgian is taught. He has written on Georgian folklore and superstitions; a subject about which exceedingly little is known. We may mention also his book on the source of the Georgian romantic tale, *Amiran-Darejaniani*, a collection of adventures which are pervaded by a tone almost as knightly as that of the Middle Ages. Upon this work a learned article has appeared by Mr. Marr, of the

University of St. Petersburg, in the Journal of the Minister of Public Instruction. It is strange to find this echo of the West in Georgian poetry. Shota Rustaveli, the author of their Ariosto-like epic previously alluded to, was a veritable troubadour, and completes the parallel by having nourished, it is said, a hopeless passion for Queen Tamara. And all this was done in Asia in the twelfth century. Of this poet Mr. Janashvili has written a short and interesting account in Georgian (Tiflis, 1896).

Thus the worthy Keeper of the Museum has occupied himself to the great advantage of Western students with the history, ethnology, and literature of his country. He has told us of the Georgian Church, of the folklore of his race, and among his latest works is a short account of Georgian literature, of which one part has appeared. Perhaps there may come a day when in England more interest may be taken in this remarkable people, a handsome, freedom-loving race, who have striven among their mountains for many centuries, boasting of an early Christianity, which dates from about the second century after Christ.

In conclusion we wish all success to Mr. Janashvili in his useful and learned labours.

W. R. MORFILL.

THE SYRIAC CHRONICLE, KNOWN AS THAT OF ZACHARIAH OF MITYLENE. Translated into English by F. J. HAMILTON, D.D., and E. W. BROOKS, M.A. (Methuen & Co., 1899. 12s. 6d.)

The ecclesiastical chronicle of a certain Zacharias, the Greek form of which had been lost, and which had been preserved only in a Syriac compilation of the middle of the sixth century, ranks amongst the most important works of its kind (v. Krummbacher, *Byzant. Literaturgesch.*, 2nd ed., p. 403). The Syriac text has been published for the first time by Land. To the industry of Messrs. Hamilton and Brooks we owe now the first (as Mr. Hamilton had printed

a portion of it privately) complete and accessible English translation of the compilation, which contains the work of Zacharias. The interest of the translators lay more in the direction of the Ecclesiastical History, and they have therefore omitted, to the regret of the students of this branch of literature, the first portion, containing the legendary element—e.g., the history of Joseph and Asenath, the acts of Sylvester, portions of the Nicodemus Gospel, etc. In an introduction, which is far too short, the relation in which the compiler stands to John of Ephesus and to the so-called “Dionysius” is clearly set forth. The translation reads very smoothly, and yet the character of the original has none the less been faithfully preserved. The editors still identify Zacharias Rhetor with Zacharias Scholasticus, hence some of the difficulties of chronology. They see in him the author of the Life of Severus and others. M. A. Kugener studies some of these writings in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, ix (1900), p. 464 ff., and promises to prove the difference between these two men in his forthcoming article in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*.

M. G.

DR. ROBERT KOLDEWEY. DIE HETTITISCHE INSCHRIFT
GEFUNDEN IN DER KOENIGSBURG VON BABYLON AM
22 AUGUST, 1899, UND VEROEFFENTLICHT VON
Mit einer Abbildung und drei Tafeln. (Wissen-
schaftliche Veroeffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-
Gesellschaft, Heft 1.) Folio. (Leipzig: J. C.
Hinrich'sche Buchahndlung, 1900. 4 mk.)

In a short introduction of two pages, Professor Delitzsch explains the importance of this publication of the new German Oriental Society. It is thus far the only perfect specimen of a Hittite inscription, found on a statue of extremely archaic character, discovered in the old royal palace of Babylon. The stele is very much like the so-called God of thunder of the Hittites, found at Zingirli. The inscription consists of 273 signs, written ‘boustrophedon’ on seven

lines, and the words are evidently separated one from the other by a certain sign, which consists of a small stroke and half-moon, the horns of which are turned in the direction of the script. Not a few of these signs are recurring more than once and will eventually assist in the decipherment of these curious hieroglyphs, which have thus far baffled the ingenuity of many a scholar. The photographic reproduction and the tracing of the characters in the three plates which accompany the text are admirable. No attempt is as yet made to grapple with the problem of the reading. And wisely so. As a curious fact it must be noted that this statue should have been found in the royal palace of Babylon, though the land of the Hittites was at least twenty-four days journey distant from that place. It is therefore not likely that it had been brought that distance and erected there as a mere piece of curious import. The full significance of its appearance there may perhaps become more clear by subsequent discoveries.

M. G.

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY. An Essay by P. C. MUKERJEE.
pp. 95. (Lucknow: "Express" Office, 1899. Price,
One Rupee.)

This essay by Mr. Mukerjee, who was employed by the Government on archaeological work last year, is a bold attempt to reconcile the acknowledged difficulties of early Indian Chronology. For some time past European scholars have been satisfied by the working hypothesis put forward by Cunningham which fixes the date of the Buddha's death at 477 B.C. This was arrived at by adding 218 years, the time stated in the Ceylon Chronicles to have elapsed between the death of the Buddha and the inauguration of Asoka, to the date of Asoka as fixed by the names of the Greek princes referred to in the Edicts. In other words, the hypothesis rejects the tradition handed down in the Ceylon Chronicles as to the dates of Asoka and of the Buddha, but accepts that tradition as to the interval between the two. As the

hypothesis does not pretend to give any reason for its thus blowing hot and cold on the same authority, it must at least be admitted that it is not very logical.

Mr. Mukerjee points out that, as the Jain and Brahmin chronologies are in practical agreement with the Ceylon books as to the date of the Buddha and the Mahāvira, that date (*circa* 620–540 B.C.) ought not so easily to be set aside. And he proposes, as a reconciliation between it and the Greek dates, to identify Asoka the Maurya (and not his grandfather) with the Greek Sandracottus. Candragupta, he points out, is a *biruda*, or title only, and not a name. Grandfather and grandson may well have had the same title, as in the case of the other two Candraguptas in the fourth century A.D. It is to this Candragupta Asoka Devānam-piya Piyadassi that the pillar edicts are to be assigned. And it is to his grandson, Sampati Devānam-piya Piyadassi, that the rock edicts, mentioning the five Greek princes, are to be assigned. In both cases we find only Devānam-piya Piyadassi in the inscriptions, and have hitherto taken this to mean Asoka the Mauryan throughout. All will be made clear if we, in interpreting the title, interpret it in two ways instead of in one.

Mr. Mukerjee supports this startling reconstruction by a number of arguments, and carries his results out with regard to other names. Thus, of the two Asokas he identifies the first with Nanda, the patron of the Vesālī Council. It would be impossible in the course of a short notice to enter into the discussion of these numerous subsidiary points on which his main argument is based. That would require at least a lengthy article, not to say a book as long as his own. He makes his best points, and some of them are very good, when he is showing how unsatisfactory, and how difficult to reconcile with admitted data, is the working hypothesis which at present holds the field. The positive part of the argument is weaker; and does not sufficiently deal with the arguments, set out for instance by M. Senart, in favour of the unity of authorship of all the edicts. It is evident, indeed, throughout that the author has not properly

read the greatest authority on the inscriptions of Piyadaasi. That authority wrote, no doubt, in French, which he does not understand. But he ought at least to have considered more carefully the English translations which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*.

It is a pity, too, that the essay does not give authorities for more of the statements it quotes. Authorities are given ; but not enough. "The Tibetans say" or "the Jainas say" is no use at all. We want to know the date and author of the statement. Even "the Mahāvansa says" is not enough. We want chapter and verse. What is the use of giving as the sole authority for the statement that one Kāśyapa built a certain monastery in 443 A.D., Mrs. Sinnett's "Five Years of Theosophy." It would have been better to have omitted the statement, which is of little or no importance for the author's main position. So loose a method of writing only prejudices the reader against the logical weight of the author he is reading.

At the same time it cannot be denied that there is much that is suggestive in this essay ; and it is interesting to find a native of India even attempting to tackle a question involving frequent reference to Buddhist and Greek authorities with which Indians are not usually familiar. Some such hypothesis as the author's will, no doubt, be eventually accepted in place of the working hypothesis now so generally and unquestionably taken for granted. That is admittedly unsatisfactory. Whether the hypothesis to be eventually followed will be the one here put forward is another question. But the essayist certainly deserves great credit not only for raising the question, but for having devoted such wide reading and so much thought to its solution.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS OF THE GREEKS, PHOENICIANS, AND BABYLONIANS. By ROBERT BROWN, Jun., F.S.A. Vol. ii. (Williams & Norgate, 1900.)

Again the indefatigable student of the astronomy of the ancients presents to the public, in an attractive form, a mass of information, based upon his researches into the tablets of Babylonia and Assyria which refer to the constellations, and to the heavenly bodies in general, as they understood them. The amount of material, and the knowledge to be gained therefrom, are enormous. The difficulty is, to understand the texts aright, and to draw from their information, when rightly understood, the true deduction.

The first volume, which was noticed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April last (pp. 371-375), contained eight chapters, dealing with the primitive constellations of the Greeks, the Hipparcho-Ptolemy star-list, the constellations in Greek literature, and in connection with the earlier coin-types, Homeric references to the constellations, constellation-subjects in the early art of the Aigaion seaboard and Asia Minor, and Babylonian astronomy after Alexander. In this there was much that was interesting, and the importance of bringing together all available material was pointed out, and the results referred to. In the second volume, which is now before us, further and more extensive references to the tablets are given, as will be recognized from the headings of the chapters, which are as follows: "The Constellations of the Babylonian Creation-scheme," "Constellation-subjects in Euphratean Art," "The Tablet of the Thirty Stars," "Some Stellar Groups of Sevens," "The Celestial Equator of Aratos," "Further consideration of the Euphratean Celestial Sphere," "The Euphratean Star-list," "The General Concepts underlying the Constellation-figures," and "The Formation of the Primitive Constellations." There are also several plates and figures in the text. The first volume

was dedicated to Professor Sayce, the second is dedicated to the memory of François Lenormant.

There is no doubt that, as Mr. Brown claims, he has been able to compile a fairly complete list of Euphratean stars and constellations, but how far these are correctly read and identified time alone can tell. It is a matter of regret to me that I find myself unable to follow the author in all his conclusions, and that my readings, together with the significations that I give to the groups (when it is possible to assign to them a meaning), often differ greatly from his. I do not mean to say that the author is in every case wrong, but one cannot help wishing that greater caution had been exercised in both these respects.

In the first chapter of the second volume (ch. ix) the author examines the constellations of the Babylonian constellation-scheme, that curious and interesting description of the heavens given by one of the tablets of the series regarded and generally called "the story of the Creation," but which would be more correctly described as "the fight between Bel and the Dragon." In this now well-known classic of the Babylonians, there is a reference to the twelve months of the year, for each of which Merodach fixed three stars or constellations. This would make in all thirty-six constellations, and it is to the identity of these that the chapter is devoted.

As an aid to this, there exist in the British Museum certain fragments of astrolabes, the most important piece being that found by Mr. George Smith when excavating for the Trustees in 1874. This text is numbered S. 162, and fragments of a duplicate exist, the principal being 83-1-18, 608, found by Mr. Rassam in 1882. These astrolabes are arranged in concentric circles, the outermost containing the name of a month, a star or constellation, and a number; the second the name of another star or constellation, accompanied by a number half the value of the first; and the third a star or constellation, and a number half the value of that of the second row. There are, therefore, three stars or constellations for each month, corresponding

with the statement in the Babylonian Creation-Story, and there is every probability that Mr. Brown is right in regarding them as those which are referred to in that Legend.

Taking these fragments as a base, Mr. Brown has completed the series, restoring the names of the remaining stars or constellations and the numbers in accordance with the system that the astrolabe seemed to indicate. The scheme is seductive, it is exceedingly probable, and the numbers follow a system which might easily be that of the ancient and unknown Babylonian who drew up and arranged the stars or constellations there enumerated.

Whilst looking through some rough copies of inscriptions made by me many years ago, I noticed that two lists of stars were accompanied by numbers, and that these went in progression. I at once compared them with the fragments of the planisphere and with each other, the result being that I was able to restore the whole text of the document treated of by Mr. Brown. I do not reconstruct the sphere, but give it in list-form, reserving a fuller examination of the document for some future time. The following is the order in which the constellations for each month are given :—

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| (Nisan) | DILI-GANA ¹ | 200 |
| | DILI-BAT ² | 100 |
| | APIN ³ | 50 |
| (Iyyar) | MULA ⁴ | 220 |
| | ŠU-GI | 110 |
| | A-NU-NI-TU ⁵ ("the goddess Anunitu") | 55 |

¹ Explained in the lists as *Iku* ("the water channel"), "the star of the land—the land of Babylon." W.A.I., v, 46, 50 *ab*.

² Explained as the star *Yabat*, apparently meaning "she who proclaims." W.A.I., v, 46, 40 *ab*.

³ Explained as *Anšara* in W.A.I., v, 46, 1 *ab*.

⁴ For this reading see p. 373, lower part.

⁵ The stars *Anunitum* and *Šinunutum* are explained as "the river Tigris and the river Euphrates" in W.A.I., v, 46, 34 *ab*.

| | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-----|
| (Sivan) | SIB-ZI-NA | 240 |
| | UR-A ¹ | 120 |
| | NAGAR ² | 60 |
| (Tammuz) | DU-SI-SA ³ | 220 |
| | MAS-TAB-BA ("the twins") | 110 |
| | AL-TARA | 55 |
| (Ab) | PAN or BA ⁴ ("the bow") | 200 |
| | MAS-TAB-BA-GAL-GALA ⁵ | |
| | ("the great twins") | 100 |
| | MAR-GID-DA ("the waggon") | 50 |
| (Elul) | BIRI ⁶ | 180 |
| | UG-GA ⁷ | 90 |
| | SU(?) - PA ⁸ | 45 |
| (Tisri) | NIN-MAḤA ⁹ | 160 |
| | Zi-ba-ni-tum ¹⁰ | 80 |
| | EN-TE-NA-MAŠ-LUM ¹¹ | 40 |
| (Marcheswan) | UR-BAT(?) ¹² | 140 |
| | GIR-TAB ¹³ | 70 |
| | LUGALA ¹⁴ | 35 |

¹ The tablet 85-4-30, 15 has the variant *Ur-gula*, "the great dog," instead of *Ur-a*, abbreviated to *a* in the lists of signs of the Zodiac, where these groups stand for the constellation Leo.










² This is identified with *Allul* (see below), but cannot be the same here.

³ Explained as *Kakkab mešrê*, according to Delitzsch "star of prosperity."

⁴ Explained as "Ištar of Babylon" in W.A.I., v, 46, 23 *ab*.

⁵ Explained as "Lugal-girra and Mešlam-ta-êa, Sin and Nergal" in W.A.I., v, 46, 4, 5 *ab*.

⁶ Explained as "Anu and Anatu, Anšara between them."


⁷   , which, as R^m 2, 31, tells us, has the pronunciation of *Uga*. A variant is       = *arabn*, "the raven," interchanging with the former because it has the same pronunciation (*uga*) in Akkadian. *Uga* (*ugga*) is explained as "the lord of Death."

⁸ Explained as "the Queen of the Igigi."

⁹ Explained as "Queen of the gods."

¹⁰ Explained as "the (two ?) lords of the Sun."

¹¹ Explained as "the weapon of the star . . ."

¹² Explained as one of the gods whose name begins with .

¹³ Explained as "the father of heaven and earth."

¹⁴ Explained as "the king, lord of the Igigi."

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| (Chisleu) | Muštābarrû mûtanu ¹ | 120 |
| | UD-GU-DU-A ² | 60 |
| | UZ ³ ("the Goat") | 30 |
| (Tebet) | GU-LA ⁴ | 140 |
| | AL-LUL ⁵ | 70 |
| | TÎ ⁶ (= ID-ĤU, "the eagle") | 35 |
| (Sebat) | NU-MUŠ-DA ⁷ | 160 |
| | NAM-MAĤA ⁸ | 80 |
| | DA-MU ⁹ | 40 |
| (Adar) | KU ¹⁰ ("the fish") | 180 |
| | LUL-A ¹¹ | 90 |
| | AMARUDUK ¹² (Merodach) | 45 |

It will be seen that the numbers in the first of each three constellations go from 240 (*Sibzina*, under the month Sivan) to 120 (*Muštābarrû mûtanu*, under the month Chisleu); thereafter ascending again until the same month and number are reached as at first. The numbers attached to the second of each three constellations are exactly half those of the first series, and go from 120 for UR-A, under the month Sivan, to 60 for UD-GU-DU-A, under the month Chisleu, ascending again like those of the first series. The numbers attached to the third of each series are exactly, in their turn, half those of the second of each series, and go from 60, the number which accompanies NAGAR, under the month Sivan, to 30, the number accompanying UZ, under Chisleu. The numbers increase and decrease by 20, by 10, and by 5, for the first, second, and third series, respectively.

¹ Explained as *mûtu*, "death."

² Explained as the god Muštābarrû mûtanu, "the forecaster of death."

³ Explained as "the lady of the kid."

⁴ Explained as "the lord of death, the god Ea."

⁵ Explained as "the seat of God."

⁶ Explained as "the hero of the Igigi."

⁷ Explained as "the double (?) gods, Addu and Marduk."

⁸ Explained as "the father of the stream."

⁹ Explained as "the lady of life."

¹⁰ Explained as "the triple (?) god, the god Ea."

¹¹ Explained as "the lord causing to stand."

¹² Explained as "the king, the god of the Igigi."

From the fragments of spheres, or astrolabes, at the author's disposal, he was able to obtain the necessary information to insert the numbers correctly for the constellations from the month Sivan to the month Chisleu, but instead of ascending again to 220 for the constellation MULA (under the month Iyyar), he has continued to descend to 20, 10, and 5, respectively. In addition to this, his names differ in every case, except for the constellations furnished by the fragments of the astrolabes, and for MAR-GID-DA, the third of the series for the month Ab, Zibanitum, the second of the series for the month Tisri, and AN-HU (to be pronounced TÎ), the third of the series for the month Tebet.

That the list which I have been able to consult is correct, must be conceded, but notwithstanding that it differs so considerably from Mr. Brown's reconstruction of the astrolabe, this difference can hardly be held to prove that he is wrong. Indeed, the fact that he has rightly located, in his restoration of the ancient astrolabes, MARGIDDA, Zibanitum, and TÎ, implies that he was on the right track, and that some of the remaining stars and constellations that he has located may turn out to be correctly placed when we know more of their duplicate names, and the appellations of the principal stars of which they are composed, and which may have been used by the ancient Babylonians to indicate the constellations to which they belonged. In one case at least, however, he can hardly be right, and that is his location of NU-SIR-DA (or NU-MUŠ-DA, as I have read it). This he has placed in the third series, under the month Tisri, notwithstanding that the astrolabe-fragment 83-1-18, 608 has in this place the remains of a line giving the two characters $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, which are undoubtedly to be completed $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, generally read, as provisionally here, EN-TE-NA-MAŠ-LUM.¹

¹ A better reading would probably be *En-temena-maš-šeg*, but the word is a very doubtful one.

There is much of interest in the book, but one cannot help thinking, and greatly regretting, that it is before its time. Babylonian astronomy is such a difficult subject, and there is so much more to learn about it, that no one can lay down hard and fast lines as to the identity of the names that they gave to the heavenly bodies, which, closely connected as they were with their religion, were bound to have more than one name, and to be connected in more than one way.

Nevertheless, the book will be found interesting, and very useful, for those who wish to see the diverse opinions of scholars upon the identifications of the stars and star-names as we find them inscribed on the tablets of Babylonia and Assyria. Hommel, Jensen, Oppert, Sayce, and many others are all quoted, and whatever may be the opinion about the book, it must be recognized as the most complete work upon ancient astronomy yet published. It is the work of a widely-read scholar, who can, and probably will, improve upon it in the near future. Classified indexes are appended, and the insertion of references in full is a feature, and a useful one, of the second volume, as it was of the first.

T. G. PINCHES.

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. (London: Heinemann, 1900.)

During the past few years much has been done to make smooth the path of the Oriental student; and those of us who gained our knowledge of the history of Sanskrit literature chiefly from Professor Weber's excellent, but by no means easy, work on the subject will think with a sigh how much toil we might have been spared by such a book as the present. The design of the series to which it belongs—"Short Histories of the Literatures of the World," published by Mr. Heinemann under the editorship of Mr. Edmund Gosse—is, evidently, to supply a trustworthy and, at the same time, a thoroughly readable account of the

most noteworthy national literatures. Professor Macdonell's book amply satisfies these requirements. He has taken in review all the most recent results of the different branches of Indian research, so far as they can be brought to bear on the solution of literary problems; and he has succeeded in treating his subject in such a way as to make it interesting from beginning to end to all who care for such matters. But he has done more than this. He has supplied the needs of the special student, who may desire to enter upon a more minute investigation of any topic dealt with comprehensively in the text, by an excellent series of "Bibliographical Notes" appended to each chapter. No better advice can be given to the student who wishes to gain a thorough acquaintance with the history of Sanskrit literature than to take this book as a basis and to fill in the outline given in the text with the details supplied by the monographs referred to in the Bibliographical Notes, and, of course, such standard works as Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* and Weber's *Indian Literature*. Professor Macdonell's book may, perhaps, be best compared with Professor L. von Schroeder's *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, with the important difference that it is thirteen years later in point of date and records the by no means insignificant conquests which scholarship has made during that interval. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that a very creditable proportion of this new information, especially in the region of Vedic religion and mythology, is the result of the author's own work. Altogether, he is to be very heartily congratulated on the firstfruits of his tenure of the Boden Professorship.

E. J. RAPSON.

IBN ĠAUZĪ'S MANĀQIB 'OMAR IBN 'ABD EL 'AZĪZ BESPROCHEN
UND IM AUSZUGE MITGETEILT VON CARL HEINRICH
BECKER. 8vo; pp. viii, 22, 168. (Berlin, 1900.)

Amongst the Umayyad Caliphs 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz is chiefly notable for his mild and upright disposition.

Although somewhat bigoted in his piety, yet, in his desire of scrupulously acting in all things according to the divine law, he could be just even towards his non-Moslem subjects. 'Umar's brief reign of barely two and a half years (A.H. 99-101) was not distinguished by any very remarkable act or achievement. He neither made nor attempted fresh conquests, but appears to have principally directed his policy towards the consolidation of his dominions and the amelioration of the condition of his people. Owing to his devout and religious tendencies, 'Umar's court was much frequented by theologians and scholars, and he himself early acquired a reputation as a traditionist and divine. Writers of later times depict him as a saint, investing him with all the attributes usually associated with such a character, and it is largely from this point of view that 'Umar's life is treated by Ibn al-Jauzī in the work now under notice.

Ibn al-Jauzī was born at Baghdad in A.H. 510 of a wealthy family which traced its descent from the Caliph Abu Bakr. From a very early age he devoted himself to the acquisition of learning, and finally attained to a very high position as traditionist, theologian, and preacher. He died in A.H. 597, leaving behind him an immense number of works upon every branch of learning and science, of which unfortunately only too few have reached us.

The present life of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz is not a biography in the ordinary sense, but consists of a collection of anecdotes, letters, speeches, and pious sayings, designed for purposes of edification. The contents of the work are arranged in forty-four chapters according to subjects, each chapter for the most part illustrating some quality or attribute of the Caliph. As might be expected, considering the hagiological nature of the book, much that is of historical value is mixed up with a great deal that is legendary. The materials of which the work is composed have been gathered from many different sources, varying greatly in value. In the editor's introduction twenty-seven authors are enumerated whose writings have been used in its composition, most of which appear to have perished.

The text, moreover, is not in its original state as it left Ibn al-Jauzī's hands, but presents a contemporary recension which is due to the famous warrior, statesman, and poet, Usāma ibn Munqid, whose autobiography has been published by H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1886).

The editor, albeit only a single MS. has been accessible to him, has done his work conscientiously and well, making the best use for critical purposes of such parallel texts as were available to him. He has not presented us with the full text of the book, but only with a judicious selection from it, including the preface of Usāma. An introduction is prefixed in which are treated the origin and nature of Ibn al-Jauzī's work, with a brief survey of the legendary matter contained in it. The purely historical materials afforded by the book the editor proposes to discuss in another place.

A. G. E.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1900.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(JANUARY to JUNE, 1900.)

January 9, 1900.—Sir W. W. Hunter in the Chair.

It was announced that Mr. Duncan Macdonald had been elected a member of the Society.

Mr. E. J. Rapson read a paper on "Recent Discoveries in Indian Numismatics." A discussion followed, in which Professor Bendall, Mr. Sewell, Dr. Pope, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Kennedy, and Dr. Codrington took part.

The paper appeared in the January number.

February 13.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Dr. Paul Brönnle and

Mr. A. B. Keith

had been elected members of the Society.

The President referred to the loss sustained by the Society since the last meeting in the death of Sir W. W. Hunter, who was the chairman at their last meeting, and proposed that a letter of condolence expressing the sympathy of the Society and their appreciation of the work and services of their late Vice-President be sent to Lady Hunter.

The Hon. Secretary seconded the proposal, which was carried.

Professor Bendall read a paper, "Notes on my Journey through Nepal and other parts of India," illustrated by lantern slides.

March 13.—Dr. Thornton in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Professor Sturge and
Mr. Haridas Manna Kavibhusan

had been elected members of the Society.

Mrs. Rickmers read a paper on "Bokhara," illustrated by lantern slides.

April 10.—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that Mr. Mahdi Hasan had been elected a member of the Society.

Professor Rhys Davids explained the recent discoveries in the Sakya country at Lumbini and Piprahwa, and Mr. Peppé, the excavator of the Piprahwa Stūpa, answered questions which arose out of those explanations, which were illustrated by lantern slides.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hoey, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Ashburner, and Professor Macdonell took part.

On the motion of the lecturer, seconded by Dr. Hoey, it was unanimously resolved :—

1. That this Society expresses its warmest thanks to Mr. Peppé for the great services he has rendered to the history and archaeology of India by the important excavations carried out by him at Piprahwa.
2. That this Society, in General Meeting assembled, request the Council to invite the attention of the Government of India to the very great importance of the discoveries made by Mr. Peppé, and to suggest to Government that Mr. Peppé be requested to carry on his excavations, and that a grant should be made to him for that purpose.

May 8, Annirersary Meeting.—The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Minutes of the last General Meeting, which were duly confirmed.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1899 was then read by the Secretary :—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1899.

The Council regret to report the loss, by death or retirement, of the following thirty-five members :—

There have died—

1. Mr. W. E. Grigsby,
2. Mr. W. Bickford Smith,
3. Mr. G. Crawshay,
4. Mr. Jai Singh Rao Angria,
5. M. C. de Harlez,
6. Dr. Leitner,
7. Sir M. Monier-Williams,
8. Mr. W. Simpson,
9. Mr. H. C. Warren.

There have retired—

1. Mr. R. Brown,
2. Dr. Knighton,
3. Rev. A. W. Oxford,
4. Miss E. Simcox,
5. Rev. Dr. Wace,
6. Mr. H. C. Banerji,
7. Mr. W. Bang,
8. Mr. H. A. Bhojvani,
9. Mr. B. Borrah,
10. Mr. Hugh Clifford,
11. Mr. A. C. Dass,
12. Mr. J. W. Dumergue,
13. Mr. H. Franklin,
14. Dr. Indrajī,

15. Rev. F. F. Irving,
16. Sir Peter Lumsden,
17. Mr. W. Pereira,
18. Miss L. L. W. Perkins,
19. Mr. J. W. Reid,
20. M. P. Z. A. Rouffignac,
21. Mr. H. Rylands,
22. Mr. Senathi Raja,
23. Mr. St. Andrew St. John,
24. Mr. R. Bryson,
25. Mr. L. R. Tottenham,
26. Mr. R. H. Wilson.

On the other hand, the following thirty new members have been elected :—

1. Mr. J. D. Anderson,
2. Sir C. J. Lyall,
3. Mr. H. de R. Walker,
4. Mr. F. Legge,
5. Mr. R. A. Yerburch, M.P.
6. Mr. G. J. Nicholls,
7. Mr. S. C. Niyoji,
8. Mr. E. A. Gait,
9. Major W. Vost,
10. Mr. Luxman Arya,
11. Mr. M. M. Chakravarti,
12. Mr. Lāl Sita Ram,
13. Mr. H. C. Chatterji,
14. Mr. G. R. Dampier,
15. Mr. S. C. Vidyabhusana,
16. Mr. Ramsaran Das,
17. Mr. C. F. Rowthorn,
18. Lord Sandhurst,
19. Mr. J. S. Meston,
20. Mr. Jwala Prasad,
21. Mr. R. Misra,
22. Mr. H. K. Basu,
23. Mr. L. R. M. Maxwell,

24. Miss Amy Yule,
25. Mr. B. Brandhaendler,
26. Mr. B. Williams,
27. Mr. D. M. da S. Wickremasinghe,
28. Mrs. Beveridge,
29. Mrs. Rauschenbusch-Clough,
30. Dr. Sangat Ram.

Of the subscribing Libraries, one has retired and two have been added to the list.

The result is that the membership of the Society, which has gone slowly but steadily up for a number of years, stood on the 1st January, 1900, at four less than the highest point previously reached, which was last year, and nineteen higher than the year before. The number of paying members—that is to say, 88 resident members, 271 non-resident and library members, and 55 libraries—is, however, one more than it was last year, the reduction being in the number of compounders. It is especially satisfactory that the number of resident members, which had been gradually going down till last year, when it, for the first time, showed an increase, has kept up to the same figure.

The total nett receipts of the Society came to £1,275 5s. 5d., which is £31 2s. 11d. more than last year, the income from members' subscriptions having gone up from £612 1s. 6d. to £628 5s. 6d., the highest amount yet received under that head. The total of the nett ordinary expenditure of the Society was £1,255 19s. 4d., and an extra-ordinary claim had to be met owing to the unfortunate accident of the skylight over the stairs falling in. As the landlords would bear no part in the cost of restoring the skylight, the Society had to do so at the expense of £29 18s., which the Council have thought it best to meet out of current revenue. In spite of this the sum of £44 2s. 0d. has been added to the Society's account in the Post Office Savings Bank, which accordingly stood at the end of the year at £215 9s. 3d. The Society's capital funds had therefore risen at the same date to a total of £1,323 2s. 3d., which

is just £500 more than it stood at a few years ago. This amount represents the composition fees paid by our 97 compounding members, and the Council hold it to be most desirable that this sum, now amounting to little more than one year's income, should be kept intact as a reserve in case of need.

The Medal fund which was mentioned as in process of formation in our last report to the Society is now so far practically assured that a sum of £268 3s. 6d. has been invested in the name of the Society in the purchase of £250 Nottingham Corporation Stock, and the further subscriptions still expected or promised will bring that sum up to the amount required to make the Medal a permanent institution. The accounts submitted to you close the account, as the further sums to be received will be lodged at once, without passing through our banking account, in a special deposit account that has been opened in the Post Office, and the Medal Fund will therefore not appear in next year's balance sheet. The hope expressed in our last report has thus been fulfilled; and the Council know they will be giving expression to the feelings of all members of the Society in expressing to Mr. Wollaston, to whose initiative and earnest work this result is due, their most cordial thanks.

Last year the Oriental Translation Fund made its first modest appearance in our accounts. The sale of the *Harṣa Carita* still goes on, and explains the slight increase in the Fund. During the year Dr. Gaster's translation of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* has appeared; and the volume for the year 1900, Mrs. Rhys Davids's translation of the *Dhamma Sangani*, a Buddhist manual of psychological ethics, is now just ready. The Council regret to say that Mr. Arnold C. Taylor has given up his intention of translating the *Kathā Vatthu*. But the Council trust that the Secretary will be able to undertake this work himself, and that the volumes just referred to will maintain the high credit of the series. The Council congratulate the Society on the fact that this very important branch of the Society's work is going regularly on. In this matter also the Society is under deep

obligation to one of its members. Without Mr. Arbuthnot's care and thought and generosity the series, which had been allowed to drop, would never have been started into life again, and the Society cannot too often repeat its thanks to him. The Council again express the hope that other members of the Society will follow the excellent example set them by the Earl of Northbrook and Mr. Sturdy by contributing, either by legacies or donations, to the necessary expense of this valuable endeavour to make the West a little more acquainted with the thought of the East. It is really only a question of money. There are scholars able and willing to do the work. There are at least some hundreds of MSS. on our shelves which ought to be made accessible to scholars. But unless the Council are provided with the necessary means the work, in spite of its importance, will once again have to be dropped.

With regard to the Journal the Council have taken great pains throughout the year to ensure that its contents shall be both varied and interesting, and that no article shall be admitted which does not contain a distinct contribution to human knowledge. In doing so they have to depend upon the kindness of those members of the Society and others who offer them articles. It is this which determines the scope and nature of the subjects discussed. Subject to this the Council hope that the Journal has been worthy during the year under review of its high reputation, and has tended toward the advancement of Oriental learning. The estimate in which it is held abroad is shown by the receipts from its sale, which, together with the few minor items of receipts from the Journal, again exceeds £200.

About 220 volumes have been added to the Library during the year. The number of volumes acquired since the present catalogue was closed, at the end of 1893, is somewhat over 2,000; the number of entries in the supplemental card catalogue now amounting to 4,250.

During the year the English, French, German, and Austrian Committees of the International Fund for the Archaeological Exploration of India have been constituted.

The Central Committee, which is to meet in London, will be convened when these national committees are in a position to report.

The Statutory Commission for the formation of the new University for London did not accede to the Council's request to create a faculty of Oriental languages, history, and archaeology. The Council are considering what steps it would therefore be expedient to take to further the project of an Oriental School. Public opinion is apparently not yet sufficiently advanced to realize the immediate value in questions of economics, philosophy, and history, of the facts that can only be learnt by a study of the East. It may perhaps be more awake to the commercial advantages of the study of Oriental languages, and of a knowledge of the habits and the ideas of those peoples in the East, with whom we may hope to enter into trade. In any case the Council will do the best that can be done in this matter, which they regard as one of national importance.

Under the Rules of the Society, Lord Stanmore retires from the office of Vice-President. The Council recommend the election as Vice-Presidents for the ensuing term of three years of Lord Stanmore and Sir W. Lee Warner.

Under the Rules of the Society, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Arbuthnot, Sir Cuthbert Peek, Colonel Temple, and Mr. Watters retire this year from the Council. Of these five gentlemen two only are re-eligible this year. The Council recommend the election in their place of Dr. Thornton, Mr. Arbuthnot, Professor Douglas, Professor Macdonell, and Mr. Grierson.

The Council would also recommend that the following names be removed from the list of the Society's members, in accordance with Rule 3, on the ground of non-payment of subscriptions :—

1. Mr. B. Dé.
2. Mr. W. Driver.
3. Mr. B. L. Gupta.
4. Mr. Hira Lal.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table, and the Council would ask for a vote of thanks to the Honorary Auditors, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Rapson, and Mr. J. D. Anderson.

Sir Charles Lyall, in moving the adoption of the Report, said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been entrusted with the duty of moving the adoption of the Report, which I regret to hear is not yet in your hands. It announces in the usual way the losses of the Society by death and resignation, and the addition of members who have joined the Society during the year. It gives a statement of your finances, and congratulates you upon the good condition and soundness of your position; and it then goes on to discuss the separate funds which we administer—the Medal Fund and the Translation Fund—and concludes with observations upon the progress of the Society's Journal and other publications. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that when you receive the Report you will agree with me that it is a highly satisfactory one. Last year, as Colonel Temple observed when he was moving the adoption of the Report for that year, the highest point had been reached at which the prosperity of the Society had ever stood. When the highest point has been reached, one unfortunately has to be prepared for some declension, but in the present case the declension, if any, has been very slight. We are four members less numerically than we were last year, and our finances are a few pounds better. Our resident members have increased by one, and the paying members, who are naturally the backbone of the Society's finances, are as numerous as before. The expenditure of the Society has been of the usual character, except that an unfortunate demand for repairs of our premises had to be met which had not been provided for, and we are left with a smaller balance than we usually possess. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that our finances are not calculated to admit of the accumulation of a large sum, and it is not for the best interests of a Society like ours to hoard or save. We ought to spend all we get and trust to providence for the future. (Hear, hear.)

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1899.

| RECEIPTS. | | £ | s. | d. | EXPENDITURE. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----|-------|----|-------|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Subscriptions— | | | | | House—Rent | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 87 Resident Members at £3 5s. | ... | 274 | 1 | 0 | Fire Insurance | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2 " " in advance | ... | 6 | 6 | 0 | Water | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 185 Non-Resident " at £1 10s. | ... | 278 | 6 | 6 | Gas | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 " " in advance | ... | 14 | 5 | 0 | Coals | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 " " in arrears | ... | 13 | 0 | 0 | Income Tax | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 24 " " at £1 1s. | ... | 25 | 4 | 0 | Repairs | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1 Compounder's extra subscription | ... | 1 | 13 | 0 | Incandescent Lights | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 11 Library Members at £1 10s. | ... | 16 | 10 | 0 | | | | | |
| Rents | ... | | | 628 | 5 | 8 | | | |
| Donation from the India Office | ... | | | 179 | 18 | 0 | | | |
| Journal— | ... | | | 210 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Subscriptions | ... | 146 | 19 | 1 | Salaries—Secretary | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sale | ... | 40 | 8 | 0 | Assistant Secretary | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sale of Pamphlets | ... | 5 | 4 | 0 | Journal—Printing | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sale of Index | ... | 3 | 6 | 0 | Illustrations | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sale of Chinese Catalogue | ... | 7 | 8 | 0 | Library—New Books | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Advertisements | ... | 8 | 17 | 8 | Binding | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | | | 201 | 19 | 11 | | | |
| Sale of Catalogue | ... | | | 15 | 6 | 0 | | | |
| Library Subscriptions | ... | | | 1 | 10 | 6 | | | |
| Subscriptions paid in error | ... | | | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Interest—Dividends | ... | 36 | 3 | 4 | Boy, wages | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " on Deposit in Bank | ... | 8 | 7 | 0 | Bank Charges | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " " in Savings Bank | ... | 5 | 5 | 8 | Stamps | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | | | 49 | Petty Cash | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total | ... | £1975 | 5 | 5 | Returned Subscriptions | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Balance at Bank, January 1, 1899 | ... | 9 | 9 | 6 | Interest due to the Medial Fund | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " on Deposit | ... | 167 | 14 | 6 | Transferred to P.O. Savings Bank | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " Petty Cash | ... | 5 | 9 | 0 | | | | | |
| | ... | | | 182 | Total expenditure | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | | | £1457 | Balances—Current Account, Bank | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | | | 18 | Deposit | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | | | 5 | Post Office | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | | | £1457 | Petty Cash | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | | | 18 | | | | | |
| | ... | | | 5 | | | | | |
| Furns (value on December 30). | ... | | | | | | | | |
| Deposit in P.O. Savings Bank | ... | 215 | 9 | 3 | | | | | |
| £2 12 5s. 0d. Midland 3 1/2 per cent. debenture | ... | 183 | 6 | 0 | | | | | |
| £202 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent. stock | ... | 924 | 7 | 0 | | | | | |
| | ... | £1323 | 2 | 3 | | | | | |

Examined with the books and vouchers, { J. KENNEDY, for the Council.
E. J. RAPSON, for the
and found correct, March 6, 1900. { J. D. ANDERSON, } Society.

MEDAL FUND.

| RECEIPTS. | | EXPENDITURE. | |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| | \$ s. d. | | \$ s. d. |
| Balance, Jan. 1, 1899 | ... 91 13 11 | Circulars, etc. | |
| Donations | ... 143 3 0 | Stock bought | |
| Interest | ... 4 0 1 | | |
| | | Transferred to P.O. Savings Bank | |
| | | | 15 4 11 |
| | <u>£238 17 0</u> | Balance still owing | 237 14 11 |
| | | | ... 1 2 1 |
| | | | <u>£238 17 0</u> |

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

| RECEIPTS. | | EXPENDITURE. | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| | \$ s. d. | | \$ s. d. |
| Balance, Jan. 1, 1899 | ... 40 11 6 | | |
| By sale | ... 2 5 0 | Nil. | |
| | | Balance | |
| | <u>£42 16 6</u> | | ... £42 16 6 |

I think that the Society is very greatly to be congratulated upon the success of the efforts made by my friend Mr. Wollaston in collecting subscriptions for the Medal. He has now almost reached the acme of his hopes, and has finally established the Medal upon a solid foundation. I believe that your President will announce to you to-day the name of the gentleman to whom the Medal has on this occasion been awarded, and I think he will give you also some very gratifying information as to the circumstances under which the award is to be made.

Our Translation Fund has not made very much progress during the past year, but we always hope that some generous person will come to our aid and will provide the necessary funds for carrying it on. Our Journal has been marked by the usual variety of topics treated, and I am sure that those who have seen it will agree that it has maintained the very high standard of past years. We also have full confidence that the standard will be maintained in the future. We have to congratulate the Society upon the accession to its Council of such distinguished authorities in their lines as Professor Douglas, Professor Macdonell, the successor of Sir Monier Monier-Williams at Oxford, and Dr. Grierson.

I think that I may invite you confidently to accept the Report, and move that it be printed.

Mr. Vincent Smith, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Society, ever since Professor Rhys Davids has assumed the office of Secretary, has been accustomed to receive each year a satisfactory Report. The document which has been presented this year, and with the sight of a proof of which I have been favoured, is no exception to the rule. As Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out, our numbers remain practically unimpaired, our finances are sound, and the scientific reputation of our Journal continues to be undimmed. The Journal, as we all know, has been admirably edited, and has appeared with most commendable punctuality. In the matter of numbers, I think that every member of the Society can do a good deal to still further improve the

strength of our Association. Everyone, even the most silent of our body, can do something in the way of recruiting. My own limited personal experience has shown that very many gentlemen only want to be asked, and that if they are asked they will join. It was my good fortune last year in India to recruit several of our distinguished native Indian officials, and I believe that if the members who are resident in India would exert themselves in that direction, a very considerable number of valuable recruits can be obtained in India. Perhaps the same may be the case in other dependencies, but I only know of India. My own work has lain in the North-West Provinces, where education is much more backward than it is in the older Provinces, and I believe that if our members in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, where education is more advanced, would exert themselves, they could get a considerable number of members among the native Indian gentlemen. One of the recent accessions, Pandit Ramashankar Misra, M.A., has promised to send me in a paper for submission to the Society on the "Tenets of the Kabīrpanthī Sect," of which he is a member, and it is obvious that a gentleman who is himself a member of one of the Indian religious sects can treat the subject in a way to which no European can aspire. I think that we might by interesting native gentlemen do a good deal towards adding to the variety and interest of our Journal.

The valuable assistance given by ladies to this Society is one of the most pleasing features of our operations. The Journal has been enriched by more than one paper from ladies throwing light upon the mysteries of Buddhism, and we have this year to acknowledge the very exceptional service done by the work on Indian Chronology, for which we are indebted to Miss Mabel Duff, and which goes a long way to smooth the extremely thorny path of the historian of India.

All present to-day will no doubt regret the absence of two of our most distinguished Indian members. I refer to Dr. Burgess and Dr. Grierson, who has just been elected

a member of the Council. I had the pleasure of hearing from them both the other day, and they entrusted me with messages. Dr. Grierson, as you are aware, is engaged on a gigantic task, namely, the linguistic survey of India. He submitted a memorandum to the Congress at Rome in November last reporting progress up to date. He has asked me to tell you to-day that since November he has been devoting himself to the non-Aryan languages of Assam. He has completed the Khasi family and the Bodo group of the Tibetan Burmese, both of which are in an advanced stage of proof. He hopes to have the specimen of the remaining Tibeto-Burman and of the Shan languages similarly advanced by October next. He has discovered the existence of a language of Indian origin, called Pashai, in the heart of Afghanistan, and has sent an account of it to this Society. His investigation has already disclosed the existence of three other isolated islands of speech, in localities where no one could expect to find them. An outcast tribe in the Midnapur District of Bengal speaks the same language, a corrupt form of Gujarātī, which is spoken by the Bhils, a thousand miles to the west. Two tribes of the Swat Valley speak the tongue of the Rajputs of Mewār, a thousand miles to the south, and the people of the Oriyā State, Basra, speak a dialect of Bihārī. Those are amongst the curiosities which the linguistic survey has brought to light, and I need hardly say that Mr. Grierson's further labours will result in still more valuable and solid acquisitions to our knowledge.

Dr. Burgess has asked me to try and arouse sufficient enthusiasm in the Society to encourage the preparation of a good Dictionary of Indian Mythology and Antiquities on the plan of my namesake's well-known Classical Dictionaries. No worker in any of the fields of Indian research can fail to feel the urgent want that there is for such a book of reference and the miserably inadequate character of the books that have tried to fill the void. The work is one which is far too great for any single scholar, and it can only be done by an association of scholars working under the control of a competent editor, and I hope that the

Council will see fit to take Dr. Burgess's suggestion into practical consideration. I believe the thing could be done, and that if it were done it would not only be of great value to all Oriental students but might reasonably expect to be a commercial success. (Hear, hear.)

It must be a matter of much gratification to all the members of this Society to see that His Excellency, Lord Curzon, has taken so great an interest in Indian history and antiquities and in the conservation of ancient monuments. It is understood that when he can find some leisure from the pressing duties which the calamities of plague and famine in India have imposed upon him, he hopes to reorganize the Archaeological Survey on a more satisfactory basis than has hitherto been the case. I cannot now discuss that question, but there is one point which I think might be brought to the notice of the Government of India, and that is that the great difficulty is to obtain suitable men, and suitable men will not be obtained so long as the pay of an Archaeological Surveyor begins at 300 rupees per month. The recent scheme arranged that the pay should rise from 300 to 800 rupees a month, and the final pay is enough, but 300 rupees means only £240 sterling a year, and you will not get anyone who is worth anything to go to India for £240 a year. The minimum pay should be 400 or 500 rupees a month, and then it can stop at 800 if the Government do not care to offer more.

I must not trespass longer on your patience now, but I do not like to sit down without expressing the very special obligations that all students of Orientalism are under to our learned Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, for the two books which he has recently given to the world, namely, "The American Lectures on Buddhism," and "The Dialogues of the Buddha," which both throw a flood of light upon the early primitive Buddhism. (Hear, hear.) When I say that the hearty thanks of the Society have been earned by and are due to Professor Rhys Davids, our Secretary, to Miss Hughes, the Assistant-Secretary—(hear, hear)—and all the Officers of the Society, I feel that I am only expressing the

sentiments of every member both present and absent.
(Applause.)

The adoption of the Report was unanimously agreed to.

Dr. Gaster : My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—May I be allowed to address the meeting on a subject which, to my mind, is of paramount importance to this Society and the whole empire. Not very long ago I had the honour of representing the Society in Berlin, and I then met an old member of the Society, a great scholar—Professor Sachau, who is filled with love for England. He has lived long enough in England to appreciate its greatness, and one of his best books has been published in English. He expressed himself very delighted with the great progress that this Society has made during the last ten or fifteen years. He spoke with the highest approbation of the articles that have appeared in the Journal, and I am sure that I am not exaggerating in stating that the last two numbers were certainly the best that have appeared hitherto. Very little attention is paid in general to what comes from abroad, but in questions of science attention must be paid. There is no difference between one country and the other, and it is to me a great privilege to be able to offer the unstinted praise that has come from abroad to the Society.

I do not think I would be doing justice to myself, to you, or to the Society in confining myself simply to a report of flattering statements from abroad. These were mixed with an expression of surprise that so very little is understood in England as to the importance of this Society, and to the importance which the knowledge of Oriental languages possesses for a worldwide Empire such as England is. They cannot understand how it is possible that no University should be founded here with a faculty especially filled with Professors who represent all the varieties of Oriental and other languages. Professor Sachau mentioned to me that in Berlin, where he is the head of the Oriental Seminary, there are at least sixteen Professors under him; and this is only a detached branch of the University work. I took the trouble to look through the

"Minerva" a few minutes ago to see how many Professors are appointed to teach Oriental languages in the University, and I find that there are no less than thirteen Professors and Lecturers, not including the Professors who are attached to the Theological faculties, and who also teach Hebrew and allied Semitic languages. Over 170 students attend the Seminary in Berlin. In Leipzig there are about twelve or thirteen Professors, but no seminary. I turn now to Paris, and I find that at L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, with nineteen Professors, they pay no less than £6,500 in salaries. The number of students attending in Paris is, if anything, larger than those attending in Berlin. I have not calculated the ten Professors of the Sorbonne, the nine of the Collège de France, and those of the University proper. I leave you to draw your own conclusions as to how much is done there. If I turn to St. Petersburg I am sure the numbers will be much higher. What is done now in this country? Absolutely nothing. In the Report we are told that hope is held out that something may be done, that some miracle will happen one day, when we shall awake to find ourselves with a school for Oriental languages. We pride ourselves in this country that we are very practical. Allow me to speak of "we," for I have lived long enough in this country to identify myself with its highest interests; and in bringing the little knowledge I possess from abroad to bear upon the question, I assure you it is done only with the sincerest wish to see the progress in the study of Oriental languages as high in England as in other countries in the world. I cannot understand how it is possible that the practical English nation is unable to grasp the importance of Oriental studies, and, to my mind, this Society holds the key of the Orient; the key of the great economic problems that will be evolved there, and unless we make ourselves the masters of the key, how can we wonder if the Germans or others outstrip us all over the East? I think it is a duty that I owe to the Society and the country, especially as I see the Press represented, to bring this before

you strongly. We are not mere theoretical dreamers, and it ought to be understood that no practical work can be of any success that is not backed by theoretical teaching. We must start from scientific principles, and recognize that the training of the mind rules in the first instance the development of the nation and of worlds; the practical application is then mere child's play. Under Professor Sachau's direction students are fitted first with a theoretical knowledge, and then follows the practical application. They prepare scientific papers which appear in a Journal under his direction and that of other Professors. Many years ago I remember Professor Foy coming through Roumania to learn Turkish, and he is now one of the most prominent teachers. How do they teach? They discuss and study first the theoretical questions of the language and are led on to its practical use. All this may have a very theoretical appearance, but these are the men who are sent out afterwards as Consuls, as Government Inspectors, as Teachers, as Guides, and as the men who are entrusted with the commercial undertakings of those countries which Germany governs in Asia and Africa. Why should this not be done here? It could easily be accomplished, and if we can learn anything from abroad we ought to learn how to compete with them, not only in their practical achievements but also in the theoretical achievements of which they can boast.

I think it ought to be brought home to the great corporations that are so much identified with the best interests of commerce. It is necessary to point out to them that technical education is only one branch. It is the training of the mind which is of paramount importance; and if they will lend a hand in establishing here a kind of seminary on a similar scale as abroad, I am sure they will not only benefit themselves but the country in the highest degree possible. It will be the duty of the University, I conceive, to make the theoretical background, to prepare the Professors, to establish that part of the education left as a rule to the University, and then both together will naturally do the thing which is right. If it can be done through the initiative of this

Society, stimulated by the few words I have been able to say here, I am sure we shall have done something worthy of the occasion. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. A. Yerburgh, M.P.: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure we are all indebted to Dr. Gaster for putting his views before us in so complete and convincing a manner. This particular question was brought up, if my memory serves me right, at the last annual meeting of the Society, and I then had the opportunity of saying a few words upon it. I think it was myself who expressed the hope that the time might arrive when some millionaire would be disposed to found a University for the study of Oriental languages. The point I wish to put before the meeting is this, that since last year something practical has been done. A Committee was formed of certain people who are interested in the position of affairs in the Far East. They have the money to carry on their scheme for five years, and they have decided to attempt the practical teaching of Chinese in London. A retired Consul has most kindly undertaken to supervise the work, and he is now in China or on his way back. He has secured the services of two natives who will be prepared to teach Chinese under his direction. That, I think, is a very fair beginning, a small thing perhaps in itself, but we have every reason to hope that advantage will be taken of our efforts, and perhaps this enterprise may be the commencement of a University such as we have had sketched out. There is, however, a great difficulty to be overcome. The people of this country are so extremely apathetic. Business men in London have been appealed to, and I have endeavoured to interest the business people of Manchester, where I attended the meeting which was held on behalf of Owens College some months ago. It was then proposed that a similar Chair should be established there, and, indeed, two gentlemen were found prepared to subscribe £25 per annum each for five years, but up to the present moment not another contribution so far as I know has been promised. I have also brought the subject before a large meeting in Halifax. It was received with enthusiasm,

but from that day to this I have heard nothing more of it. The only advice I can offer is, that if we intend to succeed we must, vulgarly speaking, keep on "pegging away." We must take every opportunity of pressing the subject upon the notice of our fellow-countrymen. I know their comprehension is slow; they are difficult to move, but when once they get hold of an idea they do not let go of it easily, they work it out, and therefore I have really good hopes that when this practical Chair of Chinese has been working in London for two years we may find it followed by the establishment of Chairs of other Oriental languages, and that at no very distant date we may see a University similar to the Oriental University at Berlin established in our midst. (Applause.)

Mr. Beveridge : My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to say a few words about the Translations from the Oriental languages, and I wish to draw attention especially to a valuable translation made lately by a member of our Society; I refer to the translation of the Memoirs of Jahāngīr, by Mr. Rogers. The original is a most interesting work and full of information. He has made reference to the plague, to the gallant conduct of the English at Surat, and many other things. The translation is a most elaborate work. I saw it the other day in this room. There are two parts, and he has made a complete index, and I think it is a great pity that a translation, which I am sure must be a good one, should remain buried away. Mr. Rogers has made his translation from the printed edition which was issued from Aligarh, but besides that printed volume there are many manuscripts, and in the British Museum there is a translation by that great scholar William Erskine. I presume Mr. Rogers has compared his translation with that, but if he has not he ought to do so before finally publishing it. I have lately returned from India, where I went to look for Persian manuscripts, and if I may be allowed to trespass upon your patience for a few minutes, I will give you the result of my investigations. The first thing that struck me was the fact that many

manuscripts have disappeared. I went to one or two places which were famous seats of learning, and I could not find a single manuscript. On questioning people about them they said, "Oh yes, one man had had manuscripts up to three years ago, and then his house was burnt and all lost." Elliot speaks of that valuable book the *Tārīkh Rashīdī*, which was recently translated by Denison Ross, as common in India, yet Mr. Ney Elias mentions in the introduction that he could not find a single copy in India. I found several, but it is by no means common. I discovered a very good copy in Hyderabad, and another in Delhi, and another in the excellent library at Rampur. I was about seven months in India, and although I must say I failed in the main object of my journey, yet I was not altogether unsuccessful. My chief object was to find a particular manuscript written by a lady, but I could not get any information about it. I saw many interesting things and I also got a few manuscripts. Among other things I have stood upon the place where the great Akbar was born, and I found that place is very different from what we are led to believe. It is usually supposed that he was born inside the fort, but according to local tradition he was born under a tree in the fields about a mile away. I saw the tomb of Abul Faḡl, who was murdered on his way back to Agra. This murder took place in the village of Antari, in the Gwalior State, and there is the grave to this day, but it is sadly neglected. I was indebted for the knowledge of this fact to a Hindustani book published lately in Lahore. Mr. Blochmann says nothing about the man being buried there. I saw the tomb of Badaūnī, which Mr. Blochmann had failed to find, and it is still in good preservation. In the way of manuscripts I found a Persian translation of a book by Albirūnī, the original of which seems to be totally lost, and the Persian translation is unknown in Europe. I procured some local histories and so on, and I think that if I had stayed longer and had had more money I could have done much more, but certainly the time is fast slipping away. Every year manuscripts are being lost, so that although the Persian

translation is a very important thing, I think still more important is the publication of the text. If we once have the text published we may wait for the translation, as the thing is safe, but several books have been totally lost because they have been allowed to remain in manuscript and never printed.

Lord Reay: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to support the adoption of the Report, and before I make any remarks on the Report, there is one subject which I am sure is in all our thoughts and to which I think some allusion must be made, and that is what Mr. Vincent Smith has so aptly called the terrible calamities of which India is a victim at the present moment. I must say that all we hear and read of the extent of the famine (I use that word although I have always considered the expression misleading; pauperism is the word I would rather use) which at this moment prevails in India is of such a nature that we must all feel that it is a gigantic evil. When we so often hear that abroad just now the feelings towards this country are not exactly friendly, I think that we ought to take note of the fact that in Berlin a large subscription was given on behalf of the suffering caused by the famine. There is another country with which in former days our relations were very friendly and may become friendly again, namely, Turkey. The Turks, as we all know, are very generous, perhaps too generous, and the Sultan has given authority to collect money for the Indian famine. I need not say that the Americans, who on a previous occasion have sent help to our people, have also on this occasion shown their sympathy on an effective scale. I think these are features of an international feeling which we on this side ought to appreciate, and which at all events are rays of sunshine.

Now, I must in the first place allude to the losses which this Society has sustained, and I shall take what I consider to be the most grievous loss, because in recording the illustrious dead we should always regret most, I think, those whose lives have been cut short when they were full of promise. (Hear, hear.) In the death of that most

promising young American scholar, Mr. Warren, whose works gave so much promise for the study of Pali and Buddhism, we have to deplore the death of a man who, I am sure, would in future years have added much to our fund of Oriental knowledge. Then there is another man on this list who was in his way a most remarkable man. I mean Mr. Simpson. He was not intended to be a scholar, but he developed his scholarship in connection with other duties, and what he gave to the world with regard to the countries he was led to visit for other purposes is, I am told, of a very important nature. Then the name of Sir Monier Monier-Williams is familiar to us all. We know that an Institute was founded through him at Oxford, and we know how persevering and enthusiastic he was in all that he undertook for the benefit of Oriental students. Then there is another name which I know gives rise, unfortunately, to very different feelings, but for my part I am bound to say that my relations with Dr. Leitner have always been extremely cordial. I found that when an appeal was made to him not to push certain of his own opinions which he held very strongly, I never had any difficulty in getting him to yield to what were the considerations urged by others. I should also like to say that I am not going to enter upon a controversy about Dr. Leitner's works, but of this I am convinced, that he had a true feeling of friendship and of regard for Orientals, and that on every occasion, whatever may have been the methods he used, his paramount desire was to make us realize more the intricacy of matters connected with Oriental affairs.

The next statement that I have to make, as Sir Charles Lyall has mentioned to you, is regarding the award of the Medal. It has on this occasion been awarded to Dr. E. West, and you will be pleased to hear that the Prince of Wales has consented to hand the Medal to the scholar who has been fortunate enough to be selected for what I consider to be the highest honour which it is possible in this country to confer on an Oriental scholar.

I join heartily in what has already been said, that the

Council owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Wollaston for the energy which he has displayed in obtaining funds for us, and in bringing this matter to a satisfactory conclusion. I wish to read to you what is stated with regard to the Oriental Translation Fund in the Report. [Portion of Report read.]

Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Vincent Smith have alluded to the translations, and it is most important that for this Oriental Translation Fund we should have more money. There are, of course, numbers of books which require to be edited. We have a number of manuscripts which we should like to make accessible to scholars, but unless the funds are forthcoming, I need not tell you that we are very much crippled. I may also mention that we have been negotiating with Mr. Le Strange on the publication of the *Geography of Mesopotamia*, which will be published by the Oxford Clarendon Press, and another work is by Major Gerini, on the *Ancient Geography of the Far East*. I am happy to be able to tell you that the publication of that volume has been made secure by co-operation between us and the Geographical Society, the two societies having been able to come to an agreement.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Gaster has made a speech in which I recognize many of the features of speeches that I have made at this table on former occasions, but I am bound to say that I take a brighter view of our prospects with regard to the spread of Oriental studies than he does. It is quite true that the Statutory Commission have not thought fit to originate a School of Oriental Studies. Of course I do not know what the reasons were; whether it was that among the Statutory Commissioners there was no gentleman who represented Oriental Studies; that in itself in the constitution of the Statutory Commission, of course, constitutes a gap that might not have been avoided. In any case I feel confident that when the new Senate, which, as you all know, will ere long be appointed, enters upon its duties in organizing the new University, and when this Council place the case before the Senate in the same

eloquent manner in which Dr. Gaster has put it before us just now, then I think that at last we shall awaken to our responsibilities as a great Eastern Power. At all events, in London we shall have a thorough recognition of the various Chairs which at present exist, but let me add that it will not be sufficient to organize a School unless we can persuade students to enter it. At present the worst feature of the situation is, not that Chairs do not exist, because, as you are aware, you have only to look at the programmes of University College and of King's College to discover that lectures are given on a great variety of Oriental subjects. But it is this, that when you ask who attend lectures on Pali or on Chinese, you are informed that there are one or two men, and in some cases you will be told that a Professor gives no lectures because there are no students. Well, that is undoubtedly a most lamentable state of things. There are various ways of correcting it. There is, of course, the Government, which in a great many directions in giving employment to officials can make the knowledge of these languages compulsory. In appointments of officials for the Indian, the Colonial, the Foreign Office Services in the East, the Government can raise the standard of requirements. There are a great many other means by which it might be done. As Dr. Gaster has already pointed out, in France there are numbers of students who are attending these lectures, and also in Berlin. Why are these studies vigorously prosecuted in countries with much smaller Oriental territories? And to what is due the disappointing fact that here the need does not seem to be felt for this branch of education? Are we to wait until we reap the disastrous results of neglecting them? That is unfortunately what too often happens in England; at a given moment something happens to reveal the fact that our rivals have overreached us, and why? Because they have forestalled us in training the men who defy our competition. Then there is an outburst of alarm in the country. I need not allude to present circumstances, as you are all aware of them. Then comes the cry, "What has the Intelligence Department

been about?" I hope it will never be our fate in the East to be thus outwitted, but there are circumstances, to which I need not allude, which may any day reveal the fact that the ignorance of the language and customs of a certain tribe might give rise to friction or difficulties. Then of course the cry would be heard, "Why are your officials not properly trained for the discharge of their duties?" It is the same story all round, that what England, above all countries, with her great Empire wants in all directions is organization of its Intelligence Department, and I call this Oriental School, ladies and gentlemen, the Intelligence Department of your Eastern Empire. That is what you want to organize, and your great Eastern interests can never be safe until that Intelligence Department is placed on a regular and sound footing, and the public made aware of the use to which it is to be put. I hope on the next occasion I have to address you that Dr. Gaster and I will not have any reason to allude to this peril.

A note has been put in my hand while I have been mentioning the illustrious dead: "Did I forget to allude to Sir William Hunter?" You will perhaps recollect that immediately after that sad news reached us, at one of our General Meetings, I expressed my sense of the great loss which Orientalism had suffered by the death of Sir William Hunter. I need not tell you that I am prepared to repeat what I said on that occasion as to how much I felt his loss personally. His death deprived the study of the history of India of one of its most eminent writers.

There is one very pleasing duty which still is incumbent on me. Probably no one is more aware of Professor Rhys Davids's services than I am, because no one relies more on his assistance than I do. I ask you to acknowledge the energy and the skill with which our valued Secretary discharges his duties to this Society. One of the most important works that this Society undertakes is the Journal, and its success is due entirely to Professor Rhys Davids and to the magnetism which he exercises on the contributors to the Journal. They have so great a belief in his powers of

editing the Journal that we are never without matter, and very often we have to reject articles which we should be glad to print. During the absence of Professor Rhys Davids—and we were all delighted that he could enjoy that holiday, if holiday it was, because I need not tell you how active he was and how successful his travels have been—Dr. Codrington has discharged the Secretary's duties with the greatest care. As to Miss Hughes, I can only repeat what I have said on many previous occasions—and I am sure that Professor Rhys Davids would say the same—that I do not know how we should get on without her. Whenever anyone comes here and wants to know anything about the Society, she is always ready to give information and to attend to our needs. I hope that our next Annual Meeting will be held under more favourable circumstances as regards India, and that we shall be able to congratulate ourselves on the fact that India has recovered from those two great calamities—famine and plague. We know what an extraordinary recuperative power India displays. I hope also that the list of departed illustrious Oriental scholars will not be so large a one as it has been on this occasion.

I beg to ask you whether you will agree to the adoption of the Report as printed.

(Carried unanimously.)

Professor Rhys Davids: I have been asked by Mr. Wollaston, who is not here, to move in his name that the Council have just considered it expedient that a new edition of our rules should be prepared; and he has been asked to lay before this meeting the proposal that Dr. Thornton, Dr. Codrington, Mr. Brandreth, and Mr. Wollaston should be the Committee appointed to prepare such new edition and report to the next anniversary meeting of the Society.

Seconded by Dr. Cust. (Carried.)

Professor Rhys Davids then read the draft of a deed which had been drawn up for the permanent administration of the Medal Fund. The draft was duly agreed to.

June 12.—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Mond,
Mrs. Bullock Workman, and
Mr. W. W. Skeat

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames read a paper entitled "Some New Gandhāra Sculptures," illustrated by lantern slides. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, Sir Martin Conway, Professor Bendall, Dr. Hoey, and the Secretary took part.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Band liii, Heft 4.

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Barth (J.). Die Casusreste im Hebräischen.

Aufrecht (Th.). Über das Alter von Bhāskararāya oder Bhāsurānandatīrtha, Sohn von Gambhīrarāya Dīkshita.

Burnstein (L. H.). Maschallah, eine Bemerkung zu der im Fihrist 1, 273, gegebenen Deutung seiner hebräischen Namensform Miśā.

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Jacob (Dr. G.). Bekri Mustafa, ein türkisches Hajālspiel aus Brussa.

Spiegelberg (W.). Eine Vermutung über den Ursprung des Namens רוררר.

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Goldziher (I.). Über eine Formel in der jüdischen Responsenlitteratur und in den muhammedanischen Fetwās.

Weissbach (F. H.). Die geographische Liste ii, R 50.

Böhtlingk (O. v.). Über die mit 'Erde' und 'tragend' zusammengesetzten Wörter für 'Berg' im Sanskrit.

- Schlögl (P. Nivard). Das Alphabet des Siraciden.
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 Bacher (W.). Bemerkungen.
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Band liv, Heft 1.

Praetorius (F.). Zu Winckler's Aufsatz in dieser Zeitschrift, Bd. liii, 525.

———— Sabäisch "Person."

———— Zum christlich palästinischen Evangeliar.

Wolff (M.). Analekten.

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Steinschneider (M.). Sahl ben Bischr: Sahl al-Tabari und Ali b. Sahl.

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Caland (W.). Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen Sūtras.

Brooks (E. W.). The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa.

Stackelberg (R. V.). Persica.

Ginsburger (Dr. M.). Aramäische Introduktionen zum Thargumvortrag an Festtagen.

Hüsing (G.). Anmerkungen zur iranischen Namenkunde.

Reckendorf (H.). Artikelhafter Gebrauch des Personal Pronomens im Semitischen und Verwandtes.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série ix, Tome xv, No. 1.

Grenard (M.). La légende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire.

Weill (M. R.). L'Art de la fortification dans la haute antiquité égyptienne.

Aymonier (M. E.). Les inscriptions du Bakan et la grande inscription d'Angkov Val.

III. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xiv, Nos. 1, 2.

Lehmann (C. F.). Von der deutschen armenischen Expedition.

Böhtlingk (O.). Kritische Beiträge.

Winternitz (M.). Genesis des Mahābhārata.

Rhodokanakis (N.). Über zwei zu al-Madīna gesehene Sonnenfinsternisse.

Mahler (Ed.). Ueber zwei zu al-Madina gesehene Sonnenfinsternisse.

Caland (W.). Ueber das Vaitānasūtra und die Stellung des Brahman im Vedischen Opfer.

Kühnert (F.). Zur Kenntniss der chinesischen Musik.

Müller (D. H.). Textkritische Glossen zu den Proverbien, Cap. 23 und 24.

III. OBITUARY NOTICE.

William Frederic Sinclair.

We regret to have to record the death of Mr. W. F. Sinclair, late Bombay Civil Service, on the 15th of May, in his 52nd year.

He was the son of Mr. William Sinclair, D.L., of Holly Hill, County Tyrone, and, after education at the Armagh Royal School, was appointed to the Indian Civil Service in 1866, and arrived at Bombay in 1868. He served through the usual course of grades in the Civil Administrative Ranks, until he became a Senior Collector in 1890 and was appointed to Thana. After holding that post until 1894 he came home and retired. It was whilst acting as Collector and Forest Settlement Officer of the Kolaba District in the eighties that Mr. Sinclair probably did his best work. Here he was in his right place: fond of the sea and all that is in or upon it, an ardent naturalist and student of flora and fauna, and with a lively interest in the hardy seafaring people of the coast, he became more than is usually the case personified

with that district, and there seemed to be nothing about the people, their languages and customs, about the trees and the birds and fishes, of which he had not some, if not full, knowledge. Amongst sailors, European and native, his work in connection with the Alibag lifeboats was well known and appreciated.

Sir James M. Campbell, K.C.I.E., who knew him well, is good enough to send the following notes :—“When Mr. Sinclair was Collector of Kolaba, that is, the coast to the south of Bombay Harbour, the occurrence of more than one wreck showed that, in spite of the improved lighting of the entrance to Bombay, mistakes in dark stormy weather might still occur. The lifeboat and staff of Koli boatmen, which about twenty years before had more than once rendered good service, were maintained in little more than in name. Mr. Sinclair succeeded, mainly by gifts of his own and from his friends, in having an efficient lifeboat built and arrangements for the crew set in order. Mr. Sinclair was much attached to the Kolis, or local fishermen, whose skill and courage as seamen have been the admiration of most officers of the District who have been fond of the sea. With the help of the Kolis he worked at the subject of the salt-water fish of the District with such success as to send one of the best collections to the Fishery Exhibition in London. Besides of fish, Mr. Sinclair had a good knowledge of the animals, especially of the birds, of the parts of Western India in which he served. He was also fond of forest work, and was well acquainted with the forest trees of the Bombay Presidency.

“Place and personal names was a favourite study. On these subjects, and on caste and the daily life, religion, and customs of the Hindus of many portions of Western India, his knowledge was accurate and remarkable. On many of these subjects Mr. Sinclair contributed interesting and useful papers to the *Indian Antiquary* and other journals. Caves and old temples he studied with zeal, and made, perhaps, the most valuable district notes both for Khandesh and for Kolaba of the series which was afterwards embodied in the

'Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency,' compiled by Dr. J. Burgess. Mr. Sinclair's writings did much to increase the knowledge regarding the Hemādpanti temples and the Ahir or Gauli dynasty of Khandesh. In writing, as in talk, Mr. Sinclair had a homely and humorous way of regarding all subjects which interested him. His style was clear and effective; and for a writer almost cut off from books he had an unusual command of slang or technique of many subjects on which he wrote."

In a notice of Mr. Sinclair in the *Times of India* the writer says: "He had two hobbies. One was the lifeboat which he was instrumental in providing for Alibag, and which has been a blessing to the seafaring population along the coast. The other—and no bad hobby either—was the people of his district. Mr. Sinclair might best be described as a survival into our own days of the district officer of an earlier generation, who was more at home amongst his people than amongst his office files, trusting them and winning their trust, and knowing them better and caring more for them than the loquacious politicians who called him an alien, and pretended that they alone understood the ryot and his wants. It seems but the other day that he was ruling the Kolaba and afterwards the Thana District with a benevolent despotism which the people liked more perhaps than the Government."

Mr. Sinclair became a member of our Society in 1877, and sent several communications to the Journal. Many will feel his loss as of one to whom they could refer for information on many subjects with certainty of a ready and useful reply.

During the last few months Mr. Sinclair was occupied much in translating and editing, in conjunction with Mr. Donald Ferguson, the "Travels of Pedro Teixeira" for the Hakluyt Society.

O. C.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

DR. ALEXANDER DE KEGL requests us to publish the following additions and corrections to his communication printed above at p. 140:—

ADD :

After the first line of the poem :

رندان ولا ابالی و عیار آمدم خورشید ذره وار چرخست گرد ما

"As drunkards, licentious fellows, and cheats have we come.

Like unto the atoms in the sunbeam our dust is encircling thee."

In the first line طال is a misprint for هلال ; in the second, سبوار is for سبوار .

CORRECT :

In the translation (p. 141), instead of "We have come as the heroes of the mighty, powerful Creator," I would have it now "We have come to go around by the order of the powerful Creator."

Instead of "We have come as the mind and soul of the turning sphere," is to be read "As a soul have we come behind the turning vault."

"When it had become a curtain to us, the sun and the moon of the soul," is more correctly rendered by "When our star had become the moon and sun of the soul."

"FACTS AND FANCIES ABOUT JAVA," by Augusta de Wit (London : Luzac, 1899), is the title of a chatty and readable volume, with illustrations, on the social life and customs of this interesting island. There is nothing very new in this little work, which does not rise above the level of a traveller's account of his experiences. But it gives a number of interesting details and descriptions.

FROM St. Petersburg comes the news of the death, on Thursday, May 10th, of the veteran Professor W. Wassiljew (Vasil'ev), many years Professor of Chinese in the University and member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Wassiljew's great work on Buddhism was written as long ago as 1856, but, being founded on original Tibetan and Chinese authorities, it retains its importance. This was translated into French and German. Amongst the chief of his other works are "History and Antiquities of the Eastern portion of Central Asia" (1857), "Mohammedan Movement in China" (1867), *Manchurian Chrestomathy and Dictionary* (1863-66), and "Materials for a History of Chinese Literature" (1887). Wassiljew was born in 1818 at Nijni Novgorod.—From the *Athenæum*.

AN interesting literary discovery is announced from Calcutta. Pandit Haraprasāda Śāstri, of Presidency College, has recently received from Nepal a copy of a Sanskrit poem called "Rāmapālacarita." This narrates in the same words (*more indico*) by an elaborate chain of *double entendre* the exploits of the mythical hero Rāma and of Rāmapāla, a member of the last Buddhist dynasty of India, who reigned in Bengal at the end of the eleventh century A.D. The discovery should prove to be of special value, as the Pālas are known only from a few inscriptions and colophons of MSS. and from scanty notices in Mohammedan chroniclers, mention of them in Indian literature having been as yet entirely wanting.—From the *Athenæum*.

Royal Asiatic Society.

GOLD MEDAL FUND.

IN 1897 the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world; and to meet the expense contributions were invited from those interested in the scheme.

A beautiful design was prepared, and dies engraved, by Mr. Pinches; the first Medal was awarded, on the report of a Committee of Selection, to Professor Cowell, and was presented to him by Lord Reay at a Special General Meeting of the Society, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the Journal for July, 1898.

The subscriptions (including interest on deposits) amounted to £338 15s. 10d., and the disbursements (including cost of die) to £91 5s. 10d., leaving a balance (after providing the Medal for the present year) of £247 10s. 0d., of which amount £215 6s. 0d. was expended in the purchase of £200 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock (a Trustee Stock), and there is therefore a sum in hand of £32 4s. 0d. The amount invested forms the nucleus of an Endowment Fund; but as it is estimated that the cost of providing a Medal will amount to upwards of £24, and as it is to be given every third year, the annual income required will be about £8. To produce this another £100 Stock must be purchased, and the deficiency is therefore about £70.

It is hoped that this amount will be forthcoming during the next few months, so that on the presentation of the Medal in the Summer of 1900 it may be announced that the entire sum has been raised.

Contributions, which will be acknowledged in the Society's Journal, will be received by the Secretary, or the Chairman of the Committee of the Medal Fund.

A. N. WOLLASTON,

Chairman of Committee.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.
June, 1900.

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WE have much pleasure in announcing that the Medal has been awarded to Dr. E. W. West, in recognition of his distinguished services to historical research in the field of Zoroastrianism. The presentation will be made on behalf of the Society by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House on July 11th at 11.30.

V. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.

Forrest (G. W.). Index to the Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat. Marátha Series, vol. i, parts 1-3; and Home Series, vols. i and ii.

4to. *Bombay*, 1899.

Portman (M. V.). A History of our Relations with the Andamans. Two vols.

4to. *Calcutta*, 1899.

Presented by the German Government.

Berlin Royal Library, Catalogue of MSS. Vols. xxii and xxiii.

4to. *Berlin*, 1899.

Presented by the Author.

Kumaraswami Aiyar (T. S.). Vélapuri, or a Peep into the Past of Vellore. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Vellore*, 1900.

Cust (R. N.). Linguistic and Oriental Essays. Series 2-5. 8vo. *London*, 1887-1898.

Edmunds (A. J.). A Dialogue on Former Existence between Gotamo and his Monks. Part i.

Pamphlet. 8vo. *Philadelphia*, 1899.

Dieterici (Dr. F.). Der Musterstaat von Alfārābī aus dem Arabischen übertragen. 8vo. *Leiden*, 1900.

Bobrinski (Count A.). Ornaments of the Jajiks of Darwaz, Bokhara. Fol. *Moscow*, 1900.

Sankaranarayana (P.). Telugu-English Dictionary. 8vo. *Madras*, 1900.

Presented by Professor Rhys Davids.

Bilgrami (Syed Ali). A Short Guide to the Cave-Temples of Elura. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Madras*, 1898.

Presented by Dr. Cust.

"Pro Finlandia."

Fol. 1899.

Presented by Professor Fausböll (the editor).

Dhammapada, edited a second time with a literal Latin translation and notes. 8vo. London, 1900.

Presented by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Weitbrecht (Dr. H. U.). The Urdu New Testament, a history of its language and its versions. 8vo. London, 1900.

Presented by the Consul for Japan in London.

Masayoshi (Count Matsukata). Report on the Adoption of the Gold Standard in Japan. 8vo. Tokio, 1899.

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Harlez (C. de). Kong Tze Kia-Yu: Les Entretiens familiers de Confucius traduits. 8vo. Paris, Louvain, 1899.

Eggeling (Dr. J.). Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Part V, Books xi-xiv (S.B.E., vol. xlv). 8vo. Oxford, 1900.

Thimm (C. A.). Arabic Self-taught (Syrian). Third edition. 8vo. London.

Neumann (Dr. K. E.). Die Reden Gotamo Buddhō's aus der mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikāyo des Pali-Kanons. Bd. ii, Lief. 2. 8vo. Leipzig, 1900.

Macdonell (A. A.). History of Sanskrit Literature. 8vo. London, 1900.

Becker (C. H.). Ibn Gauzī's Manāqib 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz besprochen und im Auszuge mitgeteilt. 8vo. Berlin, 1900.

De Wit (Augusta). Facts and Fancies about Java. 8vo. London, 1900.

Brown (R.), Jun. Researches into the Origin of the Primitive Constellations of the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Babylonians. Vol. ii. 8vo. London, 1900.

Nallino (C. A.). L'Arabo parlato in Egitto. 8vo. Milano, 1900.

Bonelli (L.). Elementi di Grammatica Turca Osmanli. 8vo. Milano, 1900.

Purchased.

Scheichl (Dr. F.). Der Buddhismus und die Duldung.
Pamphlet. 8vo. *Linz*, 1899.

Dahlmann (J.). Das Altindische Volkstum und seine
Bedeutung für die Gesellschaftskunde.

8vo. *Köln*, 1899.

Presented by the Editors.

Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in
the Taylor-Schechter Collection. Edited by Agnes S.
Lewis and Margaret D. Gibson. 8vo. *London*, 1900.



JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XXIV.—“*The Twelve Dreams of Sehachi.*”
By M. GASTER.

AMONG the tales that make up the well-known Kalilah and Dimnah cycle, or the Fables of Bidpai, there is one which has a history of its own. In the Syriac version published by Bickell, probably the oldest text available, it is called the “Gate of Bilar” (German translation, p. 93 ff.). In the Arabic recension, and in the Syriac which rests upon it, it is called similarly, “The Story of the Wise Bilar.” A full account of this text, together with an English rendering, has been given by I. G. N. Keith-Falconer (“Kalilah and Dimnah,” Cambridge, 1885, p. xxxi ff., 219 ff., and notes p. 301 ff.). By referring the reader to these “notes” I can dispense with any lengthy discourse on the history of this chapter within the frame of the Panchatantra. In one form or another it has travelled, together with the rest of the book, from one country to another, always forming an integral portion of it. The curious point about this chapter is, that hitherto no Sanscrit text of it has as yet come to light. The reason assigned for its disappearance has been, that it is of a pronounced Buddhist character and that a humiliating position is given to the Brahmins in this tale. The Brahmins, not being able to modify it by some

slight eliminations, have suppressed it entirely. To Schiefner is due the merit of discovering a Tibetan counterpart of it, thus making the Indian origin and Buddhist character of the tale perfectly clear.

The discovery of this independent Tibetan version is of special value, for apart from the fact that it proves a Buddhist origin, it shows conclusively that this tale circulated also independently of the book. I have often contended in my folkloristic studies, that single tales have been detached from larger collections and have led a distinct and separate life of their own. Some enjoyed greater popularity and spread much farther than the others which remained in the collection and travelled only with it. They developed often in a strange way, being more directly subjected to the operation of popular imagination. They were adapted to suit local or temporal purposes, and were treated similar to the old apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphical writings. They were made to serve dogmatic purposes when this was the requirement of the hour, and had to submit to strange transformations. None, e.g., is more curious than the change which created a "Barlaam and Josaphat" legend. Christian elements were introduced and gave the Buddhist Jataka the character of one of the *Vitae Sanctorum*.

The same has happened to the chapter of the Panchatantra which I intend investigating in connection with the publication of the Rumanian version from an unique, though modern, manuscript. It will become evident that this tale must have been taken up at a very early period, by the same agency which transformed Buddha into Barlaam, and subjected to a similar transformation. For it is now a tale with a distinct eschatological tendency, whose purpose is to be a premonitory warning of the "End of Days." The individual element has disappeared. The dreams seen by the king are no longer portents of coming good or evil as far as he personally is concerned, but warnings to the world on the things that are to be expected on the approaching period of the Last Days before the final Judgment takes place. From the time of the Sibyllinian

Oracles onwards more than one vaticination describing coming events appear in the Byzantine literature. They are mostly of Oriental origin, and are ascribed either to the prophet Daniel or to Bishop Methodius of Patara, to Leon the Philosopher, and to others (v. Krummbacher, "Byzantinische Litteraturgeschichte," 2nd ed., p. 628 f.). These prophecies were introduced into other writings of a similar character, especially into descriptions of dreams. Nothing could serve the purpose of telling the future better than to connect them with dreams, which play so important a rôle in the Bible. The transition was therefore easy from a Buddhist series of dreams, and their personal interpretation, to a Christian similar series of dreams, but with a Christian eschatological interpretation. The framework was retained as the best vehicle for transmission; the miraculous and mysterious is always sure to appeal to the people, only the interpretation had to be changed to make this non-Christian book thoroughly orthodox.

Following the example of Barlaam, we must look out for a Syriac and Greek text of these dreams, but none has yet been discovered. It may be that the attention now directed to this legend will help to stimulate a new search and will bring eventually such texts to light. Hitherto the "Dreams" were known only in Russia. Professor A. N. Vesselofsky, than whom there is no more competent scholar in that direction, has devoted a special study to the "Twelve Dreams of Shahaisha," as they are called in Slavonic ("Slovo o dvênadtzati snahü Shahaishi," St. Petersburg, 1879). With his usual thoroughness he not only published a critical edition of a fifteenth-century text, but he goes into minute details concerning the history of this text, and the influence it has exercised upon Russian and mediaeval European literature. He finds traces of these dreams in the cycle of Solomonic legends, in the Quest of the Graal by Chrestien de Troyes, in other romances, and also in popular Russian tales. These dreams exist in Slavonic in at least two redactions, one a more modern and more enlarged in its eschatological element, found among the "Raskolniki,"

the general term used for heretical sects in Russia, and another somewhat shorter and evidently older. In both we find, however, already traces of the Prophecies of Methodius of Patara, one of the old Slavonic apocryphal books, and a remarkable similarity with the Tibetan version, inasmuch as this also partakes of the eschatological character in the interpretation of the dreams. In these Slavono-Russian MSS., of which a fairly good number is known, the name of the king is called, with slight variations, "Shahaisha," and the philosopher who interprets the dreams, "Mamer." Professor Vesselofsky sees in the former the Persian "Shahinsha," "the Emperor," and finds "Mamer" in "Mor-olf," "Memer-olt" of the old German legend of Solomon (pp. 21, 22); and he concludes that the tale, for which no parallels are found in European literature, must have come to Russia straight from Asia, the same way as the tale of the Judge "Shemyakin," whose peculiar cases and judgments sound like riddles. They form part of the Shylock cycle, and have been treated by me in my "Beitraege zur vergleichenden Sagen und Maerchenkunde," 1883, p. 16 ff.

But a Slavonic text of the fifteenth century, though not yet found among the Southern Slavs, is of greater antiquity than anything yet which has been proved to be due in Russian directly to Oriental sources. The stories of Shemyakin are comparatively modern, whilst all the texts of a somewhat religious character rest ultimately on Byzantine originals. Whether these are forthcoming or not is merely a matter of chance. The negative argument that none are known to exist can at any time be upset by the discovery of such a missing text. We have a case in point in the story of Ahikar and another in this very tale of the Dreams; for the discovery of a Rumanian text sets all doubts at rest. The old apocryphal Rumanian literature is based almost exclusively on South and Old Slavonic originals, which, as remarked, in their turn point to Greek sources. I had suspected the existence of a Rumanian version from a curt note of the late Canonius

Cipariu (Gaster, "Liter. pop. romana," p. 58), but short of seeing the MS. in question the surmise, based only on the title, could not be changed into a positive fact. Since the death of the owner the MS. has disappeared; may be it is now the property of the Rumanian Academy of Science and hidden away in their cellars, which have become the catacombs of Rumanian literature. Fortunately I learned from the Rev. Canonicus Voileanu, of Sibiu, in Transylvania, that he possessed a number of MSS. written in the last century by his forefather Voileanu, and with a liberality which it is a privilege to acknowledge here, placed them all at my disposal. Among these I discovered also the text of the twelve dreams, written in the year 1786. As all the MSS. written by Voileanu have proved to be copies of much older texts, I have no hesitancy to recognize in the present text a copy of a much older manuscript. In many places it is evidently corrupt. By comparing it with the old and with the more recent Slavonic, both published by Vesselofsky (loc. cit., pp. 4-13), the absolute similarity cannot be gainsaid. They are clearly derived from one old text common to all, which had its origin among the Slavonians of the South.

The Rumanian text is the shortest of the three, and in many instances more archaic even than the fifteenth-century Slavonic version. Noteworthy among the differences is the name of the king, who is called in Rumanian "Sehachi," without a trace of the other form "Shahaishah," due no doubt to later popular etymology. With the disappearance of this Persian form disappears also one of the most potent arguments of Professor Vesselofsky for the immediate Oriental origin of the Russian versions. I see further in the name "Mamer," the philosopher, a corruption from the Syriac form "Bilar," due by careless writing of the letters *b* and *l* in Syriac, or to the Byzantine transliteration $\mu\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\rho = Mpilar$. A glance at K. Falconer's table (p. 303) will show how profoundly the names have been changed in the various versions of the Panchatantra.

The following is a faithful translation from the unique

MS. of the Rumanian version, to which I have appended a carefully transliterated copy of the MS. written originally by Voileanu, with the old Slavonic letters in use in Rumania up to fifty years ago. The text has become a mystical treatise, and is called :

A teaching concerning the End of Days.

"In a place called Vaihon there ruled a king called Sehachi. He once dreamed in a night twelve dreams, and there was none who could interpret them to him, until at last they found a man, by name Mamer, who was a great scholar and a philosopher. So he went to the king and said: 'My lord Sehachi, these dreams do not portend any evil concerning thee, but God has shown thee what will happen at the end of days. Tell me, then, what hast thou seen in thy first dream.' And the king replied: 'I have seen a golden pillar reaching from earth to heaven.' And Mamer replied: 'When the last days approach much evil will there be in the world. In that time justice will disappear and good thoughts, and no one will utter goodly words, only vile, and the old will become dotards, and all will fall into grave sins and not repent. There will be many famines, and the autumn will last all through the winter, and the winter will be prolonged beyond the middle of the summer; men will sow at all seasons, and one seed-time will miss the other (i.e. none will be at the proper time); they will sow much and reap little. At that time children will not respect their parents, and they will marry near relations (within the forbidden degrees), they will not beware of sin, and harlots will have children, not knowing who their fathers are. At that time kings and princes will act violently towards the poor. Many will forsake their faith and embrace another. The sun will get darkened, and the moon will not shine, the days will be short, and many signs will be seen. Priests will not be distinguishable from laymen, they will tell lies, and truth and justice will perish. This dream is an example for all!'

"The philosopher said : 'How was the second dream which thou didst dream, O king?' And the king said : 'I saw a woman holding in her hand a towel that reached from heaven to earth.' And the philosopher said : 'When the last days will be near the people will forsake their true faith and will begin to hold another, and no one will think of worshipping God. They will refuse to have any intercourse with their poor relations, and they will pass their time with strangers.'

"And the philosopher said : 'How was the third dream which thou didst dream?' And the king replied : 'I saw three kettles boiling over a big fire, one filled with fat, the other with water, and the third with oil ; some of the fat was running into the oil and some of the oil into the fat, but none fell into the water, which boiled by itself alone.' The philosopher replied : 'At the end of days men will plant villages in places where such villages had never been thought of before, and at one end of the village a rich man will live and at the other another rich man, and all the poor will live in the middle. And the one rich man will invite the other to feast with him, but he will ignore all the poor, even if there be a brother among them. All will be hypocrites, they will neglect their own relations, they will hate their parents and brothers and love only the wife's family. Women will leave their husbands and will run away with other men. Old women will marry young men and old men will marry young girls, for then shame will have disappeared from among men, and there will not be found a single pure woman.'

"And the philosopher said : 'How was the fourth dream which thou didst dream?' And the king replied : 'I saw an old mare chewing some hay and the foal neighing within its belly.' The philosopher replied : 'When the end of days approaches mothers will act immodestly and join their daughters with strangers with whom they will closet them, and they will be shameless.'

"And the philosopher said : 'How was the fifth dream which thou didst see?' And the king said : 'I saw a bitch

lying in a pond and the puppies were barking within her belly.' And the philosopher replied: 'During the last days fathers will teach their sons properly, but the sons will not listen, and will say, "You have grown old and have lost your senses, and you do not know what you are talking about"; and the parents will be put to shame, and will keep silent.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How was the sixth dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw a large number of priests standing in a mire up to their necks.' The philosopher replied: 'At the time of the end of days the priests will teach the people God's word, but they themselves will not observe it, and will only be gathering riches to themselves, and by this they will bring their souls to the everlasting fire.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How was the seventh dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw a beautiful horse with two heads, with one in front and the other at the back; with the first it fed upon the grass and with the second it drank water.' And the philosopher replied: 'When the end of days comes near they will deliver wrong judgment, accepting bribery, and the bishops will appoint ignorant priests—a thing which ought not to happen—only because they will be paid for it. There will be many priests, but few good among them; they will have neither fear of God, nor shame of men, and will not think that they will go down to the torment of hell.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How was the eighth dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw a quantity of pearls strewn upon the face of the earth, and fire fell from heaven and burned everything.' And the philosopher replied: 'At the end of days all will become traders, and the rich will make the poor out to be liars, and will take away by wrong means everything from the poor; by so doing they will lose their souls.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How about the ninth dream?' And Sehaicha said: 'I saw a large number of people working together in one spot.' And Mamer replied: 'At the end of days men will bring their riches

and put into other people's keeping. They will receive them with love, but when they will be asked to return the riches they will deny it, and say: "We do not know what you ask for, nor that you have left anything with us," even when the people will claim their property under oath. For doing which they will lose their souls.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How about the tenth dream which thou didst see?' And the king replied: 'I saw a large number of men and women standing together upon the earth.' And the philosopher said: 'At the end of days people will practise trickery, and will pride themselves on it; by so doing they will lose their souls.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How about the eleventh dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw men wearing beautiful flowers on their heads.' And the philosopher said: 'At the end of days men will be slanderers and misers and libertines, and no word of truth will be found among them; brother will be cruel to brother, and if a poor man says anything wise they will all laugh at him, but if a rich man says however stupid a thing all will exclaim, "Hark! that great man is speaking," and all will say, "The master speaks well." For this they will go to the torment of hell.'

"And Mamer said: 'How about the twelfth dream which thou didst see?' And he replied: 'I saw a multitude of men with terrible eyes, and with wild (hard) hair, with nails like eagle's claws, and with long legs.' And Mamer said: 'At the end of days the rich will strangle the poor, and the poor will say, "Happy those that have died before us, for they have not fallen upon such evil days."'

"Mamer, the philosopher, made then his obeisance before the king and said: 'I am the servant of you all, and I say again to you, my lord, that there will be great trouble at the end of days.'"

Thus far the Rumanian version. The interpretation, in which the Rumanian agrees in the main with the Slavonic version, does apparently not fit in with the dreams. The

incongruity between the image, as given by the dream, and the interpretation, which ought to show some similarity, can only be explained by the distance of time which separates us from the original form. In the course of transmission the interpretation, no longer corresponding with any actual need or not answering any longer any immediate dogmatic purpose, may have been changed almost beyond recognition. An intimate connection between dream and interpretation must have existed originally. The Tibetan version shows it clearly. In the change from a Buddhist to a Christian tale the eschatological character has been profoundly modified, and we can now only here and there find a trace of this connection. May be the dreams have also been somewhat curtailed, which would increase the difficulty of recognizing the relation between symbol and interpretation. Older Greek and Oriental texts alone will solve satisfactorily this problem.

Invățătură la vrémă de apoi.

Fost-au într-o cetate ce să kema Vaihon un împărat ce-l kema Sehaci, și au văzut într-o noapte 12 visuri, și nu să afla nime să le dezlege, dară aflară un om ce-i era numele : Mamer, și era cărturari mare și filosof. Dăcă mersă la împăratul, zisă : dăne Sehaci ! visele tale nu ți-s de rău, ci dănezău au arătat ție ce va să fie la vrémă de apoi. Ce-m spune visu dintăi cum l-ai văzut ? Zisă împăratul : Văzui un stâlp de aur din pământ până la ceriu sta. Zisă Mamer : când va veni vrémă de apoi, mult rău va fi preste toată lumă, și într'acăi vrême va peri dreptatē și gândurile cēle bune, și cuvinte dănezăești nime nu va grăi, ce tot drăcești ; și bătrânii vor fi în minte pruncască, și toți oameni vor cădē în păcate grēle și nu să vor pocăi. Și vor fi adēse ori foameți, și va băga toamna în iarna, iară iarna va fi până în miază-vară ; și vor sāmăna oameni de toate sāmânțālē (!), și sāmânță până la sāmânță nu va ajunge ; multe vor sāmăna oameni dar puțin vor secera. Intr'acăa vrême fecori nu vor cinsti pre părinți săi, și nēm aproape să vor lua, de păcate nu vor gândi, și curvele vor face prunci, și nu vor ști cine

le easte tată. Intr'acêa vrême dîmni și boeari vor lucra fără-de-lêge cu mișei, și mulți oameni vor lăsa lêgê lor și alta vor apuca a ține. Atuncê soarele să va întuneca, și luna nu'și va da lumina sa, zilele să vor mici, și multe seamne să vor arăta. Iară popii nu să vor cunoaște din oameni cei proști, ce vor fi mincinoși. Dereptatê și adevărul va peri. Acesta-i un vis de pildă la toți.

Iară al doilê vis zisă filosoful, cum l-ai (văzut?) înpărate? Și zisă împăratul: Văzuiu o mueare țiindu o mănăstergură din ceri până în pămînt spînzurată. Și zisă filosoful: când va veni vrêmê de apoi lêgê dirêptă vor lăsa și alta vor apuca a ținê, și toți oameni la slujba lui Dîmnezău nu vor gîndi, și de nêmul său cel mișel să vor lepăda, și cu streini vor petrêce.

Și iară zisă filosoful: al treilê vis cum l-ai văzut? Și zisă împăratul: Văzuiu 3 căldări ferbând într'o pară de foc, într'una era său, într'alta era apă, într'alta era unt, și sârê din său în unt și din unt în său, iară în apă nu cădê, ce ferbe de sine. Zisă filosoful: când va veni vrêmê de apoi oameni vor face sate pe unde n'au mai fost sate, și într'un cap de sat va fi un bogat, și în cêla cap de sat va fi alt bogat, în mijloc vor fi săraci; deci bogatul va chema pre bogat de-l va ospăta, iară pre cei mișei nu vor vedê macar i-ar fi frate. Și toți oameni vor fi fățarnici, nu-și vor căuta de nêmul său, ce-și vor urâ părinți și frați, și-s vor îndrăgi nêmul mueri-și. Mueri își vor lăsa bărbați și vor fugi cu alți, și muerilê bătrâne să vor mărita după cei tineri, și oameni bătrâni vor lua fête, că atuncê nu va fi rușine în oameni; și nice o mueare nu va fi bună.

Iară zisă filosoful: al patrulê vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui o iapă bătrână unde rodê niște fân iară mînzul râncheza dintr'ânsa. Iară zisă filosoful: când va veni vrêmê de apoi își va votri muma la fată să o mărite, și o va închide cu altul în casă și să vor înpresura (!), și de nime nu să vor rușina.

Iară zisă filosoful: al cincilê vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzuiu o cățê într'un lac zăcând iar cățai lătra dintr'ânsa. Iară zisă filosoful: la vrêmê de apoi atuncă va

învăța părintele pre fechor bine; iară fechori nu-i vor asculta, ce vor zice, îmbătrânit-ați și mintă v-ați pierdut și nu știți ce grațiți, iară părinții să vor rușina și vor tăce.

Iară zisă filosoful: al 6 vis cum l-ai văzut. Zisă împăratul: văzui preoți mulți într'o tină până în grumazi. Zisă filosoful: la vreme de apoi învăța-vor preoți pre oameni în legă lui Dmnezeu, iara ei cu sine nu o vor ține, ce vor aduna avuții multe, și cu acăea își vor băga sufletelē în focul nestins.

Iară zisă filosoful: al 7 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui un cal frumos unde avē 2 capete, unul dinaintē, altul dinapoi, cu cel dinainte păstē, iară cu cel dinapoi be apă. Zisă filosoful: când va veni vreme de apoi atunci va judeca cu strămbul pentru plată, și vlădici vor pune popi săi și fără de carte, care nu s-are cădē, numai pentru plata; și mulți popi vor fi, iară puțini buni și drepti. De Dmnezeu nu le va fi frică, nici de oameni rușine, și nu-și vor aduce aminte că vor mērgē în munca iadului.

Iară zisă: al optulē vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui preste toată lumē mult mǎrgăritariu vǎrsat pre pământ, și căzu foc din ceriu și areă tot. Și zisă filosoful: la vreme de apoi atunci toți oameni vor fi negoțatori, și cei bogați vor face mincinoși pre cei săraci, și vor lua cu strămbul de la cei mișai, și cu acăea își vor pērde sufletul.

Iară zisă Mamer: al 9 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă Săhaicē: văzui lucrători mulți unde lucra într'un loc. Zisă Mamer: când va veni vreme de apoi atunci vor duce oameni avuție la alți să o ție, și când o vor da, o vor primi cu drag, iară când va fi de alurē (*leg.* a o lua) o vor tăgădui și vor zice: nu știm (ce) ceri, și ce mēi dat; și cu jurământ va să o ea înapoi. Și pentru acăea își vor pērde sufletele.

Iară zisă filosoful: al 10 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui mueri multe și bărbați unde sta pre pământ. Zisă filosoful: la vreme de apoi vor unbla oameni tot în vicleșuguri și trufindu-să, și pentru acăea încă își vor perde sufletul.

Iară zisă Mamer: al 11 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui niște oameni purtând flori în cap foarte

frumoasă. Zisă filosoful : la vrémê de apoi, fi-vor oameni scunpi și clevetitori și cu(r)vari, și vorbă drêptă nu să (va) afla, și frate cătră frate nemilostiv va fi. Și de va grăi vre un mișăl cuvânt înțălept, toți îl vor râde ; iară de va grăi vre un bogat v'un (cuvânt) și cam prost, toți vor zice : ascultați, ca grăește cel boeari ; și toți vor zice : bine grăește dñnul. Și pentru acêea vor mêrge în munca iadului.

Zisă Mamer : al 12 vis cum l-ai văzut ? Văzuiu mulți oameni cu ochi grozavi, și aspri la păr, și cu unghi de vultur, și cu piçoare lungi. Iară zisă Mamer : când va fi vrémê de apoi, bogați vor sugușa pre cei săraci, și vor zice săraci : ferice de cei ce muriră înaintê noastră de nu ajunsă (!) acêste zile rële.

După acêea să închină Mamer filosoful înaintê împăratului și zisă : a tuturor sânt slugă acestora, ce spun mării tale, însă mult rău va fi atunci în zilele cêlê de apoi.

ART. XXV.—*The Risālatu'l-Ghufrān*: by Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri. Summarized and partially translated by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

IN a recent number of the Journal (July, 1899, p. 671 seq.) I briefly described a manuscript, now in my possession, of the *Risālatu'l-Ghufrān*, and promised to give some further account of it at an early date. The work in question is mentioned by Ṣafadī¹ and probably, as I have shown,² by Hāji Khalifa. Dhahabī, in his list of Abū'l-'Alā's writings, includes it tacitly under the heading *divānu'l-rasā'il*, but he makes ample amends by setting it in the very forefront of his article on Abū'l-'Alā,³ which begins :

احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان بن محمد بن سليمان بن احمد
بن سليمان ابن داود بن المطهر بن زياد بن ربيعة ابو العلاء التنوخي
المعترف اللغوي الشاعر المشهور صاحب التصانيف المشهورة والزندقة
الماثورة له رسالة الغفران في مجلدة قد احتوت على مزدكة⁴ واستخفاف
ففيها ادب كثير

The *Risāla* will be looked for in vain in the catalogues of European libraries,⁵ though copies of it may perchance lie buried, like so much else, in the East. Hence the following summary is necessarily based upon a single text. This must

¹ *The Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, ed. Margoliouth, p. 146.

² J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 671.

³ *The Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, p. 129 sqq.

⁴ Should not we read زندقة? There is no mention of Mazdak and his doctrines in the *Risāla*.

⁵ Margoliouth (Introd., p. 38) says: "A work called *Forgiveness* would also appear to be in existence, and to be remarkable in character." This statement is now verified. I do not know Professor Margoliouth's reason for making it.

be considered a grave drawback, for, to quote the words of an eminent scholar, "everyone who has the smallest acquaintance with Arabic MSS. knows how numerous are the mistakes which even the better class of copyists are prone to commit."¹ The present MS. appears to be the work of three different hands. It is written, on the whole, with tolerable correctness and distinctness, except the last seventy or eighty pages, where one is continually reduced to more or less conjectural emendation. I do not say that a satisfactory text might not be established by a liberal expenditure of time and trouble. Those who have perused Abū'l-'Alā's correspondence, lately edited by Professor Margoliouth, will appreciate the difficulty of such a task even for one thoroughly at home in the bewildering desert of Arabic antiquities, poetry, and philology. The author's style, especially in the rhymed passages, is highly allusive and artificial, and I am not foolish enough to suppose that my failure to understand is always due to an illegible or corrupt text. It would, of course, be the business of a competent editor to investigate and clear up these obscurities, however trifling, and not to shrink from any labour and research involved. But as my aim just now is merely to give a general view of the contents of the *Risāla*, I have felt myself free to evade points of little or no importance that did not yield to the first attack.

After transcribing the Arabic text and making a rough translation, I found that the *Risāla* was divided into two parts, the former (pp. 4-123) mainly of literary and philological interest, the latter (pp. 124-219) embodying, along with much of the same kind, a somewhat discursive and anecdotal sketch of various heretics, freethinkers, false prophets, and pretenders to divinity, a race which has always flourished exceedingly within the titular boundaries of Islām. Abū'l-'Alā himself was branded with heresy in his lifetime, though the charge was never pushed *à outrance*. He was, in fact, more sceptic than heretic; there was

¹ W. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, p. vi.

nothing positive in his heresy, unless we broaden the term so as to make it include vegetarians and upholders of cremation. Judged, however, by the Mohammedan rule of orthodoxy, which weighs "honest doubt" and total unbelief in the same balance and finds them equally wanting, Abū'l-'Alā could not complain if his attitude towards accepted truth set up a minatory wagging of pious beards. What he thinks, therefore—or rather, what he says—about men like Husain b. Mansūr, Ibnu'l-Rāwandī, Bashshār b. Burd, and others, while it cannot be regarded as finally significant of his real opinions, does at any rate afford the entertainment of a deft exhibition of skating over thin ice. It is needless to observe that the *Risāla* was in no sense a private and confidential document. Abū'l-'Alā often elucidates words and phrases which his learned correspondent must have known as he knew his A B C. The reason is quite obvious, and in one place Abū'l-'Alā expressly says (p. 124): "You are far from requiring such an explanation, but I fear that this letter may fall into the hands of a dull youth in his teens, and that the word, being strange to him, may form a shackle and bring him to a dead stop." An audience thus contemptuously anticipated was not likely to be favoured with dangerous confessions.

The citations of verse are numerous and not very accurate. In the first part of the *Risāla*, as the nature of the subject would lead us to expect, these are derived almost entirely from the ancient poets. Generally a few verses only are cited, but occasional longer pieces chequer the narrative. As regards the anonymous verses, I decided not to attempt a systematic pursuit, which must have resulted in "much cry and little wool," and though I have chanced upon some in the dictionaries, particularly in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, the number of missing authors is still considerable. Where the poet's name was mentioned, I turned to accessible editions or to the great anthologies. It seemed best, in a paper of this scope, to print only a small proportion of the verses cited, and in making a choice I have preferred, on the principle *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, either anonymous verses or those

which I was unable to find in the ordinary collections. Thus I have printed nearly all the verses of 'Adī b. Zaid, A'shā Kais, and Humaid b. Thaur, that are cited in the *Risāla*. Probably these extracts are in being elsewhere, but the divāns of 'Adī and Humaid are unknown, while al-A'shā's is preserved in a single manuscript in the Escorial.

I have never altered the manuscript reading (save in cases of mere carelessness) without noting the alteration. There are several places in which I suspect, and a few in which I feel sure, that the text as it stands cannot be right, but I have usually left it untouched. Scientific emendation in any given Arabic poem must follow the comparative method so admirably illustrated by Ahlwardt in his *Khalaf al-Aḥmar's Qasside*, that is to say, it must be grounded on a minute and exact knowledge of Arabic poetry. Possessing this knowledge, the critic can emend with a certainty that will hardly be attained in Latin or Greek, where he is not aided by the combination of precise detail and elaborate monotony which distinguishes the bards of the desert; not possessing it, he will, if he is wise, respect the written word.

For the vowel marks I am responsible; they are almost wholly absent from this MS.

The date of the *Risāla* is fixed at 424 A.H. by the following sentence, which occurs in a passage denying the possibility of prediction (p. 156):—

ولا يجوز أن يُخبر مُخْبِرٌ منذ مائة سنة أن أمير حلب حرسها الله
في سنة أربع وعشرين وأربع مائة اسمه فلان بن فلان وصفته كذا فان
ادعى ذلك مُدَّعٍ فأنما هو متخَرِّص كاذب

Other facts support this date. E.g. Shibli'l-Daula is mentioned (p. 62) in a context which implies that he was governor of Halab at the time when the *Risāla* was written. Now Shibli'l-Daula became governor in 420 and died in 429.

Concerning the person to whom the *Risāla* is addressed, Abū'l-'Alā gives us little information. His full name is

'Alī b. Mansūr b. Tālīb al-Ḥalabī (p. 62), and his *kunya* Abū'l-Ḥasan (p. 123). He had travelled in 'Irāk and Egypt, and when Abū'l-'Alā wrote had recently arrived in Aleppo. Notwithstanding his advanced age it was rumoured that he contemplated marriage,¹ and Abū'l-'Alā, while recalling *Khalil's* aphorism, that after sixty a man should beware of maids,² felicitates Aleppo on the prospect of numbering so renowned a scholar among her resident citizens. He had made the pilgrimage five times, which speaks well for his piety,³ but was evidently a Bohemian at heart. His friend warns him that "it is time to repent," and compares him to Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, who was blamed for drinking wine, and retorted, "I will give it up when it becomes the greatest of my sins." On his learning Abū'l-'Alā lavishes a wealth of flowery panegyric, of which the following passage may serve as a specimen (p. 195):—

وإن تناسخت الأمم في العصور فهو على بن المنصور بالذي مدحه
الجعفي⁴ فقال والنخالق ونى

¹ It does not appear whether this was the Shaikh's first venture in matrimony, or what Dr. Johnson calls "the triumph of hope over experience." No argument can be drawn from the *kunya*, as it may have been a complimentary title.

² إذا بلغ الرجل الستين فإياه وإيا الشواب (p. 170).

³ Abū'l-'Alā, however, lets fall a remark which is not without significance even if it is merely facetious (p. 201):

وليت شعري أأقارنا اهل أم مفردًا وأرجوان لا تكون لقيته بمكة
شهلة تعرض عليه فتيا ابن عباس تحلف ما بها من باس فتذكر قول
القاليل

قالت وقد طفت سبعا حول كعبتها
هل لك يا شيخ في فتيا ابن عباس
هل لك في رخصة الأطراف ناعمة
تمسى ضجيعك حتى مصدر الناس

⁴ I.e. al-Mutanabbi (De Sacy, *Chrestomathy*, iii, 33). This couplet is in Diesterici's edition, p. 175.

في رتبة حجب الوري عن نيلها
وعلا فسموه على الحاجبا

حجب طلاب الادب عن تلك الرتبة ونزل بالشامخة الآ العتبة
واما العلماء الذين لقيهم فاولئك مصابيح الناجية وكواكب الداجية
وان في النظر اليهم لشرقاً فكيف بمن اغترف من كل بحر وجد غرقاً
وانما اقول ذلك على الاقتصار ولعله قد نزل بحارهم بالعلم والفهم
وفتحوا له اغلاق البهم [والبهم] جمع بهمة وهو الامر الذي لا يهتدى له
فأخذ عن الكتاني¹ سور التنزيل وفاز بثواب جزيل فكانما لقنه اياه
الرسول وبدون تلك الدرجة يبلغ السؤل² او اخذها عن جبريل بلا³
غير ولا تبديل وسهلوا له ما صعب من حبال العربية فصارت حزون⁴
كتاب سيبويه عنده كالدماث وغنى في اللجم عن ركوب الارماث

¹ MS. الكتاني. Al-Kattānī, who was Ibn Ḥazm's master in logic, and died after 400 A.H., is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (De Slane's translation, vol. ii, p. 268), but there is no reason to suppose that he is the person meant. In my MS. *Shadharātu'l-Dhahab* (see J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 911), under the year 331 A.H., I find:

وفيهما ابو على حسن بن سعد بن ادريس المحافظ الكتاني القرطبي
قال ابن ناصر الدين كان من المحافظ الصالحين لكنه لم يكن بالضابط
المتين وقال في العبر سمع من بقى بن مخلد بسند وبمصر من ابي
يزيد القراطيسي وباليمن من اسحق الدبري وبمكة وبغداد وكان فقيهاً
مفتياً صالحاً عاش ثمانياً وثمانين سنة

The phrases in the *Risāla*, however, would seem to imply that 'Ali b. Maṣṣūr was actually a pupil of the individual in question, not merely a student of his writings.

² MS. السؤل.

³ MS. فلا.

⁴ MS. حزوت.

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On p. 1, besides the autograph of J. Shakespear (presumably the well-known Orientalist) and the name of a former owner, يوسف ابن المرحوم زين الدين المصري (P) الحلبى, we read "Treatise on Moral Subjects"—a description that was probably drawn at a venture. P. 2 is blank. P. 3 gives the title,¹ under which is written the following enigma in verse² :—

يا صاحب فطنة ودرك وبقين
ما ذو عددٍ يفوق ضعف الخمسين

¹ See J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 671.

² The metre is *dū baī* (Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 441), one of the common metres of the Persian *rubā'i*. I should not have attempted to discover the solution of this puzzle, which would probably baffle any European ingenuity, but I have come upon a note of my grandfather recording the answer suggested by Aḥmad Fāris, author of the *Jāsūs 'alā'l-Kāmus*, viz. that قَهْوَة is the word. Its letters amount to 116. Deduct the last three, which make the sum of 16, and there remains ق, i.e. Mount Kāf, the Wonderful Mountain.

إن تحذف من الجملة دون العشرين
إن قلت فذا معجزة فهو مبين

The MS. begins (p. 4) :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قد عَلِمَ الخير الذي نُسِبَ اليه جبرئيل *
وهو في كل الخيرات سبيل * ان في مسكنى حماطه * ما كانت قط
افانيه * ولا المناكرة بها غانيه * تثمر من مودة مولى الشيخ الجليل
كبت الله عدوه * وادام رواحته الى الفضل وغدوه * ما لو حملته
العالية من الشجر لَدَنَتْ الى الارض غصونها * وأذيل من تلك
الثمرة مَصُونُهَا * والحماطة ضُرب من الشجر يقال لها اذا كانت رطبة
افانية فاذا يبست فهي حماطة قال الشاعر

اذا أُمُّ الوليدة لم تُطْغنى

حنيت لها يدي بعضا حماط

وقلت لها عليك بنى اقيس¹

فانك غير مُعْجَبَةٍ الشطاط

وتوصف الحماطة باللف الحيات لها قال

أُتِجَ له * وكان اخا عيال

شجاع في الحماطة مستكن

وان الحماطة التي في مقترى لتَجِدُ من الشوق حماطه * ليست

بالمصادفة إماطه * والحماطة حرقه القلب قال

رَمَتْ حماطة قلب غير مُنْصَرِف

¹ I.e. "Begone to your own tribe." The Banū Zuhair b. Aḳīs, a subdivision of 'Ukl, are mentioned in *Aghani*, xix, 158.

* MS. لها .

Proceeding in this strain Abū'l-'Alā plays on the double meaning of حُضْب, (a) a kind of serpent, (b) the core of the heart; then, varying the metaphor, he says (p. 5) :

وَأَنْ فِي مَنْزِلِي لِأَسْوَدَ هُوَ اعْتَزَّ عَلَيَّ مِنْ عَنْتَرَةٍ عَلَى زَيْبِهِ¹ * وَاكْرَمَ
عَلَيَّ مِنَ السُّلَيْكِ عِنْدَ السُّلْكَةِ * وَاحَقَّ بَايْثَارِي مِنْ خُفَافِ السُّلَمَى
بِخُفَايَا نَدْبِهِ

After mentioning several persons named Aswad or Suwaid, and quoting verses by al-Yashkurī (Hārith b. al-Hilliza),² Imru'u'l-Kais,³ and Suwaid b. al-Ṣumai,⁴ he continues : [P. 7] "I have received your letter, which is 'a swollen sea'⁵ of wisdom, and confers on those who read it a future reward, for it enjoins submission to the law, and blames such as sacrifice the root for the branch. I plunged in the o'er-flowing billows of its elegant diction and admired the setting of its brilliant gems. The like of it intercedes and avails and brings near to God and exalts. I found that it was introduced by a *Magnificat* (تحميد) that could not have issued save from one distinguished for eloquence

¹ Name of the poet's mother, who was an Abyssinian slave. Sulaka and Nadba were the mothers of Sulaik and Khufāf. Ahlwardt (*Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, p. 51 seq.) gives a list of thirteen "أغربة العرب."

² *Mu'allaka*, 44.

³ Ahlwardt, *The Divāne*, xiv, 3.

⁴ إِذَا طَلَبُوا مَنَى الْيَمِينِ مَا حَتَمَهُمْ (عَطِيتُهُمْ ٧).

يَمِينًا كَبُرْدَ الْأَنْحَوَى الْمَمْرُزِي (الْمَخْرُجِي ٧).

وَأِنْ أَحْلَفُونِي بِالطَّلَاقِ أَتَيْتُهَا

عَلَى حِينٍ مَا كُنَّا وَلَمْ نَتَفَرَّقِ

وَأِنْ أَحْلَفُونِي بِالْعَتَاقِ فَقَدْ دَرَى

عَبِيدٌ غَلَامِي أَنَّهُ غَيْرُ مُعْتَقٍ

⁵ Kor., lii, 6.

And perchance, if God please, on account of this laudation there has been planted for your honour in Paradise a grove, whereof every tree comprehends the whole world from East to West in its far-spreading shade

[P. 8] In the shadow of this grove, which is described as a gift of Allah to 'Alī b. Mansūr, reserved for him until the day of Judgment, are boys of Paradise, sitting and standing; at its foot flow rivers of the water of life; there are jugs of the wine celebrated by 'Alkama,¹

'That heals the aching brow, and in the brain
Creates no dizziness or feverish pain.'"

The mention of jugs (إباريق) recalls to the author a number of verses in which this word occurs: among the poets cited are Abū'l-Hindī,² Abū Zubaid,³ Ibn Aḥmar,⁴ 'Adī b. Zaid, al-Uḡaishir al-Asadī,⁵ Iyās b. al-Aratt, and al-'Ajjāj. Speaking of 'Adī he says: "When I was in Baghdād, I saw a copyist (بعض الرّاقين) inquiring about his poem, which begins: ⁶

¹ Ahlwardt, *The Dīwān*, xiii, 39.

² 'Abdu'l-Mu'min b. 'Abdu'l-Ḳuddūs b. Shabāth b. Rīb'ī. Two distichs are quoted. Both are in *Aghāni*, xxi, 277. The second alone is in *Kāmil*, p. 453, l. 13.

³ *Aghāni*, xi, 24 sqq.

⁴ The verse quoted is:

تَقَلَّدَتْ إِبْرِيْقًا وَعَلَقَتْ جَعْبَةً
لِئْهْلِكَ حَيًّا ذَا رَهَاءٍ وَخَامِلٍ

⁵ *Aghāni*, x, 84 sqq. Of him Abū'l-'Alā says:

أَنَّهُ مَيِّ بِقَاشِرٍ * وَشَقَى إِلَى يَوْمٍ حَاشِرٍ * قَالَ وَلَعَلَّهُ سَيَنْدَمُ * إِذَا
تَفَرَّى الْإِدَمُ

أَفْنَى تَلَادَى وَمَا جَمَعَتْ مِنْ نَشِبٍ
قَرَعُ الْقَوَاوِيرِ أَفْوَاءَ الْإِبَارِيقِ

The verse is quoted in *Agh.*, x, 96, with قَوَاوِيرِ for قَوَاقِيرِ.

⁶ Cited in *Rauḍatu'l-Adab* (Beyrout, 1858), p. 220. According to *Halbatu'l-Kumail* (Cairo, 1278 A.H.), p. 49, the verses were ascribed by Ḥammād al-Rāwiyā to Tubba'u'l-Yamānī. The MS. reads ودعا and العاذلات.

[P. 10] بَكَرِ الْعَادِلُونَ فِي غُلَسِ الصَّبْحِ يَقُولُونَ لِي أَلَا تَسْتَفِيقُ
وَدَعُوا لِلصَّبْحِ فَجَرًا فَجَاءَتْ قِسْنَةٌ فِي يَمِينِهَا إِبْرِيْقُ

He asserted that Ibn Hājib al-Nu'mān¹ looked for this poem in 'Adī's dīvān, and it was not there. Afterwards I heard a man of Astarābād read the poem from the dīvān of the 'Ibādite, but it was wanting in the Library² copy."

[P. 12] "There are also rivers of clarified honey, 'not made by bees that haunt the flowers, nor hid in waxen cells,' but God Almighty said 'Be,' and it was. I would fain know whether Namir b. al-Taulab al-'Uklī was permitted to taste this honey. He would realize that, compared with it, the honey of the perishable world resembles colocynth. When he described Umm Hishn and the food she enjoyed in comfort and security (وَمَا رَزَقْتَهُ فِي الدَّعَةِ وَالْأَمَنِ), he mentioned white bread with fresh butter (حَوَارِي بِسْمَنِ) and clarified honey. God have mercy on him now that he is dead, for he professed Islām and recited a tradition,³ for which he is the sole authority (وَرَوَى حَدِيثًا وَاحِدًا مُفْرَدًا), and God is able to assuage our wounds. Poor Namir said :

الْمَ بِصَحْبَتِي وَهُمْ هُجُوعُ
خِيَالٍ طَارِقٍ مِنْ أُمِّ حِصْنِ
لَهَا مَا تَشْتَهِي عَسَلًا مُصَفًّى
إِذَا شَادَتْ وَحَوَارِي بِسْمَنِ

You (may God make your glory perpetual!) are familiar with the story told of Khalaf al-Aḥmar and his friends concerning these verses, to the effect that he said: 'Suppose أم حصن had been substituted for أم حصن, how would the

¹ This is possibly a mistake for al-Hājib Abū'l-Husain b. al-Nu'mān, a savant of 'Irāk, mentioned in *Dumyatu'l-Ḳaṣr* (British Museum MS. Add. 9,994, f. 38a).

² I.e. the Academy of Sābūr. See Margolionth's Introduction to *The Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, p. 24 seq.

³ *Aghāni*, xix, 158.

poet have rhymed it?' As they made no answer, he said :
'حَوَارَى بِلْمَص' *lamṣ* being synonymous with *falūdhaj*."

[P. 13] By way of "completing the story," Abū'l-'Alā goes through the whole alphabet and gives about forty variants, adding in most cases an explanation of the rhyme-word. Some of these glosses are here transcribed :

فان قال ام صمت جازان يقول وحَوَارَى بَكْمَتِ يعنى جمع
كَمَيَّتِ وذلك من صفات التمر ويُنشَدُ لاسود بن يَغْفَر¹

[P. 14] وكنت اذا ما قُرب الزأ مولعا
بكل كميّة جلده لم تُؤسَف²
وقال الآخر³

ولست أبالى بعد ما آكمت⁴ مربدى
من التمر أن لا يمطر الأرض كوكب

فان اخبره الى الجيم فقال من ام ليج جازان يقول حَوَارَى بَدْج
والدج الفروخ جاء به العمانى⁵ في رجزه فان خرج الى الحاء فقال
ام شخ جازان يقول وحَوَارَى بَمْخ وبَمْخ وبرج وبجج وبسج فالتمج مخ
البيضة وبج جمع ابج من قولهم كَسَّرَ ابْج اى كثير الدسم قال الشاعر
وعاذلؤ هببت على تلومنى⁶
وفى كفها كَسَّرَ ابْج ردوم

¹ *Aghāni*, xi, 134 sqq.

² So the MS. One naturally thinks of *جلدُهُ* لم تُؤسَف (*Ṣaḥāḥ*, sub.
(وصف), but this is out of the question unless *جلد* can be made feminine.
Two distichs by al-Aswad in this metre and rhyme will be found in *Christian
Arabic Poets*, p. 476.

³ MS. الواحر.

⁴ MS. اكمت.

⁵ *Aghāni*, xvii, 78 sqq.

⁶ This line is apparently imitated from *Ṣaḥr* (*Kāmil*, p. 108, l. 17). Cf.
'Adī b. Zaid (cited in *Rauḍatu'l-Adab*, p. 219):

وعاذلؤ هببت بليل تلومنى
فلما غلكت فى اللوم قلت لها أقصدى

ويجوز ان يعنى بالبح القداح اى هذه المرأة أهلها ايسار كما قال
السلمى¹

قروا اضيائهم ربحاً ببح
يعيش بفضلهم الهى سمر
ورج جمع ارج وهو من صفات بقر الوحش اى يُصاد لهذه المرأة
ويقال لظلاف البقر الوحشى رج قال الاعشى الشاعر
[P. 15] ورَجَّ بالزِمَاعِ مَرْكَاتٍ
بها تنضو الوغى وبها ترو
والسح تمر صغار يابس والجمج صغار البطيخ قبل ان ينضج
فان قال ام غرض جاز ان يقول وحوارى بفرض والقرض ضرب من
التمر قال الراجز²

اذا اكلت لبنا وقرضا
ذهبت طولا وذهبت عرضا
وفى نصب طول وعرض اختلاف بين المبرد وسيبويه فان قال من
ام لقط جاز ان يقول حوارى بأقط يريد أقط على اللغة الربيعية فان
قال من ام حظ فان الاطعمة تقل فيها الظاء كقلتها فى غيرها لان الظاء
قليلة جدا ويجوز ان يقال حوارى بكظ اى يكظها الشبع ونحو ذلك
من الاشياء التى تدخل على معنى الاحتياى
فان قال قائل ام مخف قال حوارى برخف والرخف زبد رقيق
والواحدة رخفة قال الشاعر

لنا غنم يَرِزى النزىل حليبها
ورخف يغاديه لها وذبيح

¹ Khufāf b. Nadba. The verse is quoted by Lane under أبج.

² The verse is cited by Sibawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), vol. i, p. 70. He ascribes it to "a man of 'Umān."

[P. 17] After this digression, which, he says, عَرِضَ فِي قَوْلٍ, the author returns to his eulogy of the celestial honey, quoting Hārith b. Kalada :

فَمَا عَسَلٌ يُبَارِدُ مَاءَ مُزْنٍ
عَلَى ظَمَأٍ لَشَارِبِهِ يُشَابُ
بِأَشْهَى مِنْ لَقَيْتَكُمْ الْبِنَا
فَكَيْفَ لِنَابَةٍ وَمَتَى الْإِيَابُ

Swimming in it are fish of *ḥalāwa* that would have made Aḥmad b. Ḥusain¹ despise the gift referred to in his lines :

هَذِيئَةٌ مَا رَأَيْتَ مُهْدِيَهَا
إِلَّا رَأَيْتَ الْإِنَامَ فِي رَجُلٍ
أَقْلَ مَا فِي أَقْلِهَا سَمَكٌ
يَلْعَبُ فِي بَرْكَةٍ مِنَ الْعَسَلِ

"Methinks I see you," the author continues, "(may God perpetuate majesty by preserving your life!) in possession of the lofty rank that is due to veritable repentance, and surrounded by companions chosen from among the scholars of Paradise, such as the man of *Thumāla* and the man of *Daus*,² and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Dabbī³ and Ibn Mas'ada al-Mujāshī'i,⁴ dwelling together in peace and amity like those of whom it is said : 'We will remove all malice from their

¹ Perhaps the famous Badī'u'l-Zamān Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Hamadānī.

² كَاخِي ثُمَالَةَ وَأَخِي دَوْس. One of these is probably the celebrated Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Azdī al-Farāhīdī al-Yahmādī. He might be called either أَخُو ثُمَالَةَ (the Banū Thumāla belonged to the Banū Naṣr b. Azd and were closely connected with the Banū Yahmad). The other may be Ibn Duraid, whose genealogy is traced by Ibn Khallikān to Daus b. 'Adnān.

³ Brockelmann, i, 99.

⁴ Sa'id b. Mas'ada, better known as al-Akhfash al-Ansaṭ (Brockelmann, i, 105).

bosoms, etc.'¹ And here is Aḥmad b. Yahyā,² his hatred [P. 19] of Muḥammad b. Yazīd³ washed clean away; so sincere and perfect has their friendship become that they are inseparable by day and by night, like Mālik and 'Aḳīl, the companions of Jadhīma; and Abū Bishr 'Amr b. 'Uthmān Sibawaihi no longer bears in his heart a grudge against 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Kisā'ī and his followers for their treatment of him in the assembly of the Barmakites;⁴ and Abū 'Ubaida is on the best of terms with 'Abdū'l-Malik b. Ḳuraib:⁵ nothing can disturb their intimacy And angels entered at every gate, to give the company greeting, and the situation of the Shaikh with his fellows (may God strengthen learning by his long life!) was like that depicted by the Bakrite:⁶

¹ Kor., xv, 47-48.

² Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā Tha'lab (Brockelmann, i, 118).

³ The author of the *Kāmil*. A personal animosity existed between him and Tha'lab as contemporary leaders of the two great rival schools.

⁴ Ibn Ḳhallikān tells the story in his article on Sibawaihi. Cf. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 44.

⁵ Al-Aḡma'ī. A marginal note says:

فان بين ابى عبيدة وبين الاصمعى منافرة شديدة نذكر طرفاً من ذلك قيل لابی عبيدة ان الاصمعى قال بينما ابى سائر على فرسه فقال ابو عبيدة سبحان الله والله ما ملك ابوه قط دابة إلا فى زيقه يعنى القمل قال رجلاً لابی عبيدة ان الاصمعى دعى قال كذبت لا يدعى احد الى اصمع وكان الاصمعى يسمى ابا عبيدة ابن الحائلة

⁶ A'ahā Kais. These lines are in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 368. Variants:

(1) *مُتَكَمِّمًا*, (4) *مُتَكَمِّمًا*. The following commentary is written on the margin of my MS. :—

سَمِيَتْ تَهْوَةً لَأَنهَا تُقْنِي شَارِبَهَا اى تذهب بشهوة الطعام قال ابن حبيب الراوق اناء الخمر والنخصل الدايم الندى وقال ابو عبيدة الراوق والناجود ما يخرج من ثقب الدن قال ابو عمرو يعنى بالمستجيب العود شبه صوته بصوت الصنج دعاه فاجابه وترجع

1. نازعُهم قُضِبَ الرِّيحانِ مُزْتَفَقًا
وتَهوَّةَ مُزَّةَ رَاوُفِهَا خَصِلُ
2. لَا يَسْتَفِيقُونَ مِنْهَا وَهَى رَاهِنَةً
إِلَّا بِهَاتِ وَإِنْ عُلُوا وَإِنْ نُهَلُوا
3. يَسْعَى بِهَا ذُو زَجَاجَاتٍ لَهُ نُطْفٌ
مُقَلَّصٌ أَسْفَلَ السَّرِبَالِ مُغْتَمِلُ
4. وَمَسَاجِيْبُ لَصَوْتِ الصَّخْرِ يَسْمَعُهُ
إِذَا تُرْجِعُ فِيهِ الْقَيْنَةُ الْفُضْلُ

And Abū 'Ubaida recounted to them the battles of the Arabs and the combats of the cavaliers, and al-Asma'ī recited the most excellent poetry, and their souls were stirred to frolic, and they began to throw their flagons into the rivers of wine, and these flagons, when they clashed against each other, created melodies that might wake the dead. Then said the Shaikh : 'Alas for the fall of A'shā Maimūn ! How many a safe-stepping camel did he urge to speed ! [P. 20] I wish that the Ḳuraish had not prevented him when he turned to the Prophet. Just now the clash of these vessels reminded me of his verses in the poem rhymed in *h* :

1. وَشَمُولٍ تَحْسَبُ الْعَيْنُ إِذَا
صُقِّقَتْ جُجْدَعَهَا نَوْرَ الدَّبَجِ¹

والقينة عند العرب الأمة مغنية كانت أو غير مغنية وقال القينات
الإماء المولدات قال الاصمعي كل عاملة عند العرب بجديدة قين
والفعل قان يقين وهو قايين

¹ This couplet is cited in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 394, with وَرَدَتْهَا instead of جُجْدَعَهَا .

2. مثل ربح المسك ذاك ربحها
 صبها الساقى اذا قيل تَوَحَّ¹
 3. من زقاق² التجرفى باطية
 بجونى جاريى ذات رَوَح
 4. ذات غور ما ثبالى يومها
 غَرَف³ الإبريق فيها والقدح
 5. واذا ما الراح فيها أزدت
 أفل الإزباد عنها فَمَصَح
 6. واذا مگوكها صادمه
 جانبها كرفيها فسَبَح
 7. فترامت بزجاج مَعْمَل
 يَخْلِفُ⁴ النازح منها ما نَزَح
 8. واذا غاصت رفغنا زفنا
 طلقت الأوداج فيها فَنَسَفَح

Had he professed Islām, he might have been of our company, reciting to us the poems, in strange metres, which

¹ I.e. تَوَحَّ = 'make haste!'

² MS. زقاق.

³ MS. عرف.

⁴ "And the wine-bowl conveyed from hand to hand long-used cups of glass (i.e. the drinkers filled their cups from it in turn, by means of the إبريق), while those who drew therefrom mixed their draught (with water)." This seems to be the sense, if the reading is correct. يخلط بالماء = يخلف. But ? يَخْلِفُ, i.e. the wine is so powerful that those who draw (and drink) it are forced to swear they never did what they have just done. For ترامى cf. al-A'ahā's verse cited by Lane under غَرَبَ.

he composed in the abode of sorrow, and informing us of what befell him with Haudha b. 'Alī and 'Āmir b. al-Tufail and Yazīd b. Mushir (مُشِير) and 'Alqama b. 'Ulātha and Salāma b. Dhī Fā'ish,¹ and others whom he eulogized or satirized.'

Now it occurred to the Shaikh to think of what in the perishable world is called recreation (النزهة). He mounted a camel of turquoise and pearl, which resembled a flash of light as it threaded the hillocks of ambergris, and he raised his voice and quoted the lines of the Bakrite:

[P. 21] ² لَيْتَ شَعْرَى مَتَى تَخْتَبُ بَنَا النَّاقَةِ مَحْوُ الْعُذَيْبِ فَالصَّيْبِ
مُخَقَّبًا زُكْرَةً وَخَبَزِرَاقِي وَحِبَابًا³ وَقِطْعَةً مِنْ نَوْنِ

He heard a *hātif* asking, 'Do you know who made these verses?' 'Yes,' he replied, citing Abu 'Amr b. al-'Alā as his authority, 'they are by Maimūn b. Kais b. Jandal, the man of Rabī'a (أَخِي رَيْبَعَةَ), who belonged to Ṣa'sa'a b. Kais b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba b. Ṣa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il.'⁴ 'I am he,' said the *hātif*, 'God has forgiven me.' The Shaikh questioned him concerning the manner of his escape from Hell-fire, and al-A'shā related how he was being dragged away by the infernal police (الزبانية), when [P. 22] 'Alī approached and pulled them off, saying to him, 'What is your passport?' 'Thereupon,' said he, 'I repeated some verses of my poem in praise of Muḥammad,⁵ of which the last is:

¹ In *Aghānī*, viii, 85, he is called Salāma Dhū Fā'ish.

² موضع في شعر الاعشى (Yākūt, *Marā'iqidū'l-Iḥṣā*).

³ The author adds: يعنى بالحباق حرزة البقل.

⁴ This genealogy varies slightly from that given by De Sacy, *Chrestomathy*, ii, 479 seq.

⁵ *Aghānī*, viii, 85; *Kāmil*, 90. Nine distichs are cited. Abū'l-'Alā says: "Al-Farrā is the sole authority for أَغَار in the sense of 'come to the low lands,' but if the verse is really by al-A'shā, he can only have meant *ighāra* as

نَبِيٌّ يَرَى مَا لَا تَرَوْنَ وَذَكَرَهُ
اِغَارَ لِعَمْرِي فِي الْبِلَادِ وَالْمَجْدَا

[P. 23] 'And when I spoke this,' continued al-A'shā, addressing 'Alī, 'I believed in God and the final reckoning and the resurrection; witness my verses:

فَمَا أَتَبَلَّيْتُ عَلَى هَيْكَلِ
بِنَاءٍ وَصَلَّبَ فِيهِ وَصَارَا¹
يُزَارِجُ مِنْ صَلَوَاتِ الْمَلِي
كَ طَوْرًا سَجُودًا وَطَوْرًا جُؤَارًا
بِأَعْظَمَ مِنْكَ تَقَى فِي الْحِسَابِ
إِذَا النُّسَمَاتُ نَقَضْنَ الْعُبَارَا

'Alī told the Prophet, who interceded for me, and I was admitted to Paradise on condition that I should drink no wine therein, for it is the rule that he who does not repent of wine-drinking in the world of illusion shall not drink it in the next.'

Then the Shaikh let his eye wander over the fields of Paradise, and he saw two lofty pavilions, and said to himself, 'I will go and ask to whom they belong.' So he drew

the opposite of *injād*. Al-A'sma'ī gives two readings: (1) اِغَارَ = عَدَا عَدُوًّا; (2) he transposes and reads with *ziḥāf*, لِعَمْرِي غَارَ فِي الْبِلَادِ شَدِيدًا; Sa'id b. Mas'ada read غَارَ for اِغَارَ, making the verse *makhrūm*." Cf. Lane under غور.

¹ This couplet is cited by itself in Cheikho's *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 393, with أَتَبَلَّيْتُ for أَتَبَلَّيْتُ, and the following note:

الْأَيْبَلِي الرَّاهِبَ فَمَا أَن يَكُونَ اعْجَمِيًّا وَأَمَا أَن يَكُونَ قَدْ غَيَّرَتْهُ يَاهُ
الْإِغَاةُ وَقِيلَ الْإِبِيلُ صَاحِبُ النَّاقُوسِ الْخ

Two more couplets in the same metre and rhyme will be found *ibid.*, p. 381.

near, and on one was written, 'This is the pavilion of Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā al-Muzanī,' and on the other, 'This is the pavilion of 'Abīd b. al-Abras al-Asadī,' and he marvelled thereat, because these poets died in the Ignorance. He resolved to ask them how they had gained forgiveness, and began with Zuhair. And lo! he was a youth like Zuhra the Jinnīya, just as if he had never worn the [P. 24] garment of decrepitude, or sighed (تَأَفَّف) from weariness, or said in his poem rhymed in *m* :

سِمْتُ تَكَالِيفَ الْحَيَاةِ وَمَنْ يَعْشُ
ثَمَانِينَ حَوْلًا لَا أَبَا لَكَ يَسْأَمُ¹

'Come, come,' cried the Shaikh, 'are not you the father of Ka'b and Bujair? How were you pardoned? For you lived in the *Fatra*, when men roamed without restraint and wrought all manner of mischief.' Zuhair answered: 'My soul abhorred unrighteousness, and I found a merciful Lord. I believed in God Almighty, and I saw, as in a dream, a rope let down from heaven, and those of the dwellers on earth who clung to it were saved. Now I knew this for a divine ordinance, so I enjoined my sons on my deathbed, saying: "If there shall arise one who calls you to serve God, obey him." Had I lived to Muḥammad's time, I should have been the first of believers, and I said in the *mimīya* :²

"Seek not to hide from God your secret soul;
God knoweth whatsoe'er ye hide in vain,
Whether 't is laid till Doomsday in a scroll,
Stored up, or sudden vengeance promptly ta'en."³

The Shaikh asked Zuhair if he was debarred from the pleasures of wine,³ like A'shā Kais. 'No,' said he, 'it [P. 25] was prohibited after my death, and followers of the pre-Islamic prophets might drink it with impunity.' So

¹ Ahlwardt, *The Divāns*, xvi, 47. Another verse on the same topic (xxix, 2, in Ahlwardt's Appendix) is quoted.

² *The Divāns*, xvi, 26, 27.

³ I, 31, 33 *ibid.* are cited in this connection.

the Shaikh invited him to drink and found him a witty companion On leaving Zuhair he went in search of 'Abid b. al-Abras, who had been forgiven on account of his verse :¹

من يسأل الناس يحرموه
وسائلُ الله لا يخيبُ

The tale of Zuhair and 'Abid inspired the Shaikh with good hope of the salvation of many other poets. He asked for [P. 26] 'Adī b. Zaid, and learned that his dwelling was close at hand. 'O Abū Sawāda,' said he, when 'Adī had satisfactorily explained his presence among the elect, 'won't you recite to me the poem rhymed in *ṣ*,² for it is one of the most original pieces in Arabic poetry ?' So 'Adī began :

1. أَبْلِغْ خَلِيلِي عَبْدَ هَنْدٍ فَلَا³
زِلْتُ قَرِيبًا مِنْ سَوَادِ النَّمِصُوصِ
2. مُوَازِي الْقُرَّةِ أَوْ دُونَهَا⁴
غَمِيرَ بَعِيدٍ مِنْ غَمِيرِ اللَّصُوصِ⁵
3. تَجْنِي لَكَ الْكَمَاءَ رِبْعِيَّةً⁶
بِالْحَبِّ تَنْدِي فِي أَمْوَالِ الْقَصِيصِ⁷

¹ *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 607, where it is said that according to Ibnu'l-A'rābi the author of this verse is Yazīd b. Dabba al-Thakāfi.

² Eight distichs of this poem are cited in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 470, in the following order: 1, 2, 8, 4, 17, 5, 13, 11. They give some important variants, which I print below, using Ch. for brevity of reference.

³ Ch. عند هندی.

⁴ MS. القُرَّةِ أَوْ دَيْرِ الْقُرَّةِ. According to a note in Ch.: مَوَارِي الْفُتُورَةِ. وقيل القُرَّةُ وَغَمِيرُ اللَّصُوصِ قَرِيبَتَانِ مِنَ الْحَيَرَةِ قَرِيبَتَانِ مِنَ الْقَادِسِيَّةِ

⁵ In marg. غَمِيرُ اللَّصُوصِ قَضَّرَ بِالْحَيَرَةِ. Ch. غَمِيرُ اللَّصُوصِ.

⁶ MS. والربعية هي أول ما تجتز من الندى. In marg. ربعية.

⁷ In marg. والقصيص واحدته قصيدة هي شجرة قل ما يكون في أصلها كمأة والحب سهل بين حزنين.

4. نَأْكُلُ مَا شِئْتَ وَتَعْتَلَهَا
 حَمْرَاءَ مَلْحَمٍ كُلُّوْنَ الْفُصُوصُ¹
 5. تُنْغِصُكَ الْخَيْلُ وَتُصْطَاكُ آلُ²
 طَيْرُ وَلَا تُنْكَغُ لَهْرَ الْقَنِيصِ³
 6. عُيِّبْتَ عَنِّي عَبْدُ فِي سَاعَةِ آلِ
 شَرٍّ وَجِئْتِ ابْنَ الْعَوِيصِ⁴
 7. لَا تَنْسَيْنِ ذِكْرِي عَلَى لَذَّةِ آلِ⁵
 كَأْسٍ وَطَرَفٍ بِالْحَذُوفِ الْحَوْصِ⁶
 8. أَتَكَ ذَوْ عَهْدٍ وَذَوْ مَصْدَقٍ
 مُخَالَفًا هَذَى الْكَذُوبِ اللَّمُوصِ⁷
 9. يَا عَبْدُ هَلْ تَذَكَّرْنِي سَاعَةً
 فِي مَوَاقِبٍ أَوْ رَايَدًا لِلْقَنِيصِ
 10. يَوْمًا مَعَ الرُّكْبِ إِذَا أَوْفَضُوا⁸
 تُزْرَعُ فِيهِمْ مِنْ مَجَاءِ الْقُلُوصِ

¹ Ch. خَمْرًا مِنَ الْخَمْرِ.

² Ch. تَقْنِصُكَ.

³ In marg. وَلَا تَنْكَعُ أَي لَا تَنْغَصُ وَانْكَعْ نَغَصٌ. This beyt is supplied in the margin.

⁴ In marg. وَالْعَوِيصُ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَدِيدُهُ.

⁵ MS. تَنْسِبِنِ.

⁶ In marg. وَالْحَذُوفُ الْإِثْنَانُ السَّمِينَةُ وَالْحَوْصُ الْحَايِلُ الَّتِي لَمْ تَلْقُحْ.

See Kosegarten, *Carmina Hudsaillitarum*, p. 168, last line, for another example of حَذُوف in this sense.

⁷ Ch. مُخَالَفٌ عَهْدِ الْكَذُوبِ.

⁸ In marg. الْمَوْفِصُ الْمَجْدُ فِي السَّيْرِ.

16. وَالرَّزْرَبُ الْمَكْفُوفُ أَرْدَانُهُ
 يَمْشِي رُوَيْدًا كَتَوَقَّى الرَّهِيصُ¹
 17. يَنْفُخُ مِنْ أَرْدَانِهِ الْمَسْكُ وَآلُ²
 عَنْبَرٍ وَالْعَلَوَى وَلُبْنَا قَفُوضُ³
 18. وَالْمُشْرِفُ الْمَشْمُولُ نَسَقَى بِهِ⁴
 أَخْضَرَ مَطْمُوثًا بِمَاءِ الْخَرِيصِ⁵
 19. ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ فَيُوجٍ عَلَى آلِ
 بَابٍ وَقَيْدَيْنِ وَغُلٍ قَرُوضُ⁶
 20. أَوْ مُرْتَقَا نَيْتِي عَلَى نِقْذِي
 أَذْبَرَ عَوْدِي ذِي أَكَاظِ قَمُوضِ
 21. لَا يُثْمِنُ الْبَيْعَ وَلَا يَحْمِلُ آلَ
 رَدَفٍ وَلَا يُغْطِي بِهِ قُلُبُ خَوْضِ

¹ *In marg.* والرهيص الذي اصابته الركضة.

² *Ch.* اردانك.

³ *Ch.* والهندئ والغار ولبنى قفوض.

⁴ *In marg.* والمشرف انا من الانية التي كانوا يشربون بها والمشمول الطيب يقال للرجل اذا كان كريما لانه لمشمول.

⁵ *In marg.* والمطموث الممسوس يقال قد طمئت القدح اذا اخذته من مكانه الخريص الماء البارد والخريص جمع خريصة وهي السحابة التي يجيى مطرها ثم تصب صبا شديدا حتى تقشر وجه الارض.

⁶ *Cf.* 'Adi's verses in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 454 seq. :

أَبْلِغَا عَامِرًا وَأَبْلِغْ أَخَاهُ أَتْنَى مُوْتَقًى شَدِيدَ وَثَاقِي
 فِي حَدِيدِ الْقَشْطَاسِ يَرْقُبْنِي الْحَارِسُ وَالْمَرْءُ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ يُلَاقِي

22. او من نُسور حَزْل مَسْوَتَى مَعَا
يَأْكَلْنَ لَحْمًا مِّن طَرَى الْفَرِيضِ

'Bravo!' exclaimed the Shaikh, 'bravo! Had you been stagnant water, you would not have stunk.¹ A scholar of Islām, known as Abū Bakr b. Duraid,² has composed a poem in this metre beginning :

يسعد ذو الجذ ويشقى الحريض
ليس لخلقى عن قضاة محيض

but you, Abū Sawāda, retain the merit of priority. I cannot, however, commend your verse :

يا ليت شعرى وان ذو عَجْو

Either you have *wagled* the *hamsatu'l-kat'* and aggravated the offence by eliding the second *alif*, or you have "lightened"³ the *hamsa*, making it *baina baina*, and have then ventured to change it into pure *alif*. This, indeed, is a fine pass to which you have brought the normal usage,⁴ though a similar instance occurs in the lines :

[P. 28] يقولون مهلاً ليس للشيخ عَجِلْ
فها أنا قد أَعْيِلْتُ وان رقوبْ

If you had said

وليت شعرى أنا ذو عَجْو

it would, in my opinion, have been better and more accordant with analogy.' 'Adī retorted that he only spoke as he

¹ أَحَسَّنْتَ أَحْسَنْتَ لَوْ كُنْتَ الْمَاءَ الرَّائِدَ لَمَا أَسْنَتَ, i.e., if you had continued your recitation, I should not have been displeased.

² MS. ديريد.

³ MS. حَقَّقْتَ. I read خَفَّفْتَ (see Freytag under بَيِّنَ).

⁴ وحسبك بهذا آنقضاء للعادة.

heard his contemporaries doing, 'but you Moslems have invented many things of which we are ignorant.' The Shaikh was sorry that 'Adī did not understand his objection. 'And now,' said he, 'I am anxious to ask you about your distich quoted by Sibawaihi :¹

أَرَوَّاحٌ مَوْدِعٌ أَمْ بُكُورٌ
أَنْتَ فَأَنْظِرْ لَأَتَى حَالٍ تَصِيرُ

Sibawaihi's explanation seems to me far-fetched, and I imagine that you did not construe the verse as he does.' 'Spare me these trifles,' cried 'Adī; 'in the perishable world I was a great hunter, and perhaps you have heard my verses :²

1. وَلَقَدْ اغْدُو بِطَرَفٍ زَانَهُ
وَجْهَهُ مَتْرُوفٍ وَخَدُّهُ كَالْمِسْنِ
2. ذِي تَلِيلٍ مُشْنَتِي قَايِدُو
يَسْرِفُ الْكَفَّ نَهْدِي ذِي عُسْنِ
3. مُدَمَّجٍ كَالْقِدْحِ لَا عَيْبَ لَهُ
فَيُورِي فِيهِ وَلَا صَدْعُ أَبْنِ
4. رَمَاهُ الْبَارِي فَسَوَى دَرَاهِ
عَمَزُ كَفَّيْهِ وَمَخْلِقُ السَّقَنِ
5. أَتَى ثَغْرًا يُخَفِّفُ يُنْدَبُ لَهُ
وَمَتَى يُخَلَّ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ يُصْنِ
6. كَرِيبٌ ۖ الْبَيْتُ يَفْرَى جَلَّهُ
طَاعَهُ الْعَصْنُ وَتَسْخِيرُ الْكَبَنِ

¹ Sibawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), vol. i, p. 59.

² I have not been able to find either of the following poems elsewhere, but fourteen distichs in the metre and rhyme of the second are cited in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 464 seq.

³ MS. الرِّيبُ الْجَارِيَّةُ, but in *marg.* كَرِيبٌ.

7. فَبَلَّغْنَا صُنْعَهُ¹ حَتَّى شَتَا
 نَاعِمَ الْبَالِ لَجُوجًا فِي السَّنَنِ
 8. فَإِذَا جَالِ جِمَارٍ مُؤَشَّرٍ²
 وَنِعَامٌ نَافَرٌ بَعْدَ عَيْنٍ
 9. شَاءَ نَا ذُو مَيْعَةٍ³ يُبْطِرُنَا
 خَمَرَ الْأَرْضِ وَتَقْدِيمَ الْجَمْنِ⁴
 10. يَرَأْبُ الشَّدَّةَ بَسَّحَ⁵ مُرْسَلٍ
 كَأَحْتِفَالِ الْغَيْثِ بِالْمَرِّ الْيَفَنِ
 11. أَتَسَلَّ الذُّرْعَانِ⁶ غَرَبَ خَذِمٍ
 وَعَلَا الرَّيْرَبِ أَزَمٌ⁷ لَمْ يُدَنَّ⁸
 12. فَالَّذِي يَمْسُكُهُ يَحْمِلُهُ
 تَيْتَقُ كَالسَّيْدِ¹⁰ مُمْتَدُّ الرِّسَنِ

¹ See Ahlwardt, *Khalaf al-Ahmar's Qasida*, p. 308.

² MS. App. حِمَارٍ مَوْشَرٍّ. مؤَشَّرٌ, attenuatus (Freytag).

³ This expression occurs in a verse of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz cited by Ahlwardt, *ibid.*, p. 256.

⁴ *In marg.* وابطر عجل وابطرنا عجلنا وابطرني عن حاجتي اعجلني.
 For the construction with accus. instead of with عن cf. ابطره حِلْمُهُ (Lane, *sub voc.*).

⁵ *In marg.* والجبن ما غاب عنك والجبن بفتح الجيم الكفن.

⁶ App. "gathers speed by running." Cf. Jauhari's explanation of مَسَّحَ :
 كأنه يصب الجرى صبا.

⁷ MS. الدرعان. *In marg.* اولاد البقر الواحدة درع.

⁸ *In marg.* الازم الشدة, but here it seems to be = أَزَوَّمُ.

⁹ *In marg.* يذن يقف.

¹⁰ See Ahlwardt, *Khalaf al-Ahmar's Qasida*, p. 210 seq.

13. وإذا نحن لدينا أَرْجُح
يهتدى السائل عنا بالدخن

and my verses :

1. ومجود قد آسجهر تناویر کلون القهون فی الأغلاق¹.
2. عن خریف سقاء نوء من الدلو تدلی ولم توار² العراقی
3. لم یعبه إلا الأداخی³ فقد ویر بغص الریال فی الألاق⁴
4. وإران الشیران حؤل نعاج مطفلات یحمین بالأزواق
5. وتراهن کالأغتره فی المحفل او حین نعمة وآرتفای
6. قد تبطنه بغفی خراج⁵ من الخیل فاضل فی السیاق
7. وله النعجة المرثی مجاه الركب عذلا بالنابی المخرق⁶
8. والحدب⁷ العاری الزواید⁸ ملحقان دانى الدماغ⁹ للماقی

Then 'Adī invited the Shaikh to engage in the chase, but the Shaikh answered that he was a man of peace and of the pen; if he mounted one of the celestial steeds, who would

¹ *In marg.* والاعلاق ما یعلق على الهودج.

² MS. توارى.

³ MS. الاداخی.

⁴ *In marg.* والافلاق ما تفلق من البیض.

⁵ MS. خراج. خراج here must be synonymous with خروج. For the

irregular use of مفعول for فاعلان in a foot other than the last of the second *migra'*, see Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 267.

⁶ MS. النابی المخرق and نعجة الرمل = النعجة. النابی المخرق is her mate, "the lowing wild-bull."

⁷ MS. الحدب.

⁸ Cf. Ahlwardt's note on عاری النساء, *Qasida*, p. 217 seq.

⁹ MS. الدماغ.

secure him against the fate of Ḥalam,¹ the husband of [P. 30] al-Mutajarrida,² when he rode the black horse (اليكموم), or against what happened to the son of Zuhair,³ when he fell from the courser Dhū'l-Mair and broke his neck, and to 'Adī's own son, 'Alkama, when he went a-hunting on horseback?⁴ 'I might be dashed upon the emerald stones, and fracture an arm or leg, and cut a ludicrous figure before the people.' 'Adī smiled, and assured the Shaikh that in Paradise such calamities were unknown. So they set off, and the Shaikh aimed his spear [P. 31] at a wild bull, which, however, he was induced to spare because it once had saved some believers in the desert. Presently they came on a man who was milking in a golden pail. Thus was Abū Dhu'aib, the Hudhalite. He quoted to them his lines:

[P. 32] وَإِنَّ حَدِيثًا مِنْكَ لَوْ تَعْلَمِينَهُ
جَنَى الْاَحْلَ فِي اَلْبَانِ عُوْدُهُ مَطَائِلِ
مَطَائِلِ اَبْكَارِ حَدِيثِ نِتَاجِهَا
نُشَابِ بِمَاءٍ مِثْلَ مَاءِ الْمَفَاضِلِ

And when the pail was full of milk, God formed a hive of jewels, from which Abū Dhu'aib extracted the honey and tempered his milking and bade his visitors taste. 'T was a draught that, distributed among all the people of Hell, would have transported them to Paradise while they sipped!

Then the Shaikh said to 'Adī: 'There are two things in your poetry that I wish you had left unsaid. One is:⁵

¹ MS. حَلَمًا.

² Her name is variously related as Māwiya or Hind. Ḥalam was her first husband. She afterwards married Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.

³ His name was Sālim. The story is told in *Aghānī*, ix, 157.

⁴ *Aghānī*, ii, 42.

⁵ MS. عُوْدِ.

⁶ *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 472, with يَفْرَى for يَفْرَى and الْجِيَانِ for الرّهان.

نصاف يفتري جُلّه عن سراته
يَبْدُ الرّهانَ فارها مُعتابعا

and the other :

فليت دفعّت الهمّ عَنّي ساعة
فَتُؤَسِّى على ما خَلَيْتَ نَاعِمى بالِ

'Adī replied in his 'Tbādī dialect: ¹ 'O thou whose broken [P. 33] fortunes have been repaired, the blessing bestowed on thee should turn thy mind from poetry.' 'Nay,' said he, 'I asked God not to deny me in Paradise the least of my earthly pleasures, and He has granted my prayer.'

Now he saw two youths walking to and fro ² at the gate of a pavilion of pearl, and he gave them greeting. They were the two Nābigḥas, Nābigḥa of the Banū Dhubyān and Nābigḥa of the Banū Ja'da. 'You,' said the Shaikh, addressing Nābigḥa al-Ja'dī, 'are duly rewarded for having observed the religion of Abraham, but your case, O Abū Umāma, is beyond my comprehension.' 'Why,' said the Dhubyānī, 'I professed belief in God and made pilgrimages

يا مكبور لقد رَزِقْتَ ما يَكِيبُ ان يُشغَلَكَ عن القريض ¹ The author adds :

قوله يا مكبور يريد مجبور فجعل المجيم كافا وهى لغة رَدِيَّة يستعملها
اهل اليمن وجاء فى بعض الاحاديث ان الحرث بن هانئ ابن ابي
شمر بن جبلة الكندى آسئلهم يوم ساباط فنادى يا حَكْرُ يا حَكْرُ يريد
حُجْرَ بن عدى الادبر فعطف فاستقله وَيَكِيبُ فى معنى يَجِبُ

For the interchange of ج and ك cf.. Dr. Rieu, cited in Browne's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 19. I cannot find any mention of Hārith b. Hānī, nor do I know what battle at Sābāt (a village near Madā'in) is meant: possibly the engagement in which the Khārijite leader Mustaurid fell, 42 A.H. (Ibnul-Athīr, iii, 356 sqq.).

² MS. يتخادبان. يتخادب is not in the dictionaries, and in view of the words immediately following (وكل واحد منهما على باب الخ) يتخادبان would seem to be more natural.

to the Ka'ba in the Ignorance. Have not you heard my verses ?—¹

Nay, by Him in whose House my feet have kept pilgrim's
troth,
And by the stones bespattered with sacred blood be my
oath !

As I did not live to the Prophet's time, I cannot be accused
of disobedience, and God pardons a great sin for a small
merit.'

[P. 34] 'O Abū Sawāda,' cried the Shaikh, 'and Abū
Umāma and Abū Lailā,² let us carouse together. What
says our master, the 'Ibādite?—

إِيَّهَا الْقَلْبُ تَعَلَّلْ بَدَدَنْ
إِنْ هَمِّي فِي سَمَاعٍ وَأَذَنْ
وَشَرَابٍ خُسْرَوَانِي إِذَا
ذَاقَهُ الشَّيْخُ تَعْنَى وَأَرْجَحَنْ

Would that Abū Basīr³ were with us !' The words were
scarcely uttered ere Abū Basīr had made their party five.
. . . . Now when they had feasted and drunk their
fill, the Shaikh said to Nābigħa Dhubyānī: 'O Abū Umāma,
you are a man of sound judgment and wise, but you did
not show wisdom in saying, with reference to Nu'mān b.
al-Mundhir:⁴

"How fresh"—the Prince averred—"how sweet her lip!
After one kiss, a second, then a third !
Oh, such a mouth—'t was never mine to sip—
Would slake a raging thirst"—the Prince averred.'

¹ *The Divāns*, v, 37. Abū'l-'Alā reads حَجَّجًا. v, 38, and xvii,
21, 22, are also quoted.

² *Kunya* of Nābigħa al-Ja'dī.

³ *Kunya* of A'shā Kais.

⁴ *The Divāns*, vii, 22-24, but Abū'l-'Alā omits the second *migrā* of 22 and
the first *migrā* of 23. He reads بَرِيًّا رِيْقَهَا for بَرِدَ لَهَا.

Nābigħa rejoined: 'Had my critics treated me fairly, they would have recognized that I took the greatest possible precautions. Al-Nu'mān was infatuated with this woman, and when he ordered me to celebrate her in my poetry, I reflected and said to myself: "If I mention her by name, the king will be displeased, and if I only describe her in general terms, my description will be attached to some other woman, whereas, if I put it in the king's mouth, he will [P. 35] perceive that I have done so to prevent people from thinking that I actually saw what I describe." In the verses which follow those you have quoted the king recounts the lady's charms, and the verses beginning¹

وَإِذَا رَأَيْتَ رَأَيْتَ قَمَرًا مُشْرِقًا

are also spoken by the king. Hence the proper reading is not رَأَيْتَ, as you tell me it is ordinarily read, but رَأَيْتُ, for the former, if it hints at a scandal (إِنْ نَسَبْتُمُوهُ إِلَى مُنْدِيَّةٍ), is outrageous, and, if it refers to al-Nu'mān, is contemptuous and wanting in respect.' 'Admirable!' exclaimed the Shaikh, 'O star of the Banū Murra! Verily, the scholars among the *rāwis* have defamed you by a false reading. Would that the two Abū 'Umars² and al-Māzinī³ and al-Shaibānī and Abū 'Ubaida and 'Abdu'l-Malik and the rest were here, that I might ask them in your presence how they read it. I wish you to know that I am not a forger or a liar.' Almost before these words were impressed on Nābigħa's ear (فَلَا يَقْرَأُ هَذَا الْقَوْلَ فِي حُذْنَةٍ أَيْ أُمَامَةٍ) God Almighty had brought thither all the above-mentioned

¹ *Ibid.*, vii, 30. It is cited very incorrectly.

² MS. أَبَوَيَّ عَمْرٍ. It is obvious to suppose that و has fallen out before the و immediately following, and that the true reading is أَبَوَيَّ عَمْرٍو, viz. Abū

'Amr b. al-'Alā and Abū 'Amr al-Shaibānī. But as al-Shaibānī is mentioned just afterwards, I retain the manuscript reading without feeling sure of its correctness. The two Abū 'Umars are perhaps Abū 'Umar al-Jarmi and Abū 'Umar Muḥ. al-Muṭarriz (Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, pp. 81 and 174).

³ Abū 'Uṭhmān Bakr b. Muḥ. b. 'Uṭhmān al-Māzinī (Flügel, p. 83).

rdavis, without causing them any trouble or inconvenience, [P. 36] and the Shaikh asked them how they read the verse. They answered: 'With *fatha*, but the poet has absolute authority, like Bilkis' (Kor., xxvii, 33).

'O Abū Lailā,' said the Shaikh, turning to Nābigha al-Ja'dī, 'recite to us your poem rhymed in *sh*, in which you say:

ولقد اغدو بشرَّب أنف
قبل أن يظهر في الأرض رِكش الخ¹

[P. 37] 'I never used *sh* as a rhyme,' said Nābigha, 'and in this poem are words that I now hear for the first time, such as ²رِكش and سُهْمَة and خَشَش.' The Shaikh, however, was not convinced, and suggested that Nābigha's devotion to the wine and luxurious meats of Paradise had driven all his learning out of his head.

[P. 38] Now a flock of geese alighted in the garden, and ranged themselves, as though awaiting a command. 'What is your business here?' asked the Shaikh. They answered (for the birds of Paradise are endowed with speech): 'God inspired us to settle in this garden, that we might sing to the revellers therein'; and straightway they became damsels in the flower of youth, swaying in their gait, clad in celestial broideries, and in their hands were lutes and other instruments of music. The Shaikh was astonished, as he had reason to be, and said to one of them by way of trial: 'Play the words of Abū Umāma, who is sitting yonder, in the rhythm *thaḳilu'l-awwal*:³

¹ Eight more distichs are quoted.

² Not in the dictionaries. According to Abū'l-'Alā's explanation it means 'patches of herbage':

وامتا ريش فمن قولهم ارض ريشاً اذا ظهرت فيها قطع من النبات
وكانها مقلوبة عن برشاً

³ Kosegarten, *Liber Cantilenarum*, i, 138. No doubt musicians will find his explanation perfectly lucid and intelligible. He translates *ثقيل الاول* (*ibid.*, i, 33) by "Melodie im Dreiachteltact in D moll" and "mesure à trois-huit en Re mineur." The passage which follows in the original text contains a number

أَمِنْ آلِ مَيْهٍ رَاجِحٍ أَوْ مَغْتَدٍ
عَجَلَانَ ذَا زَادٍ وَغَيْرِ مُزَوَّدٍ¹

When she had done this in the most enchanting manner imaginable, at the Shaikh's request she varied the rhythm and changed it again and again, so that all were filled with wonder and delight. While they were thus engaged, a youth passed by, and they asked his name. He answered: 'I am Labīd b. Rabī'a b. Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb.' 'Welcome, welcome!' cried the Shaikh, 'had you said "Labīd" and stopped, you would have been known.' Then the Shaikh begged him to recite his *Mu'allaka*, but Labīd answered that he had left poetry behind him and would never return to it, having got something better and holier in exchange. Undeterred by this rebuff the Shaikh quoted Labīd's verse:²

تَرَاكَ أَمْكَكَ إِذَا لَمْ أَرْضَهَا
أَوْ يَرْتَبِطَ بَعْضُ النُّفُوسِ حِمَامُهَا

and asked whether he used *بعض* in the sense of *كُل*. 'No,' said he, 'I meant myself, just as one says to a man, "When your money goes, somebody will give you money," meaning one's self, though on the surface the words may apply to any person.' After further discussion the Shaikh quoted:³

[P. 41] وَصَبُوحِ صَافِيَةٍ وَجَذْبِ كَرِينَةٍ
بِمَوْتَرٍ تَأْتَالُهُ إِبْهَامُهَا

'Which of the two readings did you intend,' said he, 'تَأْتَالُهُ'

of technical terms, and is written in such a strain of enthusiasm as seems to show that Abū'l-'Alā not only had a considerable knowledge of music but was very susceptible to its influence. Here he would naturally seek consolation for his blindness: Homer, Milton, and Rūdagi might be called, if examples were needed, to prove that loss of sight is often accompanied by a keener and more delicate appreciation of the pleasures of sound.

¹ Nābigha in *The Divāns*, vii, 1.

² *Mu'allaka*, 56.

³ *Mu'allaka*, 60. See Lane under *أَوَى*.

from آل or تَأْتِي لَهُ from أَرَى? 'Either is possible,' said Labid. Then the Shaikh began a philological disquisition upon تَأْتِي, maintaining that it arose from ايتى in the same way as, according to K̲halīl and Sībawaihi, اسْحَيْت arose from اسْحَى. Labid listened with impatience, and turning to A'shā Kais exclaimed: 'Praise be to God, O Abū Baṣīr, who has forgiven you in spite of your confessing that which you wot of!' 'O Abū 'Aḳīl,' said the Shaikh to Labid, 'I suppose you mean his verses:

وَأَشْرَبَ بِالرِّيقِ حَتَّى يُقَا
لُ قَدْ طَالَ بِالرِّيقِ مَا قَدْ رَجُنُ
صَرِيفَتُهُ طَيِّبًا طَعْمُهَا
تُصَفِّقُ مَا بَيْنَ كُوبٍ وَدُنُ
[P. 42] وَأَقْرَرْتُ عَيْنِي مِنَ الْغَزَايَا
بِتِ إِمَّا نِكَاحًا وَإِمَّا أَرْزَنُ¹

and his verses: ²

فَطَلَلْتُ أَرْغَاهَا فَظَلَّ يَحُوطُهَا
حَتَّى دَكَّوْتُ إِذَا الظَّلَامُ دَنَا لَهَا
فَرَمَيْتُ غَفْلَةً عَيْنِهِ عَنْ شَاتِهِ
فَأَصَبْتُ حَبَّةَ قَلْبِهَا وَطَحَّالَهَا

and others, similar in character, which are ascribed to him. Now either he is not guilty, and these passages are merely poetical embellishment, or he is guilty and God has pardoned him, for He pardons every sin except idolatry' (Kor., iv, 116). The Shaikh then quoted an erotic piece by Nābigha

¹ MS. أَرْزَن. If أَرْزَن is correct, it must stand for أَرْزَن, so that رَمَّا أَرْزَن = "sive mihi dicebatur, 'O scortator.'" For إِمَّا with the Jussive see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii, 43. It seems unnecessary to write زِنًا = زِنًا.

² The second couplet is cited in *Kāmil*, 160.

al-Ja'dī, on which he pronounced a long and extravagant eulogy. This ended, the song of the singing-girls at Cairo¹ [P. 44] and Baghdād came into his mind, and he remembered how they used to trill the poem by Mukhabbal al-Sa'dī,² which is rhymed in *m* :

وَإِذَا أَلَمَ خَيَالُهَا طَرَقَتْ
عَيْنِي فَمَا شُؤْنُهَا سَجَمُ
كَالِدُولِ الْمَسْجُورِ تُوبِعَ فِي
سِلْكِ النِّظَامِ فَمَحَانَهُ النَّمَطُ

No sooner had he thought of this than the goose-maidens were chanting it, and so sweetly did they sing, that every syllable produced a joy exceeding all the joys of the world from the creation of Adam to the destruction of the last of his children. After the Shaikh had recited some more of Mukhabbal's poetry and moralized thereon, Nābigħa al-Ja'dī said to A'shā Kais : 'O Abū Baṣīr, is this Rabāb mentioned by the Sa'dite she whose name occurs in your poem ?—

[P. 46] يُعَاصِي الْعَوَادِلَ طَلَقَ الْيَدِ
نِ يَعْطِي الْجَزِيلَ وَيُرْخِي الْإِزَارَا
فَمَا نَطَقَ الدِّيكَ حَتَّى مَلَأَ
تُ كُوبَ الرِّبَابِ لَهُ فَاسْتَدَارَا
إِذَا آنَكَبَ أَزْهَرُ بَيْنِ السَّقَاةِ
تَرَامَوْا بِهِ غَرَبًا وَنُصَارَا³

'You are old, Abū Lailā,' replied A'shā Kais, 'and it seems to me that you have lost your wits and are still looking for

¹ MS. نُسْطَاس, which I cannot find as the name of a place. I therefore read نُسْطَاط.

² *Aghānī*, xii, 40 sqq. *Ranḍatu'l-Adab*, 165 sqq.

³ This distich is cited by Lane under غَرَبَ.

and in craftsmanship,¹ and the number of my verses was equalled by none of my predecessors. You amused yourself by maliciously slandering the noble of your tribe, and if you told the truth, the more shame to you and your [P. 47] neighbours!² The woman of Hizzān³ was well rid of you: in you she companioned with a one-eyed dog, who went round the tents in search of discarded bones and eagerly scraped up the mould of sequestered graves.'⁴ 'Do you say this,' cried Abū Baṣīr angrily, 'when one verse of my composition is worth a hundred of yours, with all your prolixity, for the prolix man is like one who preaches at night. Doubtless there are tribesmen of Rabi'atu'l-Faras among the Jurthūma.⁵ You belong to the Banū Ja'da, and what is Ja'da but the redundancy of a dried-up well?'⁶ You taunt me with my panegyrics on kings, but if you, fool that you are, had been able to do the same, you would have deserted your family and children. But you are by nature a weakling and faint-hearted, never walking abroad in the dark night nor journeying under the scorching heat of noon. You have mentioned my divorcing the woman of Hizzān, though, methinks, she parted from me with

¹ واتى لأطول منك نفساً وأكثر تصرفاً. *may mean 'versatility,'*
as in *Raḍātu'l-Adab*, p. 71 (spoken of Tamīm b. Abi Muḥbil): وله في غير

وصفهن تصرف بين حماسٍ وفخرٍ وغير ذلك.

وانت لا بعفارتك على كرايم قومك وان صدقت فسخرتاك²
بعفارتك. Perhaps instead of بعفارتك we should read ولمقاربك.

² *Aghānī*, viii, 83.

عاشت منك النابح عشي فطاف الأخوية على العظام المنتبذة³
وحرص على انتباه الاجداث المنفردة

³ Cf. the saying: الأسد جرثومة العرب فمن اصل نسبه فليأتهم
(Lane, *sub voc.*). Apparently the sense is: "Nullum malum est quod non
aliquid boni permisceat."

⁴ زائدة ظليم نفور.

secret anguish; and divorce is no disgrace to high or low' (ليس بمُنْكَرٍ لِلسُّوقِ وَلَا لِلْمُلُوكِ). 'Peace, O vagabond!' (يَا ضَلُّ بْنُ ضَلٍّ) cried Nābigħa al-Ja'dī, 'I swear that your admission to Paradise is a scandal, albeit things come to pass according to the will of God. You deserve to be in the lowest division of Hell, where many better than you are burning¹ You disparage the Banū Ja'da, but [P. 48] one of their battles outweighs all the achievements of your tribe; and you call me a coward who am braver than you and your father, and more apt to endure a journey in a dark frosty night, and speedier of foot in the sultry midday hours' (واشدَّ ابغالا في الهاجرة أُمَّ الصَّحْدَانِ).

Now in his wrath Nābigħa al-Ja'dī smote Abū Baṣīr with a golden ewer, but the Shaikh interposed. 'There is no brawling in Paradise,' said he; 'were it not written, "their heads shall not ache from drinking wine nor shall their reason be disturbed" (Kor., lvi, 19), I should have fancied that you, Nābigħa, were out of your mind. Abū Baṣīr has tasted nothing but milk and honey: his mien is sober and discreet, and he behaves like a gentleman even when ceremony is relaxed (لا يَخْفُفُ عِنْدَ حُلِّ الْحَبْوَةِ). Among us he holds the place of Abū Nuwās, who says:²

أيها العاذلان في الراح لوما
لا اذوق المدام إلا شميما
نالن بالعتاب فيها إمام
لا ارى لى خلافه مستقيما
إن حظى منها اذا هسى دارت
أن اراها وأن أشم النسيما

¹ Here Nābigħa quotes some very coarse verses by al-A'shā.

² *Diwān* (Cairo, 1860), p. 201. The verses are not in Ahlwardt's edition of the *Weinlieder*.

فَأَصْرَفَهَا إِلَى سِوَايَ فَاتَى
 لَسْتُ إِلَّا عَلَى الْحَدِيثِ نَدِيمَا
 فَكَانَتِي وَمَا أَحْسَنُ مِنْهَا
 قَعَدْتُ يُحَسِّنُ الْحَكِيمَا
 لَمْ يُطِقْ حَمَلَةَ السِّلَاحِ إِلَى الْحَزِّ
 بَ فَاَوْصَى الْمُطِيقُ إِلَّا يُقِيمَا

'In the world of illusion,' said Nābigħa al-Ja'dī, 'milk-drinking was often the cause of outrageous conduct, especially in low rascally fellows. The *rājis* says :

[P. 49] يَا أَبْنَ هَشَامٍ أَهْلَكَ النَّاسَ اللَّبَنُ
 فَكُلُّهُمْ يَغْدُو بِسِنْفٍ وَقَرَنُ

And another poet says :

مَا دَهْرٌ ضَبَّةٌ فَاعْلَمْ مَحَّتْ أَثْلَتُنَا¹
 وَأَتَمَّا هَاجَ مِنْ جُثَالِهَا اللَّبَنُ

And someone, who was asked when the Banū so-and-so were to be feared, replied : " When they have plenty of milk " (إِذَا أَلْبَنُوا). Al-A'shā retorted by a bitter tirade against wine, whereupon Nābigħa rose in high dudgeon as if to depart. The Shaikh, wishing to restore his good-humour, proposed that he should take one of the goose-maidens home with him, but this plan was upset by Labid, who pointed out that the precedent might be followed, and all Paradise would ring with the news thereof, and they would be nicknamed " husbands of the geese."

[P. 50] Now Ḥassān b. Thābit came along, and the Shaikh invited him to drink, quoting his lines :

¹ MS. مَحَّتْ أَثْلَتُنَا.

كَأَنَّ سَبِيَّةً مِنْ بَيْتِ رَأْسٍ
يَكُونُ مَزَاجُهَا عَسَلٌ وَمَاءُ الْخِ¹

'Were not you ashamed,' said he, 'to introduce a topic like this in your eulogy of the Apostle of God?' Ḥassān replied: 'He was more easy-tempered (أَسَجَحُ خُلُقًا) than ye imagine. Besides, I only speak of wine at second hand; I do not say that I ever drank it, and I am not [P. 51] guilty on that score.' Then the Shaikh put some grammatical questions, but before he got a reply one of the company said to Ḥassān: 'How of your cowardice, O father of 'Abdu'l-Rahmān?' 'Is this taunt addressed to me,' he cried, 'whose tribe is the bravest of the Arabs? Six of them resolved to attack the pilgrims (أهل الموسم), and they covenanted with the Prophet to make war upon all recalcitrants, and Rabī'a and Muḍar and all the Arabs shot at them with the bow of hostility and bore a deadly hatred against them. If at times I showed caution, it was dictated by prudence, in order that I might rally or execute a strategic retreat' (Kor., viii, 16).

Then the party broke up after a sitting that had lasted the space of many mortal lives. And as the Shaikh was strolling through the fields of Paradise, he met five² men mounted on camels. These were the one-eyed men of K̄ais (عُورَانُ قَيْسٍ), namely, Tamīm b. Muḵbil al-'Ajlanī, 'Amr b. Aḥmar al-Bāhili, Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muḵbil,

¹ Ibn Hishām, p. 829, l. 4; *Kāmil*, 73. After this beyt Abū'l-'Alā inserts:

عَلَى أَنْيَابِهَا أَوْ طَعْمُ غَضٍ
مِنَ التَّقَاحِ هَضْرَهُ آجَتْنَا
عَلَى فِيهَا إِذَا مَا اللَّيْلُ قَلَّتْ
كَوَاكِبُهُ وَمَالَ بِهَا الْغَطَا

The fourth and last beyt is إِذَا مَا الْأَشْرِبَاتُ ذُكِرْنَ الْخِ.

² Six are mentioned.

Shammākh (Ma'kil b. Dirār of the Banū Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān), Rā'ī'l-Ḍibil 'Ubaid b. al-Ḥusain al-Numairī, [P. 52] and Ḥumaid b. Thaur al-Hilālī. The Shaikh begged Shammākh to recite his poems rhymed in *z* and *j*, as he wanted information on certain points, but Shammākh declared that he could not remember a single verse. The Shaikh rebuked him, saying that these poems had made him famous and were more profitable to him than his two daughters,¹ just as Nābigha's poem² stood him in better stead than his daughter 'Akrab, who disgraced him and was taken captive,³ and was the cause of gifts being withheld from him. Then the Shaikh offered to recite Shammākh's poem in *z*, which begins:⁴

عفا من سُلَيْمَى بطن قَوِّ فَعَالِرُ
فَذَاتُ الْغُضَا فَاَلْمُشْرِفَاتُ الْغَوَاشِرُ

But he found that Shammākh did not understand it, for the delights of Paradise had weaned him from all vanities. 'I only followed the profession of poet,' said Shammākh, 'in hope of getting the loan of a she-camel for riding or the present of a scanty measure of grain to feed my family in a year of drought,⁵ as the *rājis* says:

لَوْ شَاكَ مِنْ رَأْسِكَ عَظْمٌ يَابِسُ
لَالَ مِنْكَ جَمَلٌ حُمَارِسُ

¹ The notice in the *Aghāni* throws no light upon this allusion.

² Probably *v* in Ahlwardt's *The Divāns* is meant, which by some was reckoned among the Mu'allakāt. Others gave this honour to a poem formed by combining two pieces (xi in the *Divān* and xxvi in the Appendix).

³ See Nābigha, ed. Derenbourg, pp. 9 and 238.

⁴ Cited in *Jamharatu ash-Shi'ar* - 'Arab, p. 164, with transposition of ذَاتُ الْغُضَا for ذَاتُ الصَّفَا and بطن قَوِّ and من سُلَيْمَى.

⁵ MS. أَمَا كُنْتُ اسْتَقْتُ هَذِهِ الْأُمُورَ وَأَنَا آمَلُ أَنْ أَقْرِبَهَا نَاقَةً أَوْ. اعطى كيل عيالى سنة. اسوق اسق. The last words seem to be corrupt. Perhaps أَوْ أُعْطِيَ كَيْلٌ عَالٍ لِعِيَالِي.

سَوَّى عَلَيْكَ الْكَئِيلَ شَيْخٌ بَايَسُ
مِثْلَ الْعَصَى يَعْجَبُ مِنْهُ الْأَوْسُ¹

[P. 53] Now the Shaikh turned to 'Amr b. Aḥmar and asked him to recite his poem beginning :

بَانَ الشَّبَابُ وَأَخْلَفَ الْغَمْرُ
وَتَغَيَّرَ الْأَخْوَانُ وَالْدَهْرُ

'There is a dispute,' he added, 'about العمر, whether it means "life" or whether it is the singular of عُمُور الأسنان (the flesh between the gums).' In reply 'Amr quoted :

خُذَا وَجْهَ هَرَشَى أَوْ كِلَاهَا فَاتَهْ
كِلَا جَانِبَيْ هَرَشَى لِهِنَّ طَرِيقُ¹

He excused himself from reciting on the ground that he was still dazed by the terrors of Judgment, and expressed his surprise that the Shaikh could remember so much. 'It was always my custom,' said the Shaikh, 'at the end of my prayers, to implore God that He would allow me to retain my scholarship in both worlds, and He has granted me this boon.' Then the Shaikh repeated these verses by 'Amr :

وَلَقَدْ غَدَوْتُ وَمَا يَفْزَعُنِي
خَوْفٌ أَحَازِرُهُ وَلَا تَعْزُرُ
رَدُّوا الشَّبَابَ كَاتِنَى غُضُنْ
بِحَرَامِ مَكَّةَ نَاعِمٌ نَصْرُ²
كُشْرَابٍ قَيْلٍ عَنْ مَطِيئَتِهِ
وَلِكُلِّ أَمْرٍ وَاقِعٌ قَدَرُ

[P. 54]

¹ I.e., you may take it either way. "Harshā is a pass on the road to Mecca, near al-Juhfa, from which the sea is visible. It has two paths, and the traveller may use either to gain his end" (Sahāḥ under هَرَش, where this verse is cited with خُذَى أَنْفَ for خُذَا وَجْهَ and قَفَاها for كِلَاهَا).

² MS. نصر.

مَدَّ النَّهَارَ لَهُ وَطَالَ لَيْلُهُ
 فِي اللَّيْلِ وَاسْتَعْنَتْ بِهِ^١ الْحَمْرُ
 وَمُسْفَةٌ^٢ دَهْمَاءَ دَاجِنَةٍ
 رَكَدَتْ وَأُسِيلُ دُونَهَا السِّتْرُ
 وَجَرَادَتَانِ تُغْنِيَانِ زَيْهَمُ
 وَتَلَاؤُا الْمَرْجَانِ وَالشَّدْرُ
 وَمُجَلِّجُلٌ^٣ دَانٌ زَبَرْجَدُهُ
 حَدِثٌ كَمَا يَتَحَدَّبُ الدُّبُرُ
 وَتَانِ حَتَانَانِ بَيْنَهُمَا
 وَتَرٌّ أَجَشُّ غِنَاءَهُ زَمْرُ
 وَبَعِيرُهُمْ سَاجِرُ بَجَرَتِهِ
 لَمْ يَوْزُوهُ غَرَّتْ وَلَا نَفَرُ
 فَإِذَا مَجَزَّ بَجَرُ شَقِّ بَازِلُهُ
 وَإِذَا أَصَاخَ فَاتَهُ بَلْرُ
 خَلُّوا طَرِيقَ الدِّيْدَبُونِ فَمَقْدُ
 وَلَّى الصَّبَى وَتَقَاوَتَ التَّجَرُّ^٤

^١ App. $\text{أَعْنَتْهُ} = \text{استعنت به}$, but ? استعنت.

^٢ MS. $\text{مُسْفَةٌ} = \text{مُسْفَةٌ}$ (see below) is not found in the dictionaries.

Cf., however, وَإِي مُسْفَةٌ (Lane under سَفَه). It is derived from مُسْفِيَةٌ , used like the Latin *improbus* = 'inordinate, excessive.'

^٣ See below.

^٤ MS. مَجَزَّر .

^٥ MS. الْبَجَر . Cf. Farazdaq's verse :

إِنَّ الشَّبَابَ لِرَاجِحٍ مِنْ بَاعِهِ
 وَالشَّيْبَ لَيْسَ لِبَائِعِهِ تَجَارُ

'What do you mean by قَيْل,' he asked, 'the singular of اَيْيَال or Kail b. 'Iṭr' of 'Ād?' 'Amr thought either would do, but the Shaikh insisted that the mention of the Jarādatān was a strong argument in favour of the proper name. 'I was astonished,' said he, 'to find in some copies of the *Aghāni* a tune which the Jarādatān are said to have sung, viz.:²

اقفر من اهله المصيف
قبطن عردة فالغريف الخ

Now the words are modelled on

اقفر من اهله ملحوب

and, according to a tradition handed down to the singers in the age of Hārūn al-Rashīd and later, were sung by the [P. 55] Jarādatān. I do not assert that the lines are forged, but the tradition is improbable.' 'Amr remarked that جراداتان in his verse by no means involved a reference to Kail b. 'Iṭr, as the ancient Arabs applied the term جرادة to any singing-girl. A poet says:

تُعْنِيْنَا المَجْرَاءُ وَحَنَ شَرْبُ
نُعَلُ الرَّاحِ خَالِطَهَا المَشْوَرُ

He then explained مُسَقَّةٌ دِهْمَاءُ as referring to the cooking-pot (القِدْر) and مُجَلِّجٌ دَانٌ زَبْرَجْدُهُ as referring to the lute, of which the ornaments (ما حسن منه) are called زبرجد. مُجَلِّجٌ with *kasra* of the *jīm* would denote clouds, for مَا تَلَوْنِ مِنَ السَّحَابِ = زَبْرَجْدُ.

'It seems,' cried the Shaikh in astonishment, 'that you, a pure Arab, whose expressions and verses are cited, maintain that زبرجد is derived from زبرج. This supports the theory, held by the author of the *Kitābu'l-'Ain*³ but

¹ See Margoliouth, *Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, p. 106, note 5.

² *Aghāni*, viii, 2.

³ Khalil b. Aḥmad.

rejected by the school of Baṣra, that the *dal* in صَلَّحْدَم is superfluous.' Then God inspired Ibn Aḥmar, and he said: 'Why should you refuse to rank زَجَد and رَج under one root? The verb زَجَج is formed from زَجَد, because no verb can have five radical letters; from this again is formed a noun زَجَج. You are aware that the diminutive of قَزَزْدَق [P. 56] is قَزَزْد and the plural قَزَزْد, yet this does not prove the superfluity of the *kāf*.' 'Your hypothesis,' answered the Shaikh, 'implies that the verb is prior to the noun.' 'Amr demurred to this statement, and argued the question at some length. As the Shaikh found that little information was to be got from him, he said: 'Which of you is Tamīm b. Ubayy? Explain to me your verse:

يَا دَارَ سَلَمَى خَلَاءَ لَا أُكْتَفَى
إِلَّا الْمَرَانَةَ حَتَّى تَسْأَمَ الدِّينَا²

What did you mean by الْمَرَانَةُ? According to some it is the name of a woman, according to others of a she-camel, while some regard it as equivalent to الْعَادَةُ. 'I did not bring with me to Paradise,' said Tamīm, 'an atom of poetry or *rajaṣ*, for I had to undergo a severe reckoning, and I was charged with having fought against 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, and al-Najāshī al-Hārithī³ confronted me, ere I escaped from the fire, and dragged me several times by the forelock.'

Here begins a long narrative by the Shaikh of his experiences in the place of Judgment. It may be abridged without much loss to the reader.

'I remembered,' said he, 'the verse (Kor., lxx, 4), "The angels ascend unto Him, and the Spirit (Gabriel) also, in a day whose space is 50,000 years," and the term seemed

¹ Also قَزَزْدَق (Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, i, 168).

² MS. نَسَامُ الدِّينَا. The *Ṣaḥāḥ*, under مَرْن, reads اَلدِّينَا.

³ A satirical poet and partisan of 'Alī. Verses by him are quoted in Nöldeke's *Delectus*, p. 80.

tedious to me, for my thirst was terrible and the heat intense. Now I am a man quick to thirst (مهياف), so I considered and perceived 't was a matter one like me could [P. 58] not withstand. The Recording Angel brought me my book of good deeds, and lo! my merits were few as grassy meadows in a year of drought, albeit repentance at the close resembled the lamp of the Christian monk that beacons aloft for him who threads his way through a water-course.' The Shaikh goes on to relate how he sought favour with Ridwān and another guardian of Paradise, called Zufar, by composing laudatory verses in every metre capable of being rhymed with their names, but they [P. 60] remained inflexible. Then he saw a man crowned with an aureole in the midst of a resplendent entourage. This was Ḥamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib and the Moslems slain at Ohod. 'And I said to myself: "Poetry is better laid out on him than upon the guardians of Paradise, for he is a poet, and so are his brothers, and his father, and his grandsire. Methinks, there is no security for me between him and Ma'add b. 'Adnān.'" Accordingly the Shaikh composed a poem in the style of the verses by Ka'b b. Mālik, which begin:¹

صَفِيَّةٌ قَوْمِي وَلَا تَعْجِزِي
وَبَكِي النِّسَاءَ عَلَى حَمْرَةٍ

[P. 61] Ḥamza said: 'I cannot do what you want, but I will send with you a messenger to my nephew 'Alī, that he may speak to the Prophet touching your affair.' When 'Alī heard the messenger's report, he asked the Shaikh, 'Where is your voucher?'—meaning his book of good deeds.

'Now I had observed (says the Shaikh) an old man known as Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī,² who in the transitory world used to teach grammar. He was being jostled by a crowd attacking him and crying, "You have insulted us by your interpretations." Espying me, he waved his hand, and

¹ Ibn Hishām, p. 631.

² Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 110.

I hastened to his aid. Among the crowd was Yazid b. al-Hakam,¹ who was saying, "Woe to you! you made المَاء nominative in my verse:²

فلميت كفاك ان شرك كله
وخيرك عتي ما آرتوى المَاء مَرْتَوَى

Moreover, in my verse

تبدل خلية بي كشكلك شكك
فاني خلية صادقاً بك مَقْتَوَى

you have asserted that I pronounced the *mīm* of مَقْتَوَى with *fatha*,³ whereas I pronounced it with *ḍamma*." And a *rājis* said: "You have libelled me, for in my verse⁴

يا لبلى ما ذنبه فتأبىه
مَاء رَوَاء ونصى حوليه

you vocalize the *yā* in تَأْبِيه. By God, I never did this, nor any Arab." And there was a multitude of this sort, all reviling him for his interpretations. At last I said: "Gentlemen, surely these are trifles. Do not abuse the old man. He may put forward as a plea for your consideration [P. 62] his book on the Kor'an, entitled *al-Hujja*. He never shed your blood nor took your property. Pray, leave him in peace." While I was engaged in addressing them and expecting their answer, the scroll, in which mention was made of my repentance, slipped from my hand, and when I returned to seek for it, I could not find it.'

'Alī, seeing the Shaikh's consternation and distress, said: 'Never mind! Have you any witness to your repentance?' 'Yes,' said he, 'I have 'Abdu'l-Mun'im b. 'Abdu'l-Karīm,

¹ Yazid b. al-Hakam al-Thakafi (*Aghāni*, xi, 100 sqq.).

² *Aghāni*, xi, 105.

³ For مَقْتَوَى see 'Amr's *Mu'allaka*, 56, and Nöldeke, *Fünf Mu'allakāt*, p. 41.

⁴ Cited in the *Saḥāḥ* under رَوَى, with ذنبه for ذأمه.

Kādi of Aleppo and of its public officials (وعُدولها) in the time of Shiblu'l-Daula. Then 'Alī ordered a *hātif* to cry out in the place of Judgment: 'O 'Abdu'l-Mun'im (giving his full name), have you any knowledge of the repentance of 'Alī b. Mansūr b. Tālib al-Ḥalabī, the scholar?' None answered, and the Shaikh was seized with fear and trembling. Then he cried out a second time, but there was no response, and the Shaikh fell prostrate on the ground (فَلَجَّ بِي). At the third summons, however, a voice answered: 'I was present at the repentance of 'Alī b. Mansūr, late in his life (بِأَخِرَتِهِ مِنَ الْوَقْتِ). It took place in my house, and was witnessed by a number of assessors.' Thereupon the Shaikh, having come to his senses, stood up and implored 'Alī to admit him to Paradise. But 'Alī turned his back on him, saying, 'Verily thou seekest a thing hard, impossible' (جَدًّا مَمْتَنًّا). In his despair the Shaikh approached the kin of the Prophet, entreating them to demand the intercession of Fāṭima, when she came forth [P. 63] from Paradise, as she does every day, to greet her father, who is a spectator of the Judgment. So when Fāṭima appeared, they urged his petition, and she handed him over to her brother Ibrāhīm, and since his name was found with the seal of repentance in the Dīvānu'l-A'zam, the Prophet interceded for him.

Now he came to al-Sirāt, and Fāṭima bade one of her girls take him across (for, by himself he was unable), and she advanced, outstripping him as he swayed unsteadily to and fro. 'O damsel,' said he, 'if you desire to save me, practise with me the saying of the poet :

سِتِّ إِنْ أَعْيَاكَ أَمْرِي

[P. 65]

فَأَحْمِلْنِي زَقْفُونَهُ

'What is زَقْفُونَهُ?' said she. 'It means,' replied the Shaikh, 'that a man throws his arms over the shoulders of another, who takes hold of his hands and carries him with his belly

resting on the bearer's back. Have you not heard the lines of al-Jahjūl of Kafartāb?¹—

صَلَحَتْ حَالَتِي إِلَى الْخَلْقِ حَتَّى
مَرْتُ أَمْشِي إِلَى الْوَرَى زَقْفُونَهُ

'No,' said she, 'I never heard of زَقْفُونَهُ, or of al-Jahjūl, or of Kafartāb.' Then she bore him across al-Sirāṭ like a flash of lightning, and Faṭīma said: 'We give you this girl to be your handmaid in Paradise.' 'My stay in the place of Judgment,' said the Shaikh in conclusion, 'lasted only one year, and on this account my memory is unimpaired.'

[P. 66] Then, after a brief parley with Rāṭ'l-Ibil, the Shaikh accosted Ḥumaid b. Thaur. 'O Ḥumaid,' said he, 'you have excelled in your verse:²

أَرَى بَصْرِي قَدْ رَابَنِي بَعْدَ صَحْوِي
وَحَسْبُكَ دَأْءٌ أَنْ تَصَحَّ وَتَسْلَمَا

How is your sight now?' 'Truly,' answered he, 'I am in the western region of Paradise, yet can I lightly glance at my friend in the eastern part thereof, though between me and him is a thousand years' journey measured by the sun.' Then the Shaikh praised Ḥumaid's poem in *dāl*,³ quoting these verses:

جِلْبَانُهُ وَرَهَاءَ تَحْصِي جِمَارِهَا
يَفْئِي مِنْ بَقَى خَيْرًا لَدَيْهَا الْجَلَامُذُ
إِذَا مَعَ مَعَايِشٍ لَا يَزَالُ نِطَاقُهَا
شَدِيدًا وَفِيهَا مَسُورَةٌ وَهِيَ قَاعِدُ
تَتَابَعَ أَعْوَامٌ عَلَيْهَا هَزَلَتْهَا
وَأَقْبَلَ عَامٌ يَتَعَشُّ النَّاسَ وَاحِدُ

¹ My ignorance is almost equal to the damsel's. I never heard of الجحجول and cannot get any information either about him or about زَقْفُونَهُ. Kafartāb is a village between Ḥalab and Ma'arra.

² Cited in *Kāmil*, 125.

³ I have not found it elsewhere.

'I have forgotten *mims* and *dāls*,' said he, 'and my time is occupied in sporting with plump houris.' 'What!' cried the Shaikh, 'do you abandon a poem like this, which contains the passage :

عَضَمَرَةٌ فِيهَا بَقَاءٌ وَشِدَّةٌ
وَوَالٍ لَهَا بَادِي النِّصِيحَةِ جَاهِدُ
إِذَا مَا دَعَى أَجْيَادُ جَاءَتْ حَنَاجِرُ
لَهَا مِيمٌ لَا يَمْشِي إِلَيْهِنَّ قَائِدُ
فَجَاءَتْ بِمَغْيُوفٍ الشَّرِيعَةَ مُكَلِّعِ
أَرَشْتُ عَلَيْهِ بِالْأُكُفِ السَّوَاعِدُ

[P. 67], and contains also the description that, I suspect, al-Ḳuṭāmī appropriated, though, as you were contemporaries, his poem may have preceded yours—I mean the lines :

تَأَوَّبَهَا فِي لَيْلٍ مَحْسٍ وَقَرَّةٍ
خَلِيلِي أَبُو النُّخْشَاشِ وَاللَّيْلُ بَارِدُ
فَقَامَ يُصَادِيهَا فَقَالَتْ تُرِيدُنِي
عَلَى الزَّادِ¹ شَكْلٌ بَيْنَنَا فَبَاعَدُ
إِذَا قَالَ مَهْلًا أَسْجِي لَمَحَتْ لَهُ
بَزْرَقَاءَ لَمْ تَدْخُلْ عَلَيْهِمَا الْمَرَادُ
كَأَنَّ حَبَاجِي رَأْسَهَا فِي مُلْتَمِ
مِنَ الصُّخْرِ جَوْنٍ أَخْلَقَتْهُ الْمَوَارِدُ

This description is like that of al-Ḳuṭāmī, where he says :

تَلَقَعْتُ فِي ظِلِّ وَرَجَّحْتُ تَلْقَنِي
وَفِي طَرْمَسَاءٍ غَيْرِ ذَاتِ كَوَاكِبِ الْمَخِ³

¹ I.e., we cannot exchange greetings. الزاد = تسليم ورد تحية = ما كان من تسليم ورد تحية (Aghāni, cited in De Sacy's *Chrestomathy*, ii, 415).

² MS. علي.

³ Aghāni, xx, 119. Four more distichs are cited.

And in the same poem you say :

فَجَاءَ بَذَى أَوْثَيْنِ أَغْبَرَ شَأْنُهُ
وَعَمَرَ حَتَّى قِيلَ هَلْ هُوَ خَالِدٌ
نَعَزَاهُ حَتَّى أَسْنَدَاهُ كَاتَهُ
عَلَى الْقُرُوعِ عُقُوفٌ مِنَ الثَّرَى¹ سَانِدٌ
فَلَمَّا مَجَلَّى الْكَيْلَ عَنْهَا وَأَسْفَرَتْ
وَفِي غَلَسِ الصُّبْحِ الشَّخُوصُ الْأَبَاعِدُ
رَمَى عَيْنَهَا مِنْهُ بِصَفَرَاءَ جَعْدَةٍ
عَلَيْهَا تُعَافِيهِ وَعَنْهَا تُرَاوُنُ

[P. 68] Now it seemed good to the Shaikh that he should hold a *salon* (مَأْدِبَةٌ), and invite the poets of Islām and the *Mukhadrams*, and not only the men who established the Arabic language and stored it in books, but also those who had some small tincture of scholarship. And presently he heard the sound of hand-mills grinding the wheat of Paradise, which is as superior to that mentioned by the Hudhalite in his verse

لَا تَدْرِي إِنْ أَطْعَمْتُ رَأْيَهُمْ
قَرَبَ الْحَيِّ وَعِنْدَى الْبُرِّ مَكْنُوزُ

as the heavens are superior to the earth. So he contrived (and lo! God had already brought his contrivance to pass) that there should be in front of him houris busily working [P. 69] the hand-mills. One hand-mill was of gold, one of pearl, and others were adorned with jewels, the like of which was never seen in the world. As the Shaikh looked upon them he praised God and remembered the lines of the *rājis* :

الْجَانِي الْجَبَسِ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ الْكَثِيرِ الشَّعْرُ وَيُقَالُ
¹ الْجَانِي الْجَبَسِ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ الْكَثِيرِ الشَّعْرُ وَيُقَالُ
ضَيْفَ الْخُلُقِ (Koesgarten, *Carmina Hudsailitarum*, p. 168).

أَعَدَدْتُ لِلصَّيْفِ وَلِلجِيرَانِ
 حُرَّتَيْنِ¹ تَتَعَاوَرَانِ²
 لَا تَرَأَمَانِ وَهُمَا ظِلُّرَانِ

Then he smilingly said to the damsels: 'Grind, turning the mill from your right (شَرَّرَا) and from your left' (بَيَّأَ). They were puzzled by these terms, which the Shaikh explained, quoting:

وَنُصَبِحُ بِالْغَدَاةِ أَتَرَشِي³
 وَنُمَسِي بِالْعَشِيِّ طَلَنَفِجِينَا⁴
 وَنَطْحِي بِالرَّحَى شَرَّرَا وَبَيَّأَ
 وَلَوْ نُعْطَى الْمَغَازِلَ مَا عَمِينَا

From the author's description of the banquet I take the following extracts:—

فَإِذَا اجْتَمَعَ لِلطَّحْنِ مَا يَظُنُّ أَنَّهُ كَافٍ لِلْمَأْدُبَةِ تَفَتَّقَ خَدَمُهُ مِنَ
 الْوِلْدَانِ الْمُخَلَّدِينَ فَجَاءُوا بِالْعِمَارِيسِ وَهِيَ الْجِدَاءُ وَضُرُوبُ الطَّيْرِ الَّتِي
 جَرَّتْ أَلْعَادَةُ بِكُلِّهَا كَأَجَاجِ الْعَكَارِمِ وَجَوَازِلِ الطَّوَاوِيسِ وَالسَّمِينِ مِنْ
 دَجَاجِ الرَّحْمَةِ وَفَرَارِيجِ النُّخْلِ وَسِيقَتِ الْبَقَرِ وَالْغَنَمِ وَالْأَبْلِ لُفُغَتَبَطَ
 فَارْتَفَعَ رُغَاءُ الْعُكْرِ وَيُعَارِ الْمَعَزُ وَتَوَاجَعَ النُّصَانُ وَصِيَاحُ الدِّيَكَةِ لِعَيَانِ
 الْمَذْيَةِ وَذَلِكَ كُلُّهُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ لَا أَلَمَ فِيهِ وَأَتَمَّا هُوَ جَدَّةٌ مِثْلُ اللَّعْبِ

¹ MS. حريتين.

² MS. يتعاوران.

³ الخمالى الجوف ويقال المُمَعِي (المُعْبِي) التَّعْب = الطَّلْفَم. The author of the *Saḥāḥ*, who cites this distich, ascribes it to "a man of the Banū Hirmāz." Abū'l-'Alā says: ويقال ان هذا الشعر لرجلٍ أُسِرَ فكتب الى قومه بذلك.

. فإذا جعلت النحوض فوق الاوقاض والافاض مثل
 الاوقاض بكفة طي^١ قال زاد الله امره من النفاذ أحضروا [P. 70]
 من في الجنة من الطهارة الساكنين بحلب على مَمَرِ الزمان فاتحضر
 جماعة كثيرة فيأمرهم بالتحاذ الاطعمة فإذا أتت
 الاطعمة افترق غلمانها الذين كاتهم اللؤلؤ المكنون لإحضار المدعوين
 فلا يتركون في الجنة شاعراً اسلامياً ولا مخضرمًا ولا عالماً بشي^٢ من
 اصناف العلوم ولا متأدباً الا احضره فيجتمع بجد^٣ عظيم والبجد
 المخلت الكثير قال الشاعر

تطوف البُجُونُ بابوابه
 من الصَّرَفِ اَزْمَاتِ السنينَا

فتوزع الخون من الذهب والفوائير من اللجج^٤ ويجلس عليها
 الاكلون وتثقل اليهم الصحاف فتقيم الصفحة لديهم وهم يصيبون مما
 ضمنته ككمر كوت^٥ ومزق^٦ وهما النسران من التجوم فإذا قضا الارب
 من الطعام جاءت السقاة باصناف الاشربة والمغثيات بالاصوات
 المطربة ويقول لا فتى ناطقًا بالصواب على بمن في الجنة من
 المغثين والمغثيات ممن كان في الدار العاجلة وقضيت له التوبة . . .
 . . . ويذكر انكره الله بالصالحات الابيات التي تُنسب الى [P. 73]
 الخليل بن احمد والخليل يومئذ في الجماعة وأنها تصلح لئن يَرْقَصَ
 عليها فيُنشئ^٧ الله القادر بلطف حكمته شجرة من غفر والغفر الجوز^٨
 فتدفع^٩ لوقتها ثم تَنفُصُ عددًا لا يحصىه إلا الله تعالى وتنشق كل

^١ I cannot find غفر with this meaning in the dictionaries.

^٢ I.e. 'budded,' 'put forth shoots.' See Dozy, *Supplément*, sub voc.

واحدة منها عن اربع جوارٍ يُزَنُّ الراين¹ معن قرب والناين يرقص
على الابيات المنسوبة الى الخليل وآزها

إن الخليط تصدغ

فطر بدآهك او دغ الح²

فتهمز ارجاء الجنة ويقول لا زال منطفا بالسدد لمن هذه يا ابا عبد
الرحمن فيقول الخليل لا اعلم فيقول انا كُتافي دار العاجلة نروى
هذه الابيات لك فيقول الخليل لا اذكر شيئا من ذلك ويجوز ان يكون
ما قيل حقا فيقول أنسييت يا ابا عبد الرحمن وانت اذكر العرب
في عصرك فيقول الخليل إن عبور السراط ينقض الحكة مما آسؤدغ

The banquet was broken up by Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī and al-Aṣma'ī, who had high words on the subject of the original measure of [وزة]. When the guests departed, the [P. 77] Shaikh was left alone with two houris. Their exceeding beauty amazed him, and he was lavish of his compliments, but one of them burst into laughter, saying, 'Do you know who I am, O Ibn Maṣṣūr? My name in the transitory world was Ḥamdūn, and I lived at the Bābu'l-'Irāk in Aleppo. I worked a hand-mill, and was married to a seller of odds and ends (سقط), who divorced me on account of my ill-smelling breath. Being one of the

¹ MS. للراين.

² This couplet and the three which follow are cited by Ibn Ḳutaiba (Nöldeke's *Beiträge*, p. 45). The MS. gives حور المدامع for مثل الجأ آدر ; اتم ; حور المدامع ; والرباب for والبغوم ; اتم البنين for الرباب ; للقلع اظعن for للقلب ارحل.

³ MS. اذكى.

ugliest women in Aleppo, I renounced worldly vanities and devoted myself to the service of God, and got a livelihood by spinning. Hence I am what you see.' 'And I,' said [P. 78] the other, 'am Taufīk al-Saudā. I was a servant in the Academy at Baghdād in the time of the Keeper Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī,¹ and I used to fetch books for the copyists.'

After this the Shaikh, wishing to satisfy his curiosity concerning the creation of houris, was led by an angel to a tree called 'The Tree of the Houris,' which was laden with every sort of fruit. 'Take one of these fruits,' said his guide, 'and break it.' And lo! there came forth therefrom a maiden with large black eyes, who informed the Shaikh that she had looked forward to this meeting four thousand years ere the beginning of the world. . . .

[P. 79] Now the Shaikh was fain to visit the people of the Fire, and to increase his thankfulness for the favour of God by regarding their state, in accordance with His saying (Kor., xxxvii, 49-55). So he mounted one of the horses of Paradise and fared on. And after a space he beheld cities crowned with no lovely light, but full of catacombs and dark passes. This, an angel told him, was the garden of the 'Ifrīts who believed in Muḥammad and are mentioned in the *Sūratu'l-Aḥkāf* and in the *Sūratu'l-Jinn*. And lo! there was an old man seated at the mouth of a cave. Him the Shaikh greeted and got a courteous answer. 'I have come,' said he, 'seeking knowledge of [P. 80] Paradise and what may perchance exist among you of the poetry of the Mārids.' 'Surely,' said the greybeard, 'you have hit upon one acquainted with the bottom of the matter, one like the moon of the halo, not like him who burns the skin by filling it with hot butter.² Ask what you please.'

¹ Letter xix (ed. Margoliouth) is addressed to this person.

² ومن هو كالقمر من الهالة لا كالحاقن من الاهالة. There is a play on حاقن, which also means 'a decumbent moon.'

'What is your name?' 'I am Khaishafūdh,¹ one of the Banū Sha'asabān²: we do not belong to the race of Iblis, but to the Jinn, who inhabited the earth before the children of Adam.' Then the Shaikh said: 'Inform me concerning the poetry of the Jinn; a writer known as al-Marzubānī³ has collected a good deal of it' (جمع منها قطعة سالحة). 'All this is untrustworthy nonsense,' rejoined the old man. 'What do men know about poetry, save as cattle know about astronomy and the dimensions of the earth? They have only fifteen kinds of metre, and this number is seldom exceeded by the poets,⁴ whereas we have thousands that [P. 81] your littérateur⁵ never heard of'⁶ Now the Shaikh's enthusiasm for learning made him say to the old man, 'Will you dictate to me some of this poetry? In the transitory world I occupied myself with amassing scholarship, and gained nothing by it except admittance to the great. From them, indeed, I gained pigeon's milk in plenty, for I was pulling at a she-camel whose dugs were tied' What is your *kunya*, that I may honour you therewith?' 'Abū Hadrash,' said he; 'I have begotten of children what God willed.' 'O Abū Hadrash,' cried

¹ The reading is not quite certain. If I am right, خَيْشَفُون is the Persian خَيْشَفُوج = cotton-seed. Cf. Mustard-seed, the name of the fairy in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

² I.e. sons of Decrepitude.

³ *Ob.* 378 or 384 A.H. See Ibn Khallikān (English Trans. by De Slane), iii, 67 seq. *Fihrist*, 132 seq. He was the author of numerous works on poetry, including one entitled كتاب اشعار الجن المتمثلين.

⁴ MS. قلّ ما يعدوها القايلون.

⁵ الانيس. Cf. مجلس الأُنس = *salon*.

⁶ I do not fully understand the words immediately following: وأتما كانت مخطر بهم أطيّفال متا عارمون (?) فتنفت اليهم مقدار الضرارة (الضرآء read من اراك نعمان). Na'mānu'l-Arāk is a *wādī* situated between Mecca and Tā'if.

⁷ (MS. فاحتلب منهم دتر بكر واجهد اخلاف مصرور (مصرر.

the Shaikh, 'how is it that you have white hair, while the folk of Paradise enjoy perpetual youth?' 'In the past world,' said he, 'we received the power of transformation, and one of us might, as he wished, become a speckled snake or a sparrow or a dove, but in the next world we are deprived of this faculty, while men are clothed in beautiful forms. Hence the saying, "Man has the gift of *hila* and [P. 82] the Jinn that of *hāula*." I have suffered evil from men, and they from me.' Abū Hadrash then related how he struck a young girl with epilepsy, 'and her friends gathered from every quarter and summoned magicians and physicians and lavished their delicacies, and left no charm untried, and the leeches plied her with medicines, but all the time I never budged (وانا سَدِّكَ بها لا ازول). And when she died I sought out another, and so on like this, until God caused me to repent and refrain from sin, and to Him I render praise for ever.'

Then the old man recited a poem describing his past life. The following extracts will show its character:—

(a) حمدتُ من حطَّ اوزارى ومزتها
عنى فاصبح ذنوبى آان مغفورا
وكننت آلف من اتراب قرطبة
خودا وبالصين آخرى بنت يغبورا
أزورُ تلك وهذى غير مكره
فى ليلتو قبل ان أستوضح النورا
ولا أمرت بوحشى ولا بشر
الآ وغادرته ولهان مذعورا
أزوع الزنج إلاما بنسوتها
والروم والترك والسقلاب والغورا
وأركب الهيق فالظلماء معتسقا
او لا فذب رباى بات مغرورا

[P. 83] (b) وقد عرضت لموسى في تفرده

بالشأه تئنح عمروسا وفرفورا

لم أخلو من حديث ما ووسوة¹

اذ دك ربك في تكليمه الطورا²

أضلت رأى ابى ساسان عن رشد

وسرت مختلفيا في جيش سابورا

(c) ثم آتعت وصارت توبتى مثلا

من بعد ما عشت بالعصيان مشهورا

حتى اذا أنقصت الدنيا ونودى إله

رانيل ويحك هلا تنفخ الصورا

اماتنى الله مئتا ثم ايقظنى³

لمبعنى فزرت الخلد مبرورا

Then the Shaikh inquired about the languages of the Jinn, and Abū Hadrash said: 'We are a people of sharp wit and intelligence, and there is none of us but knows all the tongues of men, and we have a speech besides of which men are ignorant.' He added that it was he who introduced the Kōr'ān among the Jinn. 'I journeyed at nightfall in a company of the Jinn, Marīds of Yaman, and we passed by Yathrib in the season of ripe dates, and heard a marvellous chanting that showed us the way to righteousness.⁴ So

¹ For this use of ما see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii, 276.

² Kor., vii, 139.

³ ااماتنى الخ, i.e., God caused me to sleep the sleep of death.

⁴ ادلجت في رفق من الخابل مرید اليمَن فمررنا بيشرب في زمان

المعد اى الرطب فسمعنا قرآنا عجيبا يهدى الى الرشd. The MS. reads مزيد اليمَن. I have no example of مرید used collectively. Possibly من يد اليمَن is the correct reading.

I returned to my people and told them the news, and some [P. 84] believed eagerly, the more so as they were punished for eavesdropping by being pelted with blazing stars.' 'O Abū Hadrash,' exclaimed the Shaikh, 'inform me whether this "pelting" with stars existed in the Ignorance, for it is said to have begun with Islām.' 'Dear me!' said the old man, 'have not you heard the lines of al-Audī?'¹—

كشهاب القذف يرميكم به
فارس في كفه للمحرب نار

and of Aus b. Hajar?—

فأ نضاع كالدرى يتبعه
نقاع يثور بخاله طئنا

"Pelting," however, did increase at the time of Muḥammad's mission.' Here Abū Hadrash repeats a poem of his own, 'فى قصة الرجم',² which runs to sixty-seven couplets and covers three pages of manuscript. It begins :

مكة أفتوت من بنى الدردنيس
فما لجيتي بها من حسيس
وكسرت أصرامها عنوة
فكل جيت بنصيل رديس
وقام فى الصفوة من هاشم
أزهر لا يغفل حق الجليس
يسمع ما أنزل من ربه آ
قدوس وخيا مثل قرع الطيس

¹ Perhaps al-Afwah al-Audī, who is cited several times by Yākūt.

² This title is misleading. The poem is a replica, considerably enlarged, of the one that precedes it.

After describing how he diabolically possessed a girl on the eve of her marriage, he continues :

وَأَذْلِجُ الظُّلَمَاءَ فِي فُتْيَةٍ
 مِنْ جَنِّ فَوْقَ الْمَاحِلِ الْعَرَبِيِّ
 فِي طَامِسٍ تَغْرِفُ خَبَائِثَهُ¹
 أَتَقَرَّ إِلَّا مِنْ عَفَارِيَتِ لَيْسَ
 بِيضٍ بِهَالِيلٍ ثَقَالٍ يِعَا
 لَيْلٍ كَرَامٍ يَنْطَقُونَ الْهَمِيسَ
 يَحْمِلُنَا فِي الْجُنْحِ خَيْلٌ لَهَا
 أَجْلَحَةٌ لَيْسَتْ كَخَيْلِ الْأَنْبِيسِ
 وَأَيُّقُ تَسْبِقُ أَبْصَارَكُمْ
 مَخْلُوقَةٌ بَيْنَ نَعَامٍ وَعَيْشِ

He says of the Jinn :

لَا نَسْكُ فِي أَيَّامِنَا عِنْدَنَا
 بَلْ نُكَيِّسُ الدِّينَ فَمَا إِنْ نُكَيِّسُ
 فَالْأَحَدُ الْأَعْظَمُ وَالسَّبْتُ كَالْ
 إِنْثَيْنِ وَالْجُمُعَةُ مِثْلُ الْخَمِيسِ
 لَا مُجَسَّسٌ مَحْنٌ وَلَا هُوْدٌ
 وَلَا نَصَارَى يَبْتَغُونَ الْكَنْيَسَ
 نَمَرِزُّ السُّورِيَّةَ مِنْ هَوْنِهَا²
 وَنُحْطِمُ الصُّلْبَانَ حُطْمَ الْيَبِيسِ
 مُحَارِبٌ أَلَسَهُ جُنُودًا لِإِ
 لَيْسَ أَخَى الرَّأْيِ الْغَمِينِ النَّجِيسِ

¹ MS. فِي طَامِسٍ تَغْرِفُ جَنَاتِهِ. The sandy tracts hum with the sound of the Jinn. Cf. Lucretius, i, 266 : "novis avibus canere undique silvas."

² I.e. مِنْ سَكِينَتِهَا.

Then, having recounted sundry malicious and wicked pranks, he relates his conversion to Islām, and how he took part in the fighting at Badr, Ohod, and other battles where the believers were engaged. The final exhortation to repentance was like a spur (he says) to a willing steed :

صَادَفَ مَتًى وَاعْظَ تَوْبَةً

[P. 87] فَكَانَتْ لِقَاؤُهُ عِنْدَ الْقَبِيْصِ¹

The Shaikh marvelled at what he heard from this Jinnī, but would not stay with him longer, so he farewelled him and went on his way. After meeting the lion which devoured 'Utba b. Abī Lahab and the wolf which wounded the Aslamite² in the Prophet's time, he came to a tent like the hut of a shepherdess (كَانَتْ حَفْشَ أُمَةٍ رَاعِيَةٍ). Inside was a man who lacked the aureole of the people of Paradise, and hard by grew a sorry bush with scentless fruit. Huṭai'a (for it was he) told the Shaikh that intercession was made for him on account of his sincerity in the verses :³

أَبَتْ شَفَتَايَ الْيَوْمَ إِلَّا تَكَلَّمَا

بِجُورٍ فَمَا أَدْرَى لِمَنِ أَنَا قَائِلُهُ

[P. 89] أَرَى لِيَّ وَجْهًا شَوَّهَ اللَّهُ خَلْقَهُ

فَقُبِّحَ مِنْ وَجْهِ وَتُبِّحَ حَامِلُهُ

'Were you not pardoned,' said the Shaikh, 'for the lines ?—

مَنْ يَفْعَلِ الْخَيْرَ لَا يُعَذِّبُهُ جَوَازِيَهُ

لَا يَذْهَبُ الْعُرْفُ بَيْنَ آلِهِ وَالنَّاسِ

¹ The proverb is كَانَتْ لِقَاؤُهُ لَاقَتْ (or صَادَفَتْ) قَبِيْصًا (Fréytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 309).

² I cannot explain this allusion.

³ Cited in *Raudatu'l-Adab*, p. 85, where it is said that Huṭai'a in his perplexity repeated the first couplet several times until he happened to catch sight of his own face in a pond.

'No,' said he, 'the idea had been expressed by righteous men before me, and I did not practise what I preached.' Then the Shaikh asked for Zibriḳān b. Badr,¹ and Huṭai'a said: 'He is a chieftain in this world as in the last; he profited by my satire when others failed to profit by my praise.'

Leaving him, the Shaikh passed on, and as he approached the place which commands a view of Hell-fire (المُطَّع الى النار), he saw al-Khansā of Sulaim, who said: 'I wished to behold Ṣakhr, so I clambered up and saw him like a lofty peak with fire blazing on its summit. And he said to me, "Your words have come true," meaning my verse—

وإن صخرًا لتأتُم الهدأ به
كانه عـكم في رأسه نار'

Then the Shaikh ascended and introduced himself to Iblis, who was suffering horrible tortures. 'My profession,' said he, 'was that of a scholar.' 'A bad profession,' rejoined Iblis; 'though it may afford a bare livelihood, it brings no comfort to one's family, and surely it makes the feet stumble. How many like thee hath it destroyed! But [P. 90] what of Bashshār b. Burd? He has a peculiar claim upon me, for he used to pay me compliments, as no other poet ever did, and he says:

إبليس أفضَلُ من ابكم آدم
فتبينوا يا معشر الأشرار
النار عنصُرُهُ وآدم طينُهُ
والطين لا يسمو سُمُو النار'

. . . . And lo! he met Bashshār b. Burd, whose sight had been restored to him that he might see his tortures,

¹ Huṭai'a's patron, whom he quarrelled with and satirized. Zibriḳān appealed to 'Omar, and the poet was thrown into prison.

and 'O Abū Mu'adh,' cried the Shaikh, 'your poetry was as excellent as your belief was vile. I used to repeat some of your verses, and felt pity for you, hoping that you might be overtaken by penitence, e.g. your verses—

لِمَرْجِعِ إِلَى سَكِينٍ تَعِيشُ بِهِ
 ذَهَبَ الزَّمَانُ وَأَنْتَ مُنْقَرِنٌ
 تَرْجُو غَدًا وَغَدٌ كَهَامِلَةٍ
 فِي الْحَيِّ لَا يَدْرُونَ مَا تَلِدُ

and your verses—

[P. 91] وَأَهَا لُؤْسَاءُ ابْنَةِ الْأَشَدِّ
 قَامَتْ تَرَأَى إِنْ رَأَتْنِي وَحْدَى الْخ¹

In this poem you employ السُّبْد as a rhyme.² Now if you meant the plural of سُبْد, you have done wrong, for فُعْل never makes this plural. And if you made the *b* of سُبْد *sākin*, you have erred. You must not adduce irregular examples, such as are found in the verse of al-Akhtal³—

وَمَا كُلُّ مَغْبُونٍ إِذَا سَلَفَ صَفْقُهُ
 يُرَاجِعُ مَا قَدْ فَاتَهُ بِرِدَادٍ

and in the verse—

وَقَالُوا ثُرَابِيَّ فَقُلْتُ صَدَقْتُمْ
 أَبِي مِنْ ثُرَابٍ خَلَقَهُ اللَّهُ آدَمًا

¹ Five more distichs are quoted. The poem to which they belong is in *Aghānī*, iii, 37 seq.

² It is not so used in the verses cited in *Aghānī*.

³ *Divān*, ed. Salhani, p. 137, where the verse is given in this form :

وَمَا كُلُّ مَغْبُونٍ إِذَا سَلَفَ صَفْقُهُ
 بِرَاجِعٍ مَا قَدْ فَاتَهُ بِرِدَادٍ

The readings والاسم رَدَادٍ and رِدَادٍ (كسحاب) بِرِدَادٍ or بِرَدَادٍ رَاجِعٍ are mentioned *ad loc.* (وكتاب

As for Jamīl's verse ¹—

وصاح ببَيْنٍ من بُشَيْنَةٍ والتوى
جميع بذات الرضم صرَّ مُحَجَّل

they are wrong who read صُرَّ, meaning صُرَّ. The correct rendering is صَرَّ, i.e. "a black crow having no speck of white." المَحَجَّل is synonymous with الْمُقَيَّد, which is an epithet applied to the crow on account of the shortness of its leg-tendon.² The poet says:

وَمُقَيَّدٌ بَيْنَ الدِيَارِ كَأَنَّهُ
حَبَشِيٌّ³ دَا جَنْوٌ يَخْرُو يَعْتَلِي

[P. 92] Then the Shaikh met Imru'ū'l-Kais, whom he questioned concerning the grammar and metre of some of his verses,⁴ and 'Antara the 'Absite. 'What ails you?' asked the Shaikh, observing 'Antara's astonishment at hearing so much poetry. 'One would think you had never said:

ولقد شربت من المدامة بعد ما الخ⁵

¹ Not in *Aghānī*, vii, 77 sqq.

² MS. لقصر ساءه, but a later hand has drawn a line through the *sa*. I do not remember an instance of نَسَا applied to a bird; this, however, gives the meaning required. Cf. حَاجِل = hopping or hobbling, as though shackled (Lane, s.v.). The crow (*Corvus cornix*) cannot be described as تَصِيرُ الْكَسَاءَ. One might suggest, on palaeographical grounds, لقصر لسانه; I don't know what the ornithologists say.

³ Cf. the tradition cited in Damīrī (article غُرَاب):

كَأَنِّي بِحَبَشِيٍّ أَفْجَحِ السَّاقَيْنِ أَزْرَقَ الْعَيْنَيْنِ أَفْطَسَ الْأَنْفِ كَبِيرِ الْبَطْنِ

⁴ Ahlwardt, *The Diwān*, xlviii, 8, 24, 39, 73; lix, 14, 16; xx, 58.

⁵ *Mu'allafat*, 37 sqq. The commentators explain المشوف المَغْلَم as (a) dinār, (b) bowl. Abū'l-'Alā suggests that it refers to the رَدَّآ, i.e., the poet says, like Ḥāfiẓ, that he has pawned his embroidered cloak in order to purchase wine.

When I recall your line

هل غادر الشعراء من متردماً¹

I say to myself, "This was spoken when the sum of existing poetry was small and retained in the memory, whereas now there are more lizards than hunters and all the world is wise instead of ignorant."² Had you heard all the poetry that has been written since the sending of Muḥammad, you would rebuke yourself for this statement and would recognize that the truth of the matter is declared by Ḥabīb b. Aus:³

[P. 97] فلو كان يُفنى الشعرُ أفناه ما قرئت

حيأضك منه في العصور الذواهب

ولكنه صوب العقول إذا أمجلت

سحائب منه أعقبت بسحائب

'Who is this Ḥabīb?' asked 'Antara. 'A poet of Islām,' said the Shaikh, and recited some more of his poetry. 'The ideas,' said 'Antara, 'are genuinely Arabic, but he has taken the details from me, though plagiarism is not approved by some people.'⁴ 'It is just the borrowed part that is criticized,' retorted the Shaikh with a smile of triumph. 'Borrowing is frequent in the ancient poetry; not, however, such wholesale borrowing as Ḥabīb was guilty of'

Now he saw 'Alkama b. 'Abada and exclaimed: 'How

¹ *Mu'allaka*, 1.

² وقد كثرت على الصايد الضباب وعرفت مكان الجهل الرباب

I take *عرفت* to be intransitive here = has sense and discernment, is a connoisseur (so *intelligere* and *sapere* in Latin).

³ The author of the *Ḥamāsa*. These verses are found in the Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7,638, f. 16b, with *فيه* for *منه* in the first beyt and *فنت* for *أمجلت*. *أى ما* : *ما قرئت حيأضك* is explained by an interlinear note: *قيل فيك وفي سلفك*.

⁴ أما الأصل فعربتي وأما الفرع فنطق به عتي وليس هذا المذهب
على ما تعرف قبایل. It appears from the notice of Abū Tammām in the *Aghāni* that he gave great offence to Di'bīl b. 'Alī by his habit of 'conveying' or adapting the poetry of others.

your plight grieves me! (أَغْزَزَ عَلَيَّ بِمَكَانِك). Did not your two strings of pearl¹ avail you?—meaning his poems rhymed in *b*² and *m*.³ ‘And what is the signification of قلب in your verse?’⁴

[P. 99] وما القلب ام ما ذكرها ربيع
يخط لها من ثرؤدآ قلب

Has it the traditional sense (هذا الذى يورد), or does it mean “a tomb”?’ ‘Surely,’ said ‘Alkama, ‘you are seeking smiles from one who is sad, and are wishing to double up the dates when they are dry.’⁵ Mind your business, O saved one!’ The Shaikh said: ‘If sincere verses containing no praise of God could intercede for any, your verses describing women⁶ would have interceded for you. And I am anxious to know what you mean by حُومٌ: ⁷ حَانِيَّةٌ حُومٌ for حوم is variously explained as = حَمٌ, i.e. سَوْد, by substitution of *wāw* for one of the *mims*; as حَوَمٌ, i.e. كَثِير, the *wāw* being *ḍamma’d* by poetic license; and as that which is made to circulate (يُحَامُ بِهَا) among the drinkers. And what does مُخْتَبَرٌ signify in your phrase الجَمَالِ مِنَ الْمُخْتَبَرِ?’⁸ Some connect it with [P. 100] اختبار الحوائل من اللواقح, others with خبير in the sense of froth or flesh or soft hair.’

‘Alkama gave no heed to the Shaikh’s questions, so he passed on to ‘Amr b. Kulthūm and said: ‘I wish that you had not committed *sinād* in your verse’ (*Mu‘allaqa*, 78).

¹ سمطا لؤلؤك. According to Ḥammād al-Rāwīya these poems were called سمطا الدهر (Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, p. 67), but Abū’l-‘Alā must have known them as سمطا الدر.

² ii in *The Divāns*.

³ xiii, *ibid*.

⁴ ii, 7, *ibid*.

⁵ إني لستضحك عابسًا وتريد أن تشنى التمر يابسًا. I read تشنى for MS. تشنى.

⁶ *The Divāns*, ii, 8–10.

⁷ xiii, 38, *ibid*.

⁸ xiii, 51, *ibid*.

'Verily,' he answered, 'brothers are three or four, and among them is the lame or the one-eyed, yet they are not blamed on this account.¹ How, then, when they reach a hundred in number?' After the Shaikh had informed 'Amr of the controversies caused by سَخِينَا (*Mu'allaka*, 2) and لَا شَمَطًا (*Mu'allaka*, 20),² he saw Hārith al-Yashkuri (Hārith b. al-Hilliza) and said to him: 'Truly, you have made the *rāwis* weary of explaining your verse (*Mu'allaka*, 18)³ . . . And you have said excellently:⁴

¹ Abū Tammām made a similar excuse for a bad verse (*Aghānī*, xv, 100).

² Abū'l-'Alā defends the reading لَا شَمَطًا on two grounds: (a) it is governed by لَا أَنْكُرُ or لَا تَنْسَ understood, as one says إِنَّ كَعْبَ بْنَ مَامَةَ جَوَادٌ وَلَا حَاتِمًا وَلَا الْمَطَرُ إِذَا سَقَاهُ السَّقِيَّةُ الثَّانِيَةَ أَيْ هَذَا وَلَا شَمَطًا (b) is like الْجَنِينِ اتَّفَقَ مَعَ جَنِينِي فَكَأَنَّهُ قَدْ صَارَ لَهُ وَلِيًّا وَيَحْتَمِلُ أَنْ يَكُونَ مِنْ وَلَدِ الْمَطَرِ إِذَا سَقَاهُ السَّقِيَّةَ الثَّانِيَةَ أَيْ هَذَا وَلَا شَمَطًا. وَلَيْ يَلِي وَيُؤْتِي عَلَى اللُّغَةِ الطَّائِفَةِ.

³ The Shaikh accuses Hārith of committing in this verse the fault known as *ishwā*; on what grounds it is difficult to see. He also cites Hārith's verse:

فَعِشَا بِخَيْرٍ لَا يَضُرُّكَ النُّوْكَ مَا أُعْطِيتَ جَدًّا

remarking that the poet has combined the vocalization of the *shin* with elision of the *yā*, which is rare and bad. In *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 417, the reading is:

عِيشَى بِجَمْدٍ لَا يَضُرُّكَ نُوْكَى (sic) مَا لَا قِيَّتَ جَدًّا

which is explained, on the authority of Abū Hilāl al-'Askari: ارَادَ أَنَّ الْعِيشَ النَّاعِمَ فِي ظِلَالِ النُّوْكِ أَيْ الْجَهْلِ خَيْرٌ مِنَ الْعِيشِ فِي ظِلَالِ الْعَقْلِ ("where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise"). Another variant gives عِيشَا = عِيشَا, whereas, of course, it is عِشْنَ, the Energetic form of the Imperative, which is the reading in *Aghānī*, ix, 181. He compares the verse:

مَتَى تَسْشَى يَا أُمَّ عَثْمَانَ تَصْرَمِي
وَأُوذِنُكَ إِيدَانَ الْخَلِيطِ الْمَزَايِلِ

making the observation that تَسْشَى should be written تَسْشَى, because when the *sākin* is vocalized the elided *sākin* returns.

⁴ *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 418.

لَا تَكْسَعُ الشَّوْلُ بِأَغْبَارِهَا

[P. 102]

إِنَّكَ لَا تَدْرِي مَنْ أَلْتَأَجِّ

In the time of the Ignorance they used to tether (يعكسون) the dead man's camel beside his grave, maintaining that on the day of Judgment he would find her raised for him and would mount her. May her shoulder be too weak to bear his weight! But alas! men come to Judgment naked, barefooted, without provision. This is the same cast-off camel that is mentioned in your verse' (*Mu'allaka*, 14).

Then the Shaikh departed to converse with Tarafa, and quoted his verse (*Mu'allaka*, 47), which, said he, is attributed by some to 'Adī b. Zaid, though it is more in your style (وهو بكمالك أشبه). 'And the grammarians are at sixes and sevens about your verse (*Mu'allaka*, 56), which, however, is not more anomalous than the verse¹—

مَشَائِمُ لَيْسُوا مُصْلِحِينَ قَبِيلُهُ

[P. 103]

وَلَا نَاعِبُ إِلَّا بِبَيْنِ غَرَائِبِهَا

But you have done an extraordinary thing in the verses—

لَوْ كَانَ فِي أَمْلَاكِنَا مَلِكٌ
يُعْصِرُ فِينَا كَالَّذِي تُعْصِرُ²
لَا جُنُبَتْ صَحْرَاءُ³ الْعِرَاقِ عَلَى
حَرْفِ أُمُونٍ دَفَّهَا أَزُورٌ
مَتَعْنَى يَوْمِ الرَّحِيلِ بِهَا
قَرَعٌ تَنْقَاهُ الْقِدَاحُ يَسْرُ

¹ *Kāmil*, 221.

² This couplet is discussed by Lane under عصر. Ahlwardt (*The Divāns*, p. 185) reads (sic) نَعْتَصِرُ كَالَّذِي.

³ MS. صَحْيٍ or صَحْيٍ, for which a marginal note gives اجواز. An unmetrical variant of the second *miṣrā'* is written on the margin: زَيَاةٌ دَفَّهَا أَزُورٌ.

though this is in keeping with the Arabic idiom (ولكنك
سلكت مسالك العرب). The metre is that of the poem of
Murakkish¹—

هل بالدياران مُحجِب صَمَمَ
لو كان حَيًّا ناطقًا كَلَمَ

and of al-A'shā's line—

اقصر فكل طالب سَيَمَلَّ

and he said :

ما ذا علينا ان غزا ملكٌ
من آل جَفْنَةَ ظالمٌ مُرَغَمٌ

Now this is a departure from the system of al-Khalīl'

And the Shaikh turned his head in expectation and saw
Aus b. Hajar, and, 'O Aus,' said he, 'your companions are
dumb to the questioner, but I hope to receive an answer
from you. I never cease to admire your poem in l, where
you mention the *jurja* (leathern bag), for after a description
of the bow you say :

[P. 104] فَجِئْتُ بِبَيْعَى مَوْلِيَا لَا أَرِيدُهُ
عليه بها حتى يثوب المُنْخَلُ²
ثلثه ابرאו جيانو وجرجه
وَأَدْنَى مَنْ أَرَى الدُّبُورِ مُعَسَّلُ³

¹ Writers on prosody agree that these verses "have no proper metre." See Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 251; Nöldeke's *Beiträge*, p. 16. This explains the allusion in Abū'l-'Alā's *Letters* (ed. Margoliouth), p. 84: "And we have observed that many of those who write verse according to rule have tried the metre of al-Murakkish, supposing that people's tastes are not averse to such experiments in these days." The author is al-Murakkish al-Akbar (*Aghāni*, v, 189 sqq.).

² MS. المَجَل. I have not found this verse elsewhere.

³ See Fischer's explanation of this verse in ZDMG., vol. xlix, p. 112.

'Oh,' exclaimed Aus, 'would that I had been Darim,¹ of whom the proverb speaks! Overpowered by thirst, I behold the semblance of a river before my eyes, but when I draw a draught therefrom, I find it burning fire. Worse men than I have entered Paradise. Mercy is a windfall, like wealth in the transitory world.' 'I only wanted,' said the Shaikh, 'to get these words from you, that I might deliver them to the people of Paradise, saying, "Aus told me," and "Abū Shuraiḥ informed me."'. . . Then after discussing the verse—

[P. 105] تَوَاهِقُ رَجُلًا يَدَاهُ وَرَأْسُهُ
لَهَا قَتَبٌ خَلَفَ الْحَقِيقَةَ رَادِفٌ²

the Shaikh continued: 'I dislike your line—

وَالْخَمِيلُ خَارِجَةٌ مِنَ الْقِسْطَالِ³

for فَعَال does not occur except in words that have a doubled radical, though one says ظَلَعَ اِىْ خَزَعَالٍ '.

Now he saw in the Fire a man whose features he could not distinguish, and, 'O miserable wretch,' he cried, 'who are you?' He answered: 'I am Abū Kabir⁴ of Hudḥail, 'Āmir b. al-Ḥulais.' 'Indeed,' said the Shaikh, 'you are one of the chiefs of Hudḥail, but I do not commend you for saying in one poem:

أَزْهَيْرُ هَلْ عَنْ شَيْبَةٍ مِنْ مَعْدَلٍ
أَمْ لَسَبِيلَ إِلَى الشَّبَابِ الْأَوَّلِ

then in another:

أَزْهِيرُ هَلْ عَنْ شَيْبَةٍ مِنْ مَصْرَفٍ

and in a third:

أَزْهِيرُ هَلْ عَنْ شَيْبَةٍ مِنْ مَعَكُمْ

¹ أَوْدَى دَرِمٌ (Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 817).

² MS. عِنْدَ الْحَقِيقَةِ. See Sībawaihi (ed. Darénbourg), vol. i, p. 121; Fischer in ZDMG., vol. xlix, p. 106 seq.

³ SBWA., vol. cxxvi, p. 23 of Geyer's Recension.

⁴ MS. أَبُو كَبِيرٍ.

This is a proof of the poverty of your genius. Why did you never show variety in commencing a poem? ¹ Al-Asma'ī ascribes to you only these three *kaṣidas*, though it is related that he credits you with the poem rhymed in *r*, which begins:

أزهير هل عن شيبه من مقصر

Yet how fine are your verses: ²

[P. 106] ولقد وَرَكَتُ الْمَاءَ لم يشرب به
 بين الشتاء الى شهور الصيف
 الا عوازل كالمراط مُعِيدَةٌ
 بالكيل مؤرد أيم مُخَفِّف
 زَقْبٍ يظَلّ الذئبُ يتبع ظله
 فيه فَيَسْكُنُ آسْتِنَانُ الْأَخْلَفِ
 فَصَدَدْتُ عَنْهُ ظامِيًا وتركه
 يَهْتَرُ غِلْفَهُ كَأَن لَمْ يُكْشَفِ

. . . . 'What of *Sakhr*'l-Ghayy?' asked the Shaikh. [And lo! there was *Sakhr* close at hand, and the Shaikh said:] 'How fares your *Dahmā*, who though she was young and delicate had no part or lot in your plighted troth, but her love inspired you with dread? ⁴ Hence you say: ⁵

¹ فَمَا أَتَدَأْتُ قَصْدَةً بِنَفْسٍ.

² Not in the portion of the *Hudhalite* poems that has been published by Kosegarten and Wellhausen.

³ MS. غلفته.

⁴ The text has:

فيقول ما فعل صخر الغي ما فعلت دهماؤك لا ارضك
 (لا ارضك MS.) لها ولا سماءوك في عهدك وشبابها رُود ياخذك من
 حبابها الزود

⁵ Kosegarten, *Carmina Hudhalitarum*, p. 12.

أتى بدهماء عَزَمَا أَجْدُ
يعتادنى من حبابها زُؤْدُ

And what is become of your Talid? ¹ Your thoughts are diverted from him by the doom that you shall abide in Hell for ever, and it behoves you to forget him, even as a wild animal heeds not the bleeding of its leg-tendon ² . . .'

Now he saw a man writhing in anguish, ³ and asked his name. It was al-Akhtal, the Taghlibite. 'This,' he cried, 'is the end of your poetry in praise of wine. How the lords were thrilled by your verses: ⁴

أناخوا فحجروا شاصيات كائها
رجال من السودان لم يتسرلوا

[P. 107] Said the Taghlibite: 'I drew the spear-shaft along and faced the mail-clad warrior, ⁵ and when I parted from the woeful world I hoped that my devout soul would be summoned to bliss, but Fate ruled otherwise.' 'You made two mistakes,' answered the Shaikh: 'in rejecting Islām and in embracing a life of pleasure under the wing of Yazid b. Mu'awiya. You preferred the transitory to the eternal. How, then, can you escape punishment?' (كيف) (لك بالإباقى). Al-Akhtal heaved a great sigh that astonished the Zabāniya, and exclaimed: 'Oh for the days of Yazid, when I inhaled the perfume of ambergris and mint, and jested with him as a friend, and he suffered me with the sufferance of the noble! How many an embroidered robe did he give me to deck myself withal, and proudly I trailed

¹ Son of Sakhr (*ibid.*, p. 36 sqq.).

² واين حصل تليدك شغلِكَ عنه تخليدك وحق لك ان تنساه
كما زهل وحشيتى دمي نساء.

³ MS. يتضوّر. I read يتضوّر.

⁴ *Divān*, ed. Salhani, p. 3. Ten more distichs are cited.

⁵ جررت الذراع ولقيت الدراع.

its skirt at morn and eve! Methinks I see again the singing-girls lifting up their voices before him and singing to him his own verses:

ولها بالمأطرون اذا
نفد النمل الذى جمعا الخ¹

And one day when I was drunk and confused (ملتخ),
I said: ²

أَلَا أَتَاكُمْ سَلِمَتَ ابَا خَالِدٍ
وَحَيَاكَ رَبِّكَ بِالْعَنَقَزِ
اَكَلْتُ الدَّجَاجَ فَأُفْنِيهَا
فَهَلْ فِي الْخَنَانِصِ مِنْ مَعْمَزِ

He did not vouchsafe me a smile, but quivered in his passion like the sword-blade.' 'Hence your banishment from bliss' (من ثمَّ أُوْنِيَتْ), said the Shaikh. 'Did not [P. 108] you know that the man was a recalcitrant and a climber of the mountains of sin? What did you learn of his religion? Was he a Unitarian, or did you find him associating others with God (فِي النِّسْكَ مُلْحِدًا)?' 'He used to admire these verses,' ³ said al-Akhtal:

أَخَالِدَ هَاتِي خَبِيرِي وَأَعْلِنِي
حَدِيثَكَ إِنِّي لَا أُبْئِرُ التَّنَاجِيَا

¹ This distich and two others are in *Khamsi*, 218. Abū'l-'Alā cites a fourth, viz.:

وقفت للبدر ترقبه
فاذا بالبدر قد طلعا

² *Diwan*, ed. Salhani, p. 388. أَلَا is omitted in the MS.

³ From the Shaikh's next remark it is plain that al-Akhtal is quoting his own verses, but they are not, I think, in Salhani's edition of the *Diwan*.

حديث ابى مُفَيَّانَ لَمَّا سَنَى بِهَا¹
 اِلَى اَحَدٍ حَتَّى اَقَامَ الْبَوَاكِيَا
 وَكَيْفَ بَغَى اَمْرًا عَلَيَّ فَنَاتَه
 وَاَوْرَثَه الْجَبْدُ السَّعِيدَ مَعَاوِيَا
 وَقَوْمِي فَعَلَّيْنِي عَلَى ذَاكَ قَهْوَةً
 مَخْتَلِهَا² الْعَبْسِيُّ كَرَمًا شَامِيَا
 اِذَا مَا نَظَرْنَا فِي اُمُورٍ قَدِيمَةٍ
 وَجَدْنَا حَلَالًا شَرَّهَا الْمُتَوَالِيَا
 فَلَا خُلْفَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ اَنْ مُحَمَّدًا
 تَبَوَّأَ رَمْسًا فِي الْمَدِينَةِ ثَاوِيَا

‘Be accursed!’ cried the Shaikh. ‘The poets of Paradise and Hell have forgotten their panegyric and love-poetry. You alone cleave to infidelity and mischief.’

Now the Shaikh, after a brief passage of arms with [P. 109] Iblis, wearied of talking to the people of Hell, and departed towards his lofty pavilion, but when he had gone a mile or two, it occurred to him that he had not asked for Muhalhil and the Murakḳishān, and that he had neglected al-Shanfarā and Ta’abbata Sharran. So he retraced his steps, and found Muhalhil, and having questioned him about the derivation of his name, ‘Al-Aṣma‘ī,’ he said, ‘rejects the verse ascribed to you:’³

¹ MS. سَمَى or سَى.

² MS. مَخْتَلِهَا. I cannot explain the allusion.

³ Cf. the verse f al-Mutalammis:

فَاِذَا حَلَلْتُ وَدُونَ بَيْتِي غَاوَةً
 فَتَأْبِرُقْ بِأَرْضِكَ مَا بَدَا لَكَ وَارْعِدْ

cited in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 341, with the following note:—

أَرْعَدُوا سَاعَةَ الْهَيَاجِ وَابْرُؤْ
مَنَا كَمَا تُرْعِدُ الْفُحُولَ الْفُحُولَا

asserting that it is modern, though Abū Zaid cites it and defends it as genuine.' 'What is al-Asma'ī's ground of objection?' 'He affirms that أَرْعَد and اَبْرُق are not used in the sense of "threaten," or with reference to clouds.' 'A false criticism,' cried Muhalhil: 'this verse was spoken by one who had a sound knowledge of idiom, either me or another. Hold fast to it and turn your back on foolish sayings.' Then the Shaikh approached al-Murakkiḥ al-[P. 111] Akbar, and said: 'God give you ease, O injured youth! In the past world I always grieved for what befell you at the hands of the Ghafalite,¹ of the Banū Ghufaila b. Kāsiṭ—be he accursed! Some Moslems depreciate your poem in *m*,² which in my opinion is a jewel. A certain scholar used to consider it and the poem in *m*³ composed by al-Murakkiḥ al-Aṣghar inferior to the Mufaddalite poems, but his judgment is unreasonable. These verses are sometimes attributed to you:⁴

"I chose for Hind a piece of arāk-wood ;
Alas! but who shall give it into her hand ?
O my friends, take that path (God send you good !),
Tho' far it lead you from your own dear land.
Tell her: 'We come not erring and astray,
But only to salute thee left our way.'"

I do not, however, find them in your dīvān.' . . .

قال الاصمعي برق ورعد اذا تهدد واوعد ولا يقال ابرق وارعد وقال
ابو عمروهما جميعا واحتج بيت الكميت:
أَبْرُقْ وَأَرْعِدْ يَا يَزِيدُ فَمَا وَعِيدُكَ لِي بِضَائِرْ

¹ According to *Aghāni*, v, 189 seq., al-Murakkiḥ loved his cousin Asma', the daughter of 'Auf b. Mālik, who gave her in marriage to a man of Murād. Possibly this Ghafalite represents the husband of Asma'.

² See p. 707, note 1.

³ *Aghāni*, v, 194 seq.

⁴ *Aghāni*, x, 128 seq.

Having conversed a little with al-Murakkish al-Aṣghar and al-Shanfarā, the Shaikh accosted Ta'abbata Sharran. 'Is there any truth,' he asked, 'in the story of your marriage with the ghouls?' and he quoted the verses:

أنا الذى نكح الغيلان فى بلدو
ما ظلّ فيه يماكئ ولا جادا
فى حيث لا يعمت الغادى عمائته
ولا الظليم به يبنى تهتادا
وقد لهزت بمقول عوارضها
بكرئناز عنى كاتا وعئقادا
ثم أنقصى عضرها عنى وأغقبه
عصر المشيب فقل فى صلحه بادا

[P. 113] 'I infer that you are the author of these verses from your use of تهتاد as the *magdar* of الظليم, i.e. ate colocynth-seed. The form is like تفتراق in the verse—

طيف ابنه الحران كنا نواصلها
ثم آجتنيت بها بعد التفراق

It is regular, though rare in poetry. Abū Zubaid says:

فشار الزاجرون فزاد منهم
تقترابا وصادفه ضبيس

Ta'abbata Sharran made no reply except 'All men are liars,' and as the Shaikh perceived that little was to be gleaned among the people of Hell, he left them in eternal woe and set off for his abode in Paradise. On the way

he met Adam, and fell into a discussion of some verses,¹ the authorship of which Adam vehemently denied; and, [P. 115] advancing further, he came to a delectable garden where snakes were gambolling and balancing themselves in the water. He marvelled that snakes should exist in Paradise, but God Almighty inspired one of them with knowledge of what was passing through his mind, and it said: 'Did you never hear of Dhātu'l-Safā, who paid her friend in his own coin?'²

[P. 117] After listening to her tale, the Shaikh conversed with another snake who had lived in the house of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and learned the whole Kor'ān from his dictation. He asked her whether the tradition was correct that Ḥasan used to read فالق الأصباح (Kor., vi, 96). The snake answered: 'I heard him pronouncing it thus, and imitated him, but on his death I betook myself to the house of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā, and conceived an aversion to Ḥasan's reading of الحجيل and أصباح. When Abū 'Amr died, I went to Kūfa and dwelt with Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, and from him I heard several readings³ abominated by Arabic scholars. . . . This is to lock the door of Arabic idiom (إغلاق لباب العربية). The Farkān is not subject to

١
 محسن بنو الأرض ومكانها
 منها خلقتنا واليه نعود
 والسعد لا يبقى لأصحابه
 والناحس تمحوه ليالى السعد

and the first two distichs of the poem cited by Mas'ūdi, Murūju'l-Dhahab, vol. i, p. 65.

² Here follows the story of the snake and the two brothers (Freytag, Arabum Proverbia, ii, 336). The diction is largely drawn from Nābiga's poem (The Divāns, xv), part of which is quoted. ذات الصفا, 'dweller in the rock' (*ibid.*, l. 7).

³ These are وَمَكَرَ السَّيِّئُ (xiv, 27), بِمُضْرِحِي (iv, 1), وَالْأَرْحَامِ (xxxv, 41).

poetical license. Doubtless poetry affords examples like [P. 118] these. . . . As for the lines of the *rājis*—

إذا آغَوْجَجَيْنَ قُلْتُ صَاحِبُ قَوْمٍ
فِي الدَّوِّ أَمْثَالُ السَّفِينِ الْعُومِ

this is an extraordinary case. The original form was *صَاحِبُ قَوْمٍ*, which is metrically correct. Those who cite the verse maintain that the author wished to make the ending *جِبُ قَوْمٍ* correspond exactly with *نَزَلَ عَوْمٍ*. So in the verse of the Hudhalite¹—

أَبَيْتُ عَلَى مَعَارِي فَاخِرَاتٍ
بِهِنَّ مُلَوَّبٌ كَدِمِ الْعِبَابِ

the grammarians assert that the author's dislike of *siḥāf* induced him to read *مَعَارِي*; but this theory breaks down, for many verses in the poem admit *siḥāf*, and it occurs in all poems, Arabic and non-Arabic alike. It is said that al-Asma'ī never heard the Arabs read this verse except with the pronunciation *مَعَارِ*, a fact which (in itself) does not weaken the position of the grammarians, since they must have derived their reading from persons well acquainted with idiom' (اهل الفصاحة).

The Shaikh was astounded to hear this snake. 'Will [P. 119] you not stay awhile with me?' she continued. 'I can split my skin whenever I please, and become as lovely a lady as there is in Paradise.' But he moved away at a quick pace, muttering to himself: 'How should one incline to a snake whose excellence is poison and her purpose a sudden attack?' And as he fared on his way he met the [P. 120] damsel who had come forth from the fruit, and they glided through the sand-hills together. She quoted some verses² of Imru'u'l-Kais, which reminded the Shaikh of

¹ Mutanakhkhil b. 'Uwaimir. The verse is cited in Sibawaihi, vol. ii, p. 53, *Jamharatu ash'āri 'l-'Arab*, p. 119, and elsewhere.

² *The Divāns*, xlviii, 26-28.

that poet's adventure at Dāratu Juljul,¹ and God Almighty created black-eyed houris (one of whom surpassed in beauty all her companions, like the mistress of Imru'u'l-Kais), plunging in the cool stream and pelting each other with tharmad of the most exquisite perfume. And the Shaikh slaughtered his camel, and they partook of its flesh with indescribable enjoyment and delight.

[P. 121]. . . . And he came to some tents which had not the height and spaciousness of the tents in Paradise. It was the Garden of the *Rajaz*-makers. Here lived Aghlab of the Banū 'Ijl and al-'Ajjāj and Ru'ba and Abū'l-Najm and Humaid al-Arkaṭ and 'Udhāfir b. Aus and Abū Nukhaila² and all the makers of *rajaz* that had been forgiven. 'Blessed is God,' he exclaimed, 'the Mighty, the Beneficent! The tradition is verified that God loves lofty things and loathes the mean,³ for *rajaz* is a mean sort of verse. O men, scanty was your accomplishment and scanty is your reward!'

Now he met Ru'ba and abused him for rhyming with 'abhorrent letters,' such as ط and ظ and غ, adding that he never coined a well-known proverb or a classic phrase. 'Do you tell this to me,' cried Ru'ba angrily, 'who am cited by Khalil and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā? In the past world you would plume yourself on the interpretation of a word which these savants handed down to you as coming from me and my fellows.' Ru'ba's arrogance did not escape the Shaikh, who said: 'If your *rajaz* and your father's *rajaz* were poured into one mould, it would be impossible to extract therefrom a single poem of excellence. I have heard that Abū Muslim addressed to you a poem containing the words ابن ثأداء, and you had to inquire in the tribe what was meant. And you used to accept presents from kings to which you had no right; indeed, others are better entitled to gifts and salaries No glory to you

¹ *Ibid.*, xlviii, 8. See *Ikd*, iii, 425.

² MS. بحيلة. See *Khizānatu'l-Adab*, i, 79 seq.

³ Cited by Lane under مفساف.

that your expressions are cited, since we find them citing [P. 122] the words of a lame serving-maid that fetches the palm-trunk to the fire'¹ Finally the Shaikh said, as a parting shot: 'I swear that the speech of you *rajās*-makers is unfit for panegyric, and no finer than liquid pitch. You deafen the ears of the person eulogized with your stones (P), and after finishing the description of a camel, which you commiserate on account of the long journey it has made, you proceed to describe a swift horse or a noisy hunting-dog. Verily, ye are in the wrong way.'²

This section of the *Risāla* concludes with the following passage :—

ويذكر اذكره الله بالصالحات ما كان يلحق اخا الندام من فتوز
في الجسد من المدام فيختار ان يعرض له ذلك من غير أن يُنْزَفَ

¹ I give the context as it stands in the MS. :

لا فخر لك ان استشهد بكلامك فقد وجدناهم يستشهدون بكلام] امي وكعاء يحمل القطل الى النار الموقدة في السيرة التي نغص عليها
السيم ريشه وهدم لها الشيخ عريشه ياخذ خشبة للوقود كيما يصل الى
الرقود واجل ايامها ان تهجتي عساقل المهتة لسي الغدير غلظ عن
القطن والتحديد

انسمت ما يصلح كلامكم للشناء ولا يفضل عن الهناء تذكرون MS.
(تذكرون) مسامع الممتدح بالجنادل وآتما يطرب الى المنديل
ومتي خرجتم عن صفة جمل ترثون له من طول العمل [عمدتم] الى
صفة فرس ساجر او كلب للقنص ناسج فانكم غير الراشدين

I have not translated the words *وآتما يطرب الى المنديل*, as I do not understand them. The insertion of *عمدتم* is necessary; it would easily fall out after *العمل*.

له لُب ولا يتغير عليه حُب فاذا هو يخال في العظام الناعمة ديب
نمل اسرى في المقمرة على رمل فيترنم بقول اياس بن الارق¹

اعاذل لو شربت الخمر حتى
يظل لكل انملة ديب
اذا لعذرتنى وعلمت اتى
لما أثلفت من مالى مصيب

ويحكى على مفرش من السندس ويأمر الحور العين ان يحملن
ذلك المفرش فيضعنه على سرير من سرر اهل الجنة [P. 123]
واتما هو زبرجد او عسجد ويكون البارئ فيه حلقا من الذهب
تطيف به من كل الأشراء حتى يأخذ كل واحد من الغلمان وكل
واحدة من الجوارى المشبهة بالجمان واحدة من تلك الحلق
فيحمل على تلك الحال الى محله المشيد بدار الخلود فكلما متر
بشجرة نضخته اغصانها بماء الورد قد خلط بماء الكافور وبمسك ما
جنى من دم ماء الفور بل هو بتقدير الله الكريم وتناديه الثمرات
من كل اوب وهو مستلق على الظهر هل لك يا ابا الحسن هل
لك فان اراد (MS. اباد) عنقودا من العنب او غيره آ نقصب من
الشجرة بمشية الله وحملته القدرة الى فيه واهل الجنة يلقونه
باصناف التحيّة وآخر دعواهم إن الحمد لله رب العالمين لا يزال

¹ Apparently a mistake for الارت. The verses are cited anonymously in *Hamasa*, p. 563 seq., but as they are immediately preceded by four distichs of Iyās b. al-Aratt, it seems likely that Abū'l-'Alā's memory has played him false.

كذلك ابدًا سرمدًا ناعمًا في الوقت المتطاوُل مُنعمًا لا تجد العين
فيه مزعمًا

I reserve for another article the more difficult but also, I think, the more characteristic and interesting portion of the *Risālatu'l-Ghufrān*, which comprises what a marginal note calls بمعرفة الزندقة .

ART. XXVI.—*Biographies of Persian Poets contained in Ch. V, § 6, of the Tārīkh-i-Guzida, or "Select History," of Hamdu'llāh Mustawfi of Qaswin. Translated by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.*

IN pursuance of the plan set forth in my article on the *Sources of Dawlatshāh* (*J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1899, pp. 37–69), I propose in this place to give a translation of that section (the sixth of the fifth chapter) of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzida* which treats of the Persian poets. On the importance of that excellent historical manual, which I hope to include in my Persian Text Series, I have already insisted in the above-mentioned article (pp. 39, 40, and 53–54); and of this particular section, to which my attention was especially directed by the references made to it by Dawlatshāh, I long ago prepared a text and translation. These I was more than once on the point of publishing, but certain difficulties remained, on each revision, insoluble; and I waited in the hope of obtaining further material or fuller light. Of these difficulties the chief were the so-called "Pahlavī" (i.e. dialect) verses of Abu'l-Májid Ráyagání, Ūyánj or Ūtánj, Júláha of Abhar, 'Izzu'd-Dín Hamadání, Káfí-i-Karají, and other poets, who, not content with the classical language, chose to employ the dialects of their native places as the vehicle of their thoughts. These dialects have, in most cases, either become extinct, or undergone great changes, since the time when the *Tārīkh-i-Guzida* was written (A.H. 730 = A.D. 1330); and since we possess but little knowledge of them, while such fragments as are preserved have generally been hopelessly mutilated and corrupted by a succession of scribes, copying one from another, to whom they were as unintelligible as they are to us, there is but

little hope that we shall ever arrive at a complete understanding of them.

Now it is always humiliating to publish texts which one is unable to understand or explain, and of which one cannot guarantee the correctness; yet since these enigmatical verses constitute but a small proportion of the section of the *Guzida* which I wish to render accessible to other students of Persian literature, and since the existence of so much dialect-poetry in Persia in the Middle Ages is an interesting and important fact, and one deserving further attention, I have finally decided to publish my work, hoping that others may be more fortunate than myself in the explanation of these dark sayings. I have, of course, collated all the older manuscripts to which I had access in these portions, and I owe especial thanks to Baron Rosen, of St. Petersburg, who, with his usual kindness, has copied and transmitted to me the texts of these verses as they occur in the MS. of the *Guzida*, dated A.H. 847, belonging to the Musée Asiatique; and in that of the Institut des Langues Orientales (No. 260 : No. 6 of Baron Rosen's *Manuscripts Persans de l'Institut*, p. 52), dated A.H. 855.

My original intention was to publish the entire text of this section with a translation, but on maturer thought it appeared to me that it would be sufficient to include in my English rendering the text of the verses cited, the more so because, as I have said, I intend, if possible, to print the text of the whole book in my Persian Text Series. Some few of the verses cited, apart from the unintelligible dialect-verses of which I have just spoken, are so coarse that I have left the text untranslated; otherwise the translation is as complete as I could make it, and represents the fullest text that I have been able to reconstruct from the manuscripts at my disposal; for in most manuscripts there are some lacunæ, while in some the whole section is unfortunately wanting. At best, however, it bears evident traces of having lacked a final revision by the author; since the gaps after such expressions as "his name was," "he was a contemporary of,"

and the like, are common to all the manuscripts, save where, for the sake of concealing these defects, the scribe has suppressed these and similar uncompleted sentences. I should add that some biographies of Persian poets, who were also saints (like Saná'í of Ghazna and Awhadu'd-Dín of Kirmán) or men of science (like Avicenna and Abu'l-Fath of Bust), are given in the earlier sections of this fifth chapter, which deals with biography in general. These are not included in my translation.

The chief sources of the *Guzida*, enumerated in the Preface, are as follows:—(1) *Siyaru'n-Nabi* (presumably Ibn Hishám); (2) *Qisasu'l-Anbiya* (probably the work of that name by ath-Tha'libí); (3) the *Risala* of al-Qushayrí; (4) the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya* (probably Faridu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár's); (5) the *Tadwin* (probably the work properly entitled *Rawdu'r-Riyáḥin*) of al-Yáfi'í; (6) the *Tajáribu'l-umam* (probably the work of Ibn Miskawayh); (7) the *Masháribu't-Tajárib* (see Hájí Khalífa, No. 12,043); (8) *Divánu'n-Nasab*; (9) Ṭabarí; (10) Ḥamza of Iṣfahán; (11) Ibnu'l-Athír; (12) the *Zubdatu't-Tawárikh* of Jamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim of Káshán; (13) the *Nidhámu't-Tawárikh* of al-Bayḍáwí; (14) the *'Uyúnu't-Tawárikh* of Abú Ṭálib 'Alí al-Kházin al-Baghdádí; (15) Ibn Qutayba's *Kitábu'l-Ma'árif*; (16) Juwayni's *Jahán-Kushá*; (17) Abú Sharaf Jarbádhaqání's translation of al-'Utbí's monograph on Sultán Maḥmúd the Ghaznavid; (18) the *Nidhámu'l-Mulk*'s *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* (that is, the *Siyásat-náma*: see *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1899, p. 41, No. 24); (19) the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí; (20) the *Saljúq-náma* of Dhahírí of Nishápúr; (21) the *Majma'-i-Arbábu'l-Mulk* of Qádí Ruknu'd-Dín of Khúy; (22) the *Istidḥhāru'l-akhhār* of Qádí Aḥmad of Dámghán; (23) the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* of the author's "martyred master" Rashidu'd-Dín.

The arrangement and contents of the *Guzida* are in brief as follows:—

Introduction. On the Creation and Disposition of the Universe.

Chapter I. On the Prophets, Religious Leaders and Wise Men who worked for the guidance of mankind before the time of Muḥammad, in two sections: (i) Prophets, ordinary and extraordinary; (ii) Philosophers and Sages.

Chapter II. Pre-Islámic Kings, in four sections: (i) Píshdádí; (ii) Kayání; (iii) Tribal Kings (*Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if*) or Parthians; (iv) Sásánians.

Chapter III. Muḥammad and his Companions and Descendants, in an introduction and six sections: (Introduction) His genealogy, pedigree, and kin; (i) his life, wars, wives, relations, and descendants; (ii) the orthodox Caliphs, including al-Ḥasan; (iii) the Twelve Imáms, from al-Ḥusayn to the Imám Mahdí; (iv) some of the "Companions" and "Followers"; (v) the Umayyad "Kings" (the Author refuses them the title of *Khalífa*!); (vi) the 'Abbásid Caliphs.

Chapter IV. The Muḥammadan Dynasties, in twelve sections.

- (i) The Ṣaffáris (A.H. 253–287), 3 in number.
- (ii) The Sámánis (A.H. 287–389), 9 in number.
- (iii) The Ghaznawis (A.H. 390–545), 14 in number.
- (iv) The Ghúris (A.H. 545–609), 5 in number.
- (v) The Daylamis, or House of Buwayh (A.H. 321–448), 17 in number.
- (vi) The Saljúqs (*a*) of Persia (A.H. 429–590), 14 in number; (*b*) of Kirmán (A.H. 433–583), 11 in number; (*c*) of Asia Minor (A.H. 480–679), 14 in number.
- (vii) The Khwárazmsháhs (A.H. 491–628), 9 in number.
- (viii) The Atábeks (*a*) of Diyár Bakr and Syria (A.H. 481–601), 9 in number; (*b*) of Fárs (the Salgharids), A.H. 543–663, 11 in number.
- (ix) The Isma'ílis (*a*) of Egypt and North Africa (the Fátimid Caliphs, A.H. 296–556); (*b*) the Assassins of Persia (A.H. 483–654), 8 in number.
- (x) The Qára-Khitá'is of Kirmán (A.H. 621–706), 10 in number.

(xi) The Atábeks of Luristán (*a*) of Lur-i-Buzurg (A.H. 550–730), 10 in number; (*b*) of Lur-i-Kúchak (A.H. 580–730), 11 in number.

(xii) The Monghols (or Mughals) of Persia (A.H. 599–730), 13 in number down to the time of the Author, who says, “let him who will write hereafter the conclusion of their history.”

Chapter V. Biographies of Eminent Men, in six sections:

(i) Imáms and Mujtahids; (ii) “Readers” of the Qur’án; (iii) Traditionists; (iv) Shaykhs, Saints, and Holy Men; (v) Doctors and Divines; (vi) Poets (*a*) of Arabia, (*b*) of Persia.¹

Chapter VI. Account of the town of Qazwín, the Author’s native place, in eight sections: (i) Traditions concerning it; (ii) etymology of the name; (iii) its buildings; (iv) its Conquest and Conversion by the Muḥammadans; (v) its aqueducts, rivers, mosques, tombs, and suburbs; (vi) mention of the “Companions,” “Followers,” Imáms, Caliphs, Shaykhs, Divines, Ministers, Kings, and Amírs who have visited it or resided in it.²

Conclusion. Synoptical table of the Prophets, Kings, etc.

The following are some of the oldest MSS. of the Guzída.³

Cambridge University Library. *Dd. 3. 23 (hereinafter called C.¹), dated A.H. 990; *Dd. 10. 13 (hereinafter called C.²), dated A.H. 964.

British Museum. *Add. 22,693 (L.¹), dated A.H. 890; *Add. 7,631 (L.²), dated A.H. 924; Add. 7,630, dated A.H. 1009 (L.³).

¹ This is the section of which the translation follows. The old and complete MS. at Shíráz, which my friend Mr. Guy le Strange caused to be collated with another MS. in his possession, contains also biographies of Commentators, Jurisconsults, Philosophers, Astronomers, Physicians, etc. For the kindness with which Mr. le Strange freely placed at my disposal all his materials, I desire here to express my deep gratitude.

² A French translation of this chapter of the *Guzída* was published by M. Barbier de Meynard in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1857 (series v, vol. x).

³ The MSS. which have been utilised for this article are marked with an asterisk.

Oxford (Bodleian). No. 26 in Ethé's *Catalogue* (Clarke 8), dated A.H. 847; No. 27 of Ethé (Elliot, 354), dated A.H. 851; No. 28 of Ethé (Elliot, 355), dated A.H. 953; No. 29 of Ethé (Fraser, 156), "a good old copy, not dated."

St. Petersburg. *No. 578^b of the *Musée Asiatique* (herein after called P.¹), dated A.H. 847; *No. 260 of the *Institut des Langues Orientales* (P.²), dated A.H. 855.

Munich. No. 205 (Aumer's *Catalogue*), dated A.H. 823; No. 206, dated A.H. 948.

King's College, Cambridge. *No. 114 of the Pote Collection (K.), not dated.

**Le Strange's materials*, comprising a MS. collated throughout with the old Shíráz MS., and a transcript of all the additional matter contained in the aforesaid ancient and complete codex. This text is referred to as S.

The MSS. chiefly used by me were C.¹, C.², K., and S.; for the dialect-verses reference has also been made to L.¹, L.², P.¹, and P.² With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to the translation of the section in question.

ACCOUNT OF PERSIAN POETS FROM CH. V, § 6, OF THE TÁRÍKH-I-GUZÍDA.

The Persian poets who have composed verses in the Persian and Pahlaví languages are so numerous as to surpass computation. We shall, however, mention the names of such as are most famous, citing in some cases a few of their verses.

1. *Anwarí.*

Awḥadu'd-Dín al-Khávarání was the contemporary and panegyrist of Sultán Sanjar the Saljúq [A.H. 511-552].

He had some knowledge of most branches of science, as is shown by this fragment¹:—

گرچه در بستم در مدح² و غزل یکبارگی
 ظن مبرکز نظم³ الفاظ و معانی قاصر
 بلکه بر⁴ هر علم کز اقران من داند کسی
 خواه جزوی گیر آنرا خواه کلی قادر
 منطق و موسیقی و هیئت شناسم اندکی
 راستی باید بگویم با نصیبی وافر
 در⁵ الهی آنچه تصدیقش کند عقل شریف⁶
 گر تو تصدیقش کنی بر شرح و بسطش ماهر
 وز⁷ طبعی رمز چند ارچند⁸ بی تشویر نیست
 کشف دانم کرد اگر حاسد نباشد ناظر⁹
 نیستم بیگانه از اعمال و احکام مجوم⁹
 و رهمی باور نداری رجه شو من حاضر

"Though I have simultaneously closed the doors of panegyric and ode, do not suppose that I am deficient in [the power of] arranging words and ideas.

Nay, in every science known to any of my contemporaries, whether pure or applied, I am competent.

¹ This poem is given in full on pp. 704-5 of the Lakhnaw ed. of Anwarí's *Kulliyát* (A.H. 1297, A.D. 1880).

² K. در مدح; L.¹ در مدح.

³ K. adds.

⁴ S. reads از for بر.

⁵ For در C.¹ has و; L.¹ و از; K. و.

⁶ For در C.¹, L.¹, and K. read در.

⁷ و; C.¹ و; S. و.

⁸ چند از چند; K. چند; C.² چند.

⁹ C.² omits these two hemistichs.

Of Logic, Music, and Astronomy I know something ; to speak truly I have a goodly portion.

In Metaphysics, if thou wilt believe it, I can skilfully explain and develop that which noble Reason affirms.

Of Natural Science, also, I can reveal sundry enigmas (though it be not without diffidence), though the envious man regard me not.

Neither am I a stranger to the effects and influences of the stars. If thou dost not believe me, take the trouble [to come and prove me] : I am ready."

In later life he repented, and ceased to frequent the Royal Court; and when the King sent for him, he wrote this fragment in reply ¹ :—

کلبه^۱ کاندرو بروز و بشب ' جای آرام و خورد و خواب منست
حالتی دارم اندرو که از آن ' چرخ در عین رشک و تاب^۲ منست
آن سپهرم درو که گوی سپهر ' ذره^۳ نور^۴ آفتاب منست
و آن جهانم درو که بحر^۵ محیط^۶ ' والو لمعه^۷ سراب منست
هرچه در مجلس ملوک بود ' همه در کلبه^۸ خراب منست
رجل جراد و^۹ نان خشک برو^{۱۰} ' گرد خوان من و کباب منست
شیشه^{۱۱} حبر^{۱۲} من که بادا پُر^{۱۳} ' پیش من شیشه^{۱۴} شراب منست
قلم کوتاه و صریر^{۱۵} خوشش ' زخمه و نغمه^{۱۶} رباب منست^{۱۷}

¹ This poem occurs on pp. 593-4 of the Lakhnaw ed. of Anwarī's *Kulīyyāt* (A.H. 1297, A.D. 1880).

² K. om. [و]; S. رشک و عین تاب. ed. رشک و عین و تاب.

³ For کور K. has نور.

⁴ C.¹ has بحر for موج.

⁵ C.¹ has رجل اجزا و. ed., K., L.¹ ; S. رجل اجزا و.

⁶ S. has بود for برو; K. درو.

⁷ For حبر C.¹ has صبر; S., ed. حبر.

⁸ C.² has بادم ابر.

⁹ C.² has صریر; K. صریر.

¹⁰ L.¹ omits this couplet.

خرقه^۱ صوفیانه^۲ ازرق^۳ از هزار اطلس انتخاب منست^۴
 هرچه بیرون بود ازین^۱ کم و بیش^۵ حاش^۶ للسماعین^۷ عذاب منست^۸
 گنده پیر جهان جُئِب نکند^۹ هستی^{۱۰} را که در جناب منست^{۱۱}
 خدمت پادشه که باقی باد^{۱۲} نه ببازوی خاک و آب منست^{۱۳}
 زین قدر^{۱۴} راو رجعتم بستست^{۱۵} آنکه^{۱۶} او مَرَجَع و مآب منست^{۱۷}
 وین^{۱۸} طریق^{۱۹} ار بما بسیست^{۲۰} خطا^{۲۱} چکنم^{۲۲} این خطا صواب منست^{۲۳}
 گرچه پیغام روح پرور او^{۲۴} همه تسکین^{۲۵} اضطراب منست^{۲۶}
 نیست مر^{۲۷} بنده را زبان جواب^{۲۸} جامه^{۲۹} و جای من جواب^{۳۰} منست^{۳۱}

*"In the cottage where, by night and day, is the place of my
 repose and food and sleep*

*I enjoy a state [of happiness] whereby Heaven is actually
 tormented with envy of me.*

*I am that heaven where the sphere of heaven is but [as] a mote
 in the light of my sun,*

*And I am that world where the encircling Ocean is maddened
 by the gleam of my mirage.*

*Whatsoever exists in the audience-halls of Kings is all in my
 ruined cottage.*

*The locust's foot¹⁴ and dry bread withal is the garniture of
 my board and my roast meat.*

¹ L.¹ transposes *بود* and *ازین*.

² C.² *لها معین*; ed. *للمساعین*.

³ L.¹ *هستی* را.

⁴ S. omits this couplet.

⁵ Ed. *قدم*.

⁶ L.¹ *زانکه*.

⁷ S. *این*; ed. *زین*.

⁸ Ed. *از نمایی است*.

⁹ S. *میکنم*.

¹⁰ Ed. adds *و*.

¹¹ C.¹, C.² *من*; S. *این*.

¹² C.¹, C.² *خانه*; K. *خانه*.

¹³ *محروم و محراب* K. has *جواب* من.

¹⁴ "The locust's foot" was the ant's offering to Solomon, and is used metaphorically for any humble present or poor possession.

My ink-bottle (may it be ever full!) is as my wine-bottle before me.¹

My stumpy pen with its pleasant scratching stands to me for the beating of drums and melody of rebecks.

The dark blue Súfi cloak is chosen by me in preference to a thousand satins.

Whatever transcends this much is torment to me (God exempt my hearers!).

That old lady the World cannot stir the high resolve which sits beside me.

The service of the King (may he long endure!) is not to be wrought by my arm of earth and water.²

He who is my Goal and Refuge hath prevented me from returning so far.³

And this way [of life], though it be a great error on my part, what can I do? for in this error is my health.

Although his spirit-quickenning message is a complete assuagement of my disquietude,

I your servant have no tongue to consent: my apparel and abode are my answer."⁴

2. Azraqí.

His name was Afdalu'd-Dín of Herát, and he was the contemporary of Sultán Ibráhím [A.H. 451-492]. He has produced incomparable verses. The book *Alfiyya Shalfiyya*⁵ is one of his metrical compositions.

¹ So Nâsir-i-Khusraw (*Divân*, ed. Tabriz, A.H. 1280, p. 225):—

تو به پیاله نبید خور که مرا بس 'حیر سیاه و قلم نبید و پیاله'

"Quaff thou the cup of date-wine; for me suffice
The black ink and the pen as wine and goblet."

² I.e. "my material arm." The services which the poet can render are spiritual and intellectual.

³ I.e., God hath prevented me from going back to the courtier's arts.

⁴ I.e., the dark blue Súfi cloak and the humble cottage, to which the poet alludes earlier in his poem, sufficiently indicate his renunciation of worldly aims.

⁵ Concerning this pornographical work, see Jâmi's *Baháristán*, Const. ed. of A.H. 1294, pp. 78-79; the *Journal Asiatique* for 1827, vol. x, p. 255; and my forthcoming edition of Dawlatsháh, p. 72.

3. *Adib Šabir.*

He was the contemporary of Sultán Sanjar the Saljúq, at whose orders he went on an embassy to Khwárazm to Atsiz Khwárazmsháh. Atsiz had him cast into the Oxus one night and drowned.¹ He has some fine verses.

4. *Athiru'd-Din Awmání.*

Awmán is a village in the A'lam suburb of Hamadán. He was the panegyrist of Sulaymán Sháh ابو, the governor of Kurdistan, and has produced some fine verses. He died in the reign of Hulágú Khán. They relate that he composed some satirical verses about Qádí Majdu'd-Dín *Tawíl* ("the Long"), the Qádí of Hamadán, amongst them the following:—

نه ازین داشت قضا² مرگ وی اندر تاخیر
 ' که برید اجلش می ننماید تعجیل
 لیک در تیه ضلالت نه چنان گم گشتست³
 ' که بصد سال برد ره بسرش عزرائیل

"Not because the messenger of his fate lacked insistence did
 Destiny delay his death,
 But he is so utterly lost in the Desert of Error that 'Asrá'il
 cannot find the way to him in a hundred years."

The Qádí recited the *Súratu'l-an'ám* (ch. vi of the Qur'an) forty times, and laid a curse upon him, by reason of which he shortly afterwards died.

5. *Athiru'd-Din of Akhsíkat.*

Akhsíkat is one of the suburbs of Farghána in Transoxania. He has produced some incomparable verses, amongst them the following:—

¹ The circumstances of this murder are detailed by Dawlatsháh (p. 93).

² C.¹, C.² have قضا for قضا.

³ L.¹ گشت او.

ای شمعِ زرد روی که با اشک¹ دیده²،
 سر خیلِ عاشقانِ مصیبت رسیده³،
 فرهادِ وقتِ خویشی و می سوز و می گداز⁴،
 تا خود چرا ز صحبتِ شیرین بریده⁵،
 یاری بباد داده⁶ ارنی⁷ چرا چو من⁸،
 بد رنگ و اشکبار و نزار و خمیده⁹،
 گر شاهدی ز بهر چه رخ زرد کرده¹⁰،
 ور عاشقی برای¹¹ چه قد بر کشیده¹²،
 آنرا که نورِ دیده گمان برده¹³ تو خود¹⁴،
 دایم در آبِ دیده از آن نور دیده¹⁵،
 آن خود فرو دیده بساعد نشان چیست¹⁶،
 زین غبن اگر نه دست بدندان گزیده¹⁷،
 بالله که تا¹⁸ مصاحب¹⁹ شمع²⁰ی تو وصفِ خویش²¹،
 زین سان که از اثیر گراز کس شنیده²²،

" O pale-faced candle, with tear-filled eyes, thou art the chief
 of calamity-stricken lovers !

Thou art the Farhád of thy time : then burn and melt, for
 why hast thou severed thyself from the company of
 Shírin ?

Thou hast lost a sweetheart, else wherefore, like me, art thou
 pallid in hue, tear-stained, feeble, and bent ?

If thou art an object of love, why hast thou thy cheeks so
 pale ? And if thou art a lover, why dost thou hold
 thyself so erect ?

¹ آب . L.¹.

² L.¹ ; K. ارنه . از می .

³ These three couplets occur in S. only.

⁴ L.¹ زهر .

⁵ C.¹, C.² با .

⁶ K. مصاف ; C.¹, C.² مصاف .

As for that which thou deemest the Light of thine eyes, by reason of that Light of thine eyes thou art indeed ever dissolved in tears.

What, then, is that sign creeping down the arm if thou hast not bitten the hand by reason of this disappointment? ¹

I adjure thee by God [to tell me] whether, since thou hast kept company with the candle, thou hast heard thy description from anyone as thou hast from Athir! ²

6. Imámí of Herát.

His name was Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Abú Bakr b. 'Uthmán. He was the panegyrist of the Kings and ministers of Kirmán, and died in the time of Abáqá Khán [A.H. 663-680, A.D. 1265-1281]. He has some fine verses. Here is an acrostic on his own name, which he addressed, as a test [of their skill], to the accountants:—

ثَلَاثُ خُمُسٍ زَوْجَ فَرْدِي رَا كِه خُمُسِ سُدْسِ آن
 بِيَشَكِّ از حَدِّ عَدَدِ بِيرون بود تَنْصِيفٌ ³ كُنْ
 بِرَقَرَارِ خَوِيشِ بَارِ دِيكَرِشِ دَر ثَلَاثِ مَالِ
 ضَرْبِ كُنْ چُونِ ضَرْبِ كَرْدِي آنكِهِي تَضْعِيفٌ ⁴ كُنْ
 سُدْسِ وَعَشْرِ ثَلَاثِ اَوْرَا بَا اَيْنِ هَر دُو قَسْمِ
 جَمْعِ كُنْ نِي نِي كِه نَصْفِ وَ ثَلَاثِ اَز وَ تَحْذِيفٌ ⁵ كُنْ

¹ The allusion is to the Egyptian women, to each of whom Zulaykhá gave a knife and an orange just as Joseph was about to enter the room, and who, confounded by his beauty, inadvertently cut their hands instead of the fruit. The wax guttering down the candle is here compared to the blood gushing down their arms. Biting the hand indicates remorse; biting the finger, amazement.

² The curious idiom in this line (. . گر . .) appears to be copied from the Arabic.

³ L.¹, K. تصنیف; S. تعصیف. The full explanation of these difficult verses given below has enabled me to reconstruct the text with considerable certainty, so that I have not thought it necessary to note more than the principal variants.

⁴ K. تصنیف.

⁵ S. has او for از; L.¹ تحذیف for تعصیف.

کعبِ غَیْن^۱ و جذرِ ظارا^۲ گر برون آری بفکر
 اندرو پیوند و چار و پنج را تالیف کن
 با محاسب گفتم اندر علم او اسمی بر رمز^۳
 گو امامی را بعلم خویشتن تعریف کن

"Halve the third of the fifth of that odd pair whereof the fifth of the sixth is, beyond doubt, outside the pale of numbers.

Once again multiply it as it stands by the third of the capital, and when thou hast multiplied it, double it.

Again add the sixth and the tenth of the third of it to these two [previous results]: nay, nay, [first] take from it the half and the third.

If now thou wilt extract the cube root of Ghayn [غ = 1000] and the square root of Dhá [ظ = 900], add this to it [the previous result], and reduce to writing four and five.

I have communicated to the accountant a name by an acrostic in his own science: Bid him acknowledge Imámí's skill in his own science!"

The term "odd pair" (زوج فرد) is applied to a number whereof, when it is halved, the two factors are equal and uneven. That which is "outside the pale of numbers" is *one*, for one results only from the subdivision of real numbers. Now when one is taken as the fifth of the sixth of an amount, that amount must be *thirty*, and a third of the fifth of thirty is *two*, which, when you halve it, gives *one*: that is *alif* (ا).

When you multiply this third of the fifth, which is two, by the third of the "capital" (مال), that is the third of thirty, which is ten, it gives twenty, and this, when you double it, gives forty; that is *mim* (م).

The sixth of that thirty is five, and the tenth of the

^۱ L.^۱, K. معین.

^۲ L.^۱ ظارا.

^۳ In the text of S. علم نزد من.

third of it one. The two together are six. When you cast out five-sixths of this [i.e. $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} = \frac{5}{6}$], one remains: that is *alif* (ا).

When any number is multiplied by a number like itself, they call the first the "square root" (جذر), and the result of the multiplication "the square" (مجرد). When the square is again multiplied by the square root, that which was before called the square root is called the "cube root" (كعب). Now since the number equivalent to [the letter] *ghayn* (غ) is 1000, the cube root of it must be 10; that is to say $10 \times 10 = 100$ and $100 \times 10 = 1000$. And since the number equivalent to *dhā* (ذ) is 900, the square root of it is 30; that is to say, $30 \times 30 = 900$. So 10, which is the cube root of *ghayn* (غ), and 30, which is the square root of *dhā* (ذ), come to 40: that is *mim* (م).

The cypher of four [i.e. the letter which has four as its numerical value] is *dāl* (د) and the cypher of five is *hā* (ه), and *dāl* and *hā* in the form of writing are *dah*, ten (س); and in the *abjad* computation 10 is equivalent to the letter *yā* (ي). In this way the name *Imāmi* [$1 + 40 + 1 + 40 + 10 =$ *alif, mim, alif, mim, yā* = امامي] results.

7. *Abu'l-Faraj of Rúna.*

Rúna is a village in the district of Kháwarán in Khurásán. He [Abu'l-Faraj] has some good verses, and was the contemporary of Sultán Maliksháh the Saljúq [A.H. 465–485, A.D. 1072–1092] and his sons. It is said that Anwarí was at first his pupil, though finally far surpassing him in the poetic art.

8. *Ibn Khattib of Ganja.*

His name is Táju'd-Dín Aḥmad. He was the contemporary of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna [A.H. 388–421, A.D. 998–1030], and has some fine verses; his poetical contests with his

mistress Mahsatī¹ are especially piquant. It is said that before his marriage Ibn Khaṭīb of Ganja invited Mahsatī to a love-tryst, but she refused, and wrote in answer:—

تن با تو بخواری ای صنم در ندهم² با آنکه ز تو بهست هم در ندهم³
یکباره⁴ سر زلف بجم در ندهم⁵ بر آب بخسیم خوش و نم در ندهم⁶

"O idol mine, I will not suffer abasement at thy hands, nor even at the hands of one who is superior to thee.

*I will not precipitately entangle my tresses in the noose :
I will lie at ease on the water and yet not get wet !"*⁷

Ibn Khaṭīb of Ganja beguiled her, and got possession of her under another name; and, after he had had his desire of her, said to her :

تن زود بخواری ای جلب در دادی⁸ وز گفته خویش نیک باز ایستادی⁹
گفتی خسیم در آب و نم در ندهم¹⁰ بر خاک بخفتی و نم اندر دادی¹¹

9. *Awḥadī.*

He has some fine verses, amongst them these:—

دلبر من رقیب مشک بمه بر زده بود¹²
خلق را آتش سوزنده بدل در زده بود¹³
مرد را مردمک دیده بخون تر میکرد¹⁴
عنبرین خال¹⁵ که بر برگ گل تر زده بود¹⁶

¹ So pointed in S. "Mah-satī" (مهستی). A similar pronunciation is indicated in the Biographies of Celebrated Women entitled *Khaṣratun Husnān*, lithographed at Tih-rān in A.H. 1307 (vol. iii, pp. 103-104), where the etymology of the name is given as *Mih* "great" and *Satī* "lady," though other derivations (Mah-astī, Mih-astī) are also discussed.

² K. تار, which seems a better reading, though not so strongly supported by manuscript authority.

³ This is equivalent to saying "I will play with fire and not get burned."

⁴ L. جلب بخواری اندر¹.

⁵ C.¹, C.² در.

⁶ C.² has معبرش خاکت.

سَرُورَا پای فروشد بزمین همچون میخ^۱
 پیش بالاش ز بس دست که بر سر زده بود^۲
 ناوِ غمزه چشمش بمن انداخت ز دور^۳
 بردل آمد سر پیکان چو^۱ برابر زده بود^۲
 ما خود آن زخم که بر سینۀ مجروح آمد^۳
 بمسلمان نمودیم که کافر زده بود^۲
 چون کبوتر بطییدم که مرا غمزه او^۳
 بکمان مهرۀ ابرو چو کبوتر زده بود^۲
 هر شکاری که بینداخت بنوعی برداشت^۳
 مگر این صید سراسیمه که لاغر زده بود^۲
 اشکِ سُرخم مددی داد بهر وَجْهِ اَر نی^۳
 غم او چهرۀ زردم همه بر زر زده بود^۲
 گر بهم بر زده بینی سخنم عیب مکن^۳
 کاحدی را غم عشق تو بهم بر زده بود^۲

"My beloved hath imprinted figures of musk on the moon;³
 hath cast a consuming fire into the hearts of men.

The mole of ambergris which she hath set on the rose-leaf⁴
 hath dimmed with blood the pupils of men's eyes.

The foot of the cypress-tree hath gone down like a nail into
 the earth before her figure, so much hath it beaten its
 hands on its head.⁵

¹ S. for که .

² The last seven couplets are omitted by S., and the last six by L.¹

³ Metaphor for moles or beauty-spots on the cheeks.

⁴ I.e. the mouth or lip.

⁵ The cypress typifies a tall, shapely form; and the poet, by the rhetorical figure called *حسن تعلیل*, whereby a real fact is explained by a fanciful and poetical cause, accounts for the cypress being rooted in the ground by its having beaten its head (the sign of lamentation), in despair of emulating such grace, so much as to drive its root "like a nail" into the ground.

*From afar she shot at me the arrow of her eyes' regards; the
point of the barb struck me full in the heart, since she
fired it point blank.*

*We, indeed, did not show to Musulmáns the wound which was
inflicted on our stricken bosom, for it was inflicted by an
infidel.*

*I fluttered like a pigeon, because, like a pigeon, her glance
has smitten me through the arc of her eyebrow.*

*Every quarry which she overthrew she picked up in some way,
save this bewildered victim, whom she deemed too lean.*

*Red [i.e. blood-stained] tears, at all events, came to my
assistance, else my passion for her had struck my fallow
face into gold.*

*If thou regardedst my words as confused, blame me not; for
it is thy love which hath confounded Awḥadí."*

10. Asadí.

He has produced some fine verses. The book entitled *Karshásp-náma* is one of his compositions.

11. Abu'l-Májid Ráyagání.¹

Ráyagání¹ is a village in the Qazwín district. He was a contemporary of Abaqá Khán [A.H. 663–680, A.D. 1265–1281]. Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín of Qazwín was constructing a lofty building. Abu'l-Májid came to see it. Malik said, "What sayest thou concerning this building?" He extemporised as follows:—

Dialect-verses :² 1st couplet.

(C.¹) ای که کی برست و کهروردی 'شاه' و خترم بکه کسی وزی

(C.²) ای کسی چه پرستی کیه ورزی 'شاد' و خترم بگیتی تکیه ورزی

¹ L.¹ has رابگان twice; while رابگان occurs in Add. 7,630 of the British Museum.

² For the reasons already given, I cannot pretend to establish the correct text of these dialect-verses, and therefore simply print the readings of the MSS. to which I have been able to obtain access.

- (L.¹) ای که کیتی و کیه و روی ' ساء و خرم بکیه و زی '
 (L.²) ای که کیتی بدست کهنه ورزی ' شاد خرم مکنه کیتی ورزی '
 (L.³) ای که کمی پرست و کینه وری ' شاد و خرم نکیه کتی وری '
 (P.¹) ای که کیتی پرست و کهنه ورزی ' شا و خرم بکنه و کمی ورزی '
 (P.²) ای که کمی پرستی کیه ورزی ' شا و خرم ده کیتی بکنه ورزی '

2nd couplet.²

- (C.¹) کیه ادست آوردی دیمه بساجی ' کیانش از سر بهی ساهرزی (؟) '
 (C.²) کیه دست آوری ویمه بساجی ' کیانش و سر نهی و ایشان بهرزی '
 (L.²) کبه ادست آورد دیمه بساجی ' وسانش هشته ووسان بهرزی '
 (L.³) که آوست آوردی و پله بساجی ' کانش از سر نهی بیامرزی (؟) '
 (P.¹) کنه ادست آوردی ویمه بساجی ' کیانش ار نهی وسان بهرزی '
 (P.²) کیه ادست آوری ویمه بساجی ' کیانش اوسر نهی وایشان بهرزی '

12. *Amir Ká' of Qazwín.*

He has some fine verses in the Qazwín dialect.³

13. *Úyánj*⁴ (or *Útánj*) of *Zanján* (or *Rayhán*).

He was a contemporary of It is related that his patron caused him to sit below his compeers, whereat he was angered and said :—

¹ L.³ = Add. 7,630 of the British Museum. dated A.H. 1009.

² Omitted in L.¹

³ C.¹ adds : " Khayármí (خیارمی) is a village in the Qazwín district."

⁴ C.¹ reads اوتاربع رحانی ; L.¹ ابو مایح ; P.² اویامی رحانی. C.², L.¹, L.², P.², and other MSS. omit all, or nearly all, of this passage.

Dialect-verses : (C.¹)

* * * * *

‘ بمن شاها بری شاها گمانی ‘
 ‘ بآو آذر و بخاه و بوا ‘ هم رمانی میرقدرم بدانى ‘
 ‘ به انو کم اوایه اش بارهه زیو ‘ که جیرو آسایش بنشانی ‘
 ‘ به حرا تندینی جه خور سو ‘ به بسهره (?) شو ان مانک حاسمانی ‘
 ‘ بستم تبه هوناد لیاوه یان دا ‘ به شکهی کری کیتی توانی ‘
 ‘ انون بمرز دلایا ویم لو حشک ‘ بشنه لومى بوم صاسه (?) حانی ‘
 ‘ باین کتی بوایه جون بشی زی ‘ چن چن می شود من بی ان کمانی ‘
 ‘ سمه (?) شمشیره بی مرگ نام ‘ محور (?) نک و جه تک رلو ندانی ‘

(K.)

‘ بمن چندان بری شاها کمانی ‘ ندبرارم حسه نبده (?) زمانى ‘
 ‘ از آن تا کند سپهرم درد جوی ‘ میرلنگ و ریکم بکمانى ‘
 ‘ بآو آذر و بخاه و بوا ‘ هم رایى میرقدرم برانى ‘
 ‘ به انو کم ادایش بارهه زیو ‘ جبر و اسایشی پیشانى ‘
 ‘ بحر انده (?) چه خوری سوبه ‘ سهرت شوان بانگ جاسمانى ‘
 ‘ بستم به هوناد لیاوه ‘ بان دابه شکمى گرکسى توانى ‘
 ‘ انون بمیرد لبام بو حشک شینه ‘ بومى یوحى حاسه جانی ‘
 ‘ باین کسى بوایه چون بشیزی ‘ چین چین می شود من لی ان کمانى ‘
 ‘ هر (?) شمشیرده پی مرگ نام ‘ بخورسک و جه مک زیو ندانى ‘

(P.¹)

* * * * *

‘ بادا در بخا و بوا ‘
 ‘ به اتو کم اوایه اش بارهه اسو ‘ که خسرو اسایش سمانى ‘

نه حرا مدسی جه خور سو^۱ به ستده وسوان ناسک حاسمان
 بشم سر مرصاد لاهه بان دا^۲ به سسلر کری کیتی توانی^۳
 انون بمرز دلایا وم لو حسک^۴ سه بومی سوم حاسه حامی^۵
 نا این کسی نواه خون بسی رن (?)^۶ حین حن می سودمی نا ان کمای^۷
 بجر سمسروه بی مرک نام^۸ محورسک وجهه بک و بو بدای^۹

14. *Abu'l-'Alá of Ganja.*

He has some fine verses, and was Kháqání's master.
 Concerning Kháqání he says:—

شبی گادم از روی مستی^۱ فلان را^۲
 فلان کیست صاحب قران جهان را^۳
 امیر اجل خواجه خاقانی^۴ ما^۵
 که فخرست ازو مرزمین و زمان را^۶
 بمستی فتاد اینچنین کار^۷ برمن^۸
 بمستی چننین اوفتد^۹ مردمان را^{۱۰}

When this reached Kháqání's ears, he rose up to take
 vengeance on him. Abu'l-'Alá couched an apology in this
 sense:—

از آنکه که از مادر دهر زادم^۱
 بفضل و هنر در جهان داد دادم^۲

¹ To these two words Baron Rosen adds in his transcript the following note :
 “Plutôt *بی* seul et non pas *بی*.”

² C.¹ reads *طیبت* for *مستی*.

³ C.², L.¹, L.² read *زمان* for *زمانه*.

⁴ C.¹ *گاد*; C.² *سور*.

⁵ C.¹, L.¹ *بر لعد*; K. *بگاولد بس مردمان*.

⁶ C.¹ reads *مقل* for *دهر*.

⁷ C.² and L.² have *اوستادم* for *دادم*.

مرا شصت سالست و از^۱ خاک ایران^۲
 بود قرب چل^۳ تا بشروان فتادم^۴
 غریبم ضعیفم ثناگوی خسرو^۵
 نگویم که کیخسرو و^۶ کیقبادم^۷
 تو ای^۸ قترۃ العین که^۹ فرزند مائی^{۱۰}
 منت هم پدر خوانده هم اوستادم^{۱۱}
 چو رغبت نمودی بشاگردی من^{۱۲}
 ترا نعمت و صلت و چیز دادم^{۱۳}
 میان را بتعلیم تو چست بستم^{۱۴}
 زبان تو در شاعری بر کشادم^{۱۵}
 چو شاعر شدی نزد خاقانیت بردم^{۱۶}
 لقب نیز خاقانیت بر نهادم^{۱۷}
 بیزدان که نی گفته ام گادم او را^{۱۸}
 و گر گفته ام نیست بالله یادم^{۱۹}
 بجای یکی ره دو صد بار گفتم^{۲۰}
 نگادم نگادم نگادم نگادم^{۲۱}

^۱ L.^۱, L.^۲ om. [و]; K. reads *for* از *کر*.

^۲ L.^۲ از آن.

^۳ C.^۲, L.^۱, L.^۲ read *هاتره* for چل.

^۴ K. om. [و].

^۵ L.^۱, L.^۲, K. توی.

^۶ K., L.^۲ omit [که], for which L.^۱ reads و.

^۷ L.^۲ reads ماهی.

^۸ These very coarse verses are given, with a good many variants, by Dawlat-sháh (pp. 70-71 of my forthcoming edition) in his biography of Abu'l-'Alá of Ganja; and also (with French translation) by Khanikof in his excellent monograph on Khâqânî (*Journal Asiatique* for 1864; *Mémoire sur Khâqânî*, pp. 14-15 of the *tirage-à-part*). The text of the second piece here given is so far less offensive than those alluded to in this note that it contains a retraction and an apology, whereas the more usual form is well described by Khanikof as "tout miel au commencement et tout fiel à la fin."

15. *Pindár* (? *Bundár*)¹ of *Ray*.

He too has some fine verses and unequalled productions in the Pahlavi language.² His *diwán* is well known and highly esteemed.

16. *Qáqí Bahá'u'd-Dín Zanjání*.

He was the contemporary and panegyrist of Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dín Juwaynī, the *Šāhib-Diwan*. He skilfully incorporated in his poetry the technical terms employed by the Turks. To this assertion witnesseth the *qaṣida*³ which begins as follows:—

ای کرده روح با لب لعل تو نوکری ' معشوق ازبکی و نگار هجاری '4

17. *Pūr Bahá-yi-Jāmi*.

He was the panegyrist of Shamsu'd-Dín the *Šāhib-Diwan*, and other notables of that period. He has some fine verses, and his *diwán* is well known.

18. *Bahá'u'd-Dín Sāwajī*.

He is still alive, and has some good verses. On several occasions he has honoured this humble individual [the author] with *qaṣidas* and fragments.

19. *Jamálu'd-Dín Abharí*.

He died at Tabríz in A.H. 600 [A.D. 1203–1204], and was buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkháb [near Tabríz]. He has some fine verses.

¹ Since ب and پ are seldom distinguished in the older MSS., and vowel-points are seldom inserted, the form of this name is doubtful to me. From a verse cited by Dawlatabhāh (p. 43, l. 4, of my forthcoming edition) it would appear that he adopted the first form.

² So L.¹ Other MSS. have "in that language" or "dialect."

³ The whole of this poem is given by Dawlatabhāh (pp. 182–184 of my edition), who ascribes it to Pūr Bahá-yi-Jāmi. This poet is the subject of the next notice (No. 17), and a transposition of these two articles in some MSS. of the *Guzida* (e.g. L.¹ and L.²) would lead anyone using them to arrive at the same conclusion as Dawlatabhāh.

⁴ For هجاری C.¹ has هجاری ; C.² and S. هر جاری ; L.¹ و بکاهو جاری ; K. سو جاری .

20. *Jamálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Razzáq.*

The father of Kamálu'd-Dín of Isfahán. He has some good verses.

21. *Jamálu'd-Dín Rustuqu'l-Quṭn*.¹

Rustuqu'l-Quṭn is a quarter in the city of Qazwín. In the dialect of that place he has some incomparable verses, into which he has introduced very fine ideas. He died in the reign of Abaqá Khán [A.H. 663–680, A.D. 1265–1281], being about 90 years of age. Some few of his verses also are in the Persian language, amongst them the following:—

ای زر توئی آنکه جامع لذاتی ' محبوب خلائق بهمه اوقاتی²
 بیشک نه خدائی تو ولیکن چو خدا³ ' ستارعیوب وقاضی الحاجاتی

"O gold, thou art that which compasseth all pleasures: thou art the Beloved of mankind at all times:

Without doubt thou art not God, yet, like God, thou art the Concealer of Faults and the Fulfiller of Needs."

22. *Jalálu'd-Dín*⁴ 'Atiqi.

He is still alive, and has some fine verses, especially *ghazals*, amongst them this:—

از خساک کف پایت هرگز که بر خیزد⁵
 جانهاش فرو باران دلهاش فروریزد
 آن برق که سوزد عقل از ابر غمت تابد⁶
 و آن بوی که جان بخشد از خاک دَرت خیزد⁶
 سودای توام در خاک سر مست بخواباند
 بوی تو ز خاکم باز دیوانه بر انگیزد⁶

¹ L.² has رفیق القلی .

² C.¹ has آفاتی .

³ L.² has : ' ولیکن بخدا ' .

⁴ L.² has *Jamálu'd-Dín* .

⁵ C.¹ has باید for تابد .

⁶ L.² omits these two couplets, and L.¹ the second of them.

از تو نبرم صد ره چون عودم اگر سوزی
 دودِ دلم آید باز در دامنست آویزد¹
 ای جانِ عتیقی کی با عشق بر آید عقل
 با شاه کجا نازد هر سفله که بستیزد¹

"From every particle of dust which is stirred up by the sole of thy foot souls rain down and hearts pour forth.

That lightning which consumes the reason flashes forth from the clouds of thy love, and that fragrance which giveth life arises from the dust of thy door.

My passion for thee lays me senseless in the dust; from the dust thy fragrance raiseth me up again a madman.

I will not sever myself from thee; even though thou should'st consume me an hundred times like aloe-wood, the smoke of my heart will turn back and cling to thy garment.

O soul of 'Atíqí, how can Reason contend with Love? How can any low-born churl vaunt himself before the King?"

23. Júláha ("the Spider") of Abhar.

He has some fine verses in the Pahlaví dialect, amongst them the following:—

*Dialect verses: 1st couplet.**

- (C.) کیله اهر و کمندان ناو می دا¹ کونه من او برش بسود زناو می دا¹
 (L.²) کیله ابرو کمندان تاو می دا¹ کو ز من وا یرشی ها لاو می دا¹
 (P.¹) کیله امرو کمندی تاو میدا¹ کونه من او برش ها لاو میدا¹
 (P.²) کیله امرو کمندان تاو میدا¹ حون³ من دانرش ها لاو میدا¹
 (S.) کیله امرو کمندان تاو میدا¹ کونه من وایرش ها لاو میدا¹

¹ L.² omits the first of these couplets, and L.¹ both of them.

² This couplet is wanting in L.¹ and L.³

³ Over حون the word کونه is written as a correction or a variant.

2nd couplet.¹

- (C.) سنبلاش ده ول واری همی کرد ' نرگسانش جه شبستان او می دا'
 (L.²) سنبلاش دُول واری همی کرد ' نرگسانش حشینان او میدا'
 (P.¹) سنبلاش جو و لواری همی کرد ' نرکسانش جو سیمان او میدا'
 (P.²) سنبلاش ده ول واری همی کرد ' نرکسانش جه سیمان او میدا'
 (S.) سنبلاش جه دل واری همی کرد ' نرگسانش جه شینان او میدا'

3rd couplet.²

- (C.) واش به برده بد و ا شامه اچ سر ' کوناش بسود بدرزناو می دا'
 (P.¹) واش برده بدو اشامه اچ سر ' کوناش بسو درما و میدا'
 (P.²) واش برده بدو اسامه اچ سر ' کوناش سو درتا و میدا'

4th couplet.²

- (C.) حمن حمر ادرش اوی رهای یار ' ورنه حیا منش بوا می دا'
 (P.¹) حین حمن ادرش اوی ره می بار ' ورنه حان منش درنوا میدا'
 (P.²) حن حمن ادرش اوی ره بی بار ' ورنه حال منش اولو میدا'

24. *Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dīn³ Kāshī.*

He was the contemporary of Abaqá Khán. He has some fine verses, both serious and flippant. He has composed a *taryi'-band* parodying Shaykh Sa'dí of Shíráz, which begins thus:—

من مستم و رند و لا ابالی ' وین شیوه مراست لا یزالی
 با مشغله جهان چه کارم ' مئی خواهم و یار و جای خالی

¹ This couplet is wanting in L.¹ and L.²

² Wanting in S., L.¹, L.², and L.³

³ L.³ has *Jalálu'd-Dīn*.

خمخانه و کوی یاریکدل ' هرگز نگذارم آن حوالی¹
 خِشْتِ سِرِّ خُمِ کنم ببالیدن ' خاکِ دَرِ آن صنم نهالی
 عشق است حرام بر توای دوست ' گر هیچ نه در پیِ وصالی
 از عشقِ بتان خلاصه و ملست ' باقیش وسوسِ خیالی
 سعدی که نشست و صبر میکرد ' بود از سِرِ عجز و سُستِ حالی
 من اشرفِ ثانیم نه صابر ' و اندر سرمِ آن هوس که حالی
 بر خیزم و دستِ یار گیرم
 بی یار چرا قرار گیرم

"I am a drunkard, a libertine, a spendthrift, and this character remains ever mine.

What have I to do with worldly business? I desire wine, a fair companion, and a secluded spot.

The tavern and the street of the single-hearted friend—never will I quit these precincts!

I will take a brick from the top of the wine-vat for my pillow, and the dust of my idol's door for my couch.

Love is forbidden thee, O friend, if thou in no wise seekest after union.

The consummation of the love of fair ones is union: all else is but a fanciful illusion.

When Sa'di 'sat still and was patient' it was from impotence and slackness.

I am a second Ashraf, not a patient man, and in my head is that desire which now possesses me.

I will arise and take the hand of my beloved: how can I rest without my beloved?"

¹ L.¹ omits this and all the remaining verses except the refrain, to which it prefixes the words: و بند ترجمش این است. L.² omits this and the next three verses.

25. *Sayyid Hasan of Ghazna.*

He was the contemporary of Sultán Bahrám Sháh the Ghaznavid [A.H. 512–547, A.D. 1118–1152], and is the author of some pretty verses. It is said that when he went to visit the tomb of the Apostle of God (on whom be the blessings of God and His peace), he recited the *tarjī-band* beginning “*Sallamú yá qaum*” [Greet, O people].¹ When he reached this verse—

لاف فرزندی درین حضرت نیارم زد ولیک²

‘خدمتی گفتم ز حضرت خلعتی بیرون فرست

“*I dare not vaunt my sonship in this thy presence, but I have offered my homage : send forth a robe of honour,*”

a hand at once came forth from the vault of that holy tomb and fragrant shrine with a cloak, and said, “Take it, O my son!”

26. *Khayyám.*

His name was ‘Umar b. Ibráhím. In most sciences, more particularly astronomy, he was the leading authority of his time. He was attached to the service of Sultán Maliksháh the Saljúq [A.H. 465–485, A.D. 1072–1092], and is the author of some excellent treatises and fine poems. Amongst the latter is this:—

هر ذره که بر روی زمینی بودست³ خورشید رخی زهره جبینی بودست
گرد از رخ آستین³ بآزم فشان³ کآن هم رخ خوب نازینی بودست

“*Every atom which is on the face of the earth hath been [part of] a beauty with cheeks like the sun and a forehead like Venus ;*

Brush the dust gently from your sleeve, for it too hath been the fair cheek of some charmer.”

¹ See my forthcoming edition of Dawlatabáh, pp. 104–106, where the first verse of the poem, as well as the verse here cited, is given in full.

² C.² has : ‘لاف فرزندی نیارم زد ولیک بنده را’. L.¹ has : ‘نیارم زد بدین میت ولی’.

³ L.¹ reads آستین for نازین.

27. *Kháqání.*

His name was Afḍalu'd-Dín Ibráhím, the son of 'Alí the carpenter of Shirwán. He died in the year A.H. 582 [= A.D. 1185], and is buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkháb [near Tabríz]. He has some incomparable verses and unsurpassed writings, and in the sonorous majesty of his verse no one hath equalled him till the present time.

28. *Khwájú of Kirmán.*

He has some fine verses, and is the author of the *Rawḍatu'l-Anvár*¹ ("Garden of Bright Flowers"), *Gul u Khusraw*, *Humáy u Humáyún*, *Kamál-náma*, and many other treatises and graceful odes, amongst them the following:—

نی زدود² دل پُر آنش ما می نالد
 تو مپندار که از باد هوا می نالد
 عندلیبیست که از باد نوا³ می سازد
 خوش سرائیست که در پرده سرا می نالد⁴
 من دلخسته اگر ز آنکه زدل می نالم
 باری آن خسته بیدل ز کجا می نالد
 می زندش نتواند که ننالد چه کند⁵
 زخم دارد نه بتزویرویا می نالد
 بس که راه دل ارباب حقیقت زده است
 ظاهر آنست که از ترس خدا می نالد

¹ According to Dawlatsháh (p. 251, l. 15, of my forthcoming edition) the proper title of this work is the *Rawḍatu'l-Azhár*, but Hájí Khalífa (No. 6,629) confirms the *Guzída*.

² L.² has درد for دود.

³ For نوا C.¹ reads هوا.

⁴ L.¹ omits all the following verses, and L.² all except the last.

⁵ For نگی C.² reads کند.

ناله و زاری خواجو همه از بی برگيست
 ' اوچه دیدست که هردم¹ ز نوا می نالد

"The flute laments with the smoke of our fire-filled heart :² do not suppose that its sighs are [mere] breath.

It is a nightingale which makes its song of air ; it is a tuneful singer which wails in the pavilion.

If so be that I, being sick at heart, lament by reason of my heart, wherefore, then, does that sick one lament, since it hath lost its heart ?³

They sound it, and it can do naught but wail ; what else can it do ? It is wounded ; its wailing is not from deceit or hypocrisy.

So often hath it robbed on the highway the hearts of seekers after truth, that evidently it wails for fear of God.

The wailings and lamentations of Khwájú are all for lack of substance : what has he suffered that every moment he cries out in song ?"

29. Daqíqí.

He was the contemporary of Amír Núh the Sámánid [A.H. 366–387, A.D. 976–997], and composed a thousand couplets of the *Sháhnáma*, of the story of Gushtásp. Ḥakím Firdawsí included these in the *Sháhnáma* in order to make apparent the worth of his own verse, and in reprobation of Daqíqí's verses speaks as follows :—

دهان گر بماند ز خوردن تهی ' از آن به که ناساز خوانی نهی

"It is better that the mouth should want for food than that thou should'st lay an unappetising table."

¹ L.² reads هردم for دایم .

² "Smoke of the heart" is a common metaphor for sighs.

³ Because the "heart" or pith of the reed is removed to make it into a flute.

30. *Raft'u'd-Din Bikrání.*¹

He was from Abhar, but lived in Kirmán, and died in the reign of Gházán Khán [A.H. 694–703, A.D. 1295–1304]. He has composed some incomparable verses in Arabic and Persian. This quatrain is his:—

با چرخ ستیز و با² فلک جنگ مکن
 وز زخمِ زمانه ناله جونِ جنگ مکن
 در خاکِ زر و در آبِ دریا گوهر
 صایع نگذارند تو دل تنگ مکن

“Do not fight with heaven or with adverse fate; do not cry out like the harp at the stroke of destiny.

They will not suffer gold to be wasted in the earth, or pearls in the waters of the ocean; let not then thy heart be vexed.”

31. *Ruknu'd-Din Bikrání.*

He was the son of the above, and was a pious and learned man, and has some fine verses. This humble writer has a very high opinion of him. When I asked him for a copy of his *Díván*, I sent him this fragment:—

جهانِ فضل و هنر جانِ نطق³ رکنِ الدین
 زهی نظیرِ تو چشمِ زمانه نا دیده
 معانی و سخنانِ تو در لباسِ بیان
 چو جان نماید در جسم و نور در دیده
 قوایِ ناطقه در بَدْوِ فطرتِ ازلی
 ز ذوقِ نظمِ تو گفتم⁴ بطبعِ بگزیده⁵

¹ C.¹ بکردانی; C.² بکرانی; L.¹ کومانی; L.² لکومانی. Cf. n. 4 on next page.

² L.² با² ستیزه.

³ C.¹ has لطف for نطق; L.² and S. محنت.

⁴ S., L.¹ گفتی.

⁵ L.² omits this and the next five verses.

خرد عزیز بمصر هنراز آن گشته
 که بذیر خرمنِ فضلِ تو خوشه‌ها چیده¹
 ز علمِ اول و آخر به پیشِ خاطرِ تو
 نبوده هیچ نکتِ هیچ وقت پوشیده
 بعمرِ خویش در اخبار و آیت و امثال
 ز لفظِ عَذَبِ² توگوشی خلاف نشنیده
 شده³ ز فرط هنر خسرو سریرِ مقال
 خرد ز جان و ز دل بندگیت ورزیده
 توئی سلالهٔ بکران⁴ و طبعِ نازکِ تو
 بخوبِ روئی⁵ بگرانِ نظم کوشیده
 ز بوستانِ ضمیر⁶ تو نسخهٔ بودم
 کنون ز بنده کسی هست آن⁷ بدز دیده
 اگر تو لطف کنی دیگری فرستی باز
 سزا بود بسزاوارِ خویش بخشیده
 بمان همیشه سزاوار در جهان هنر
 ز جام⁸ فضل و هنر آب لطف نوشیده⁹

"O World of worth and talent, Soul of speech, Ruknu'd-Din,
 hail, O thou whose peer the eyes of time have not seen!
 The ideas of thy verses in the garment of utterance seem like
 the life in the body, or the light in the eyes!

¹ L.¹ omits this and the next four verses. The MSS., except S., read *و* for *و*.

² C.¹ and C.² have *عذر* for *عذب*.

³ For *سزا* C.¹ and C.² have *سری*.

⁴ C.¹ *کران*. The word-play in this line confirms the reading *Bikrānī*.

⁵ C.² has *کمال* for *روئی*; L.² *نصائل*.

⁶ L.² transposes *کمی* and *آن*.

⁷ S. has *آب* for *جام*.

⁸ L.¹ omits this line. C.¹ reads: 'ز جامِ فضلِ اهل علم و عقل پوشیده'.

The powers of speech, one would say, in the beginning of the Eternal Creation, instinctively selected thee, through pleasure in thy verse.

For this cause hath wisdom become Prince¹ in the realms of genius, that it had gathered gleanings from the seeds of the harvest of thy merit.

At no time was any subtlety of ancient or modern knowledge veiled before thy mind.

No ear in its lifetime hath ever heard from thy sweet utterance any mistake in history, scripture, or proverb.

By virtue of superabundant merit thou art Prince of the throne of speech; wisdom with heart and soul does thee service.

Thou art the noblest product of BIKRÁN, and therefore thy fine genius strives to beautify the faces of the virgins [bikrÁN] of verse.

I had a copy of the Garden of thy Fancies²; now someone has stolen it from thy servant.

If thou wilt be gracious and send me again another copy, it will be a worthy gift to one who is deserving of it.

Remain ever richly rewarded in the world of talent, drinking the water of grace from the cup of merit and talent!"

32. RÚDAGÍ.

He was the pioneer of Persian poets, since before his time the Persians too composed poetry in Arabic. He was the contemporary of Amír Naṣr the Sámánid [A.H. 301–331, A.D. 913–942]. He has composed many poems, but only a few are generally known. I have read in some history that he composed 700,000 couplets of poetry, and in that history many of his verses are cited. The metrical Persian [version of] *Kaṭīla and Dimna* is one of his works.

¹ Or "powerful" or "precious," for the word *ḥakīm* has both meanings.

² I.e. "of thy poems."

33. *Rafí'u'd-Dín of Lunbán.*

Lunbán is a village in the Isfahán district. He [i.e. Rafí'u'd-Dín] has some fine verses. His *Diwán* is well known.

34. *Malik Radí'u'd-Dín Bába of Qazwín.*

He was the governor of Diyár Bakr in the reign of Abaqá Khán [A.H. 663–680, A.D. 1265–1281]. When he was dismissed from Diyár Bakr, and surrendered to Amír Jalálu'd-Dín, the palace eunuch, he wrote these two verses to Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáhib-Diwán* :—

شاهاستدی کثورت از همجو منی، دادی بْمَحَشی نه مردی نه زنی،
زین کار جو آفتاب روشن گشتم، پیش تو چه دَف زنی چه شمشیر زنی،

“ O King, thou hast taken thy realm from one like me, and
hast bestowed it on a hermaphrodite, neither man nor
woman.

*By this deed it hath been made plain to me that in thine eyes
one who wields the sword and one who yields the cymbals
are of equal account.”*

35. *Suzani.*

His name was Abú Bakr ibnu's-Salmání¹ of Kalásh, one of the dependencies of Samarqand. He was the contemporary of Sultán Sanjar the Saljúq [A.H. 511–552, A.D. 1117–1157]. He carried ribaldry to excess [in his verses], amongst which are the following :—

ای سوزنیک ای پسر خواجه کلاش،
با زرق لباساتِ فسون در دوزی،
سالِ تو به پنجاه و یک آمد که یکی روز،
مر کیرِ ترا ننگِ نیامد در روزی،

¹ This name is doubtful; the reading ابی السالی also occurs.

داماد و خُسرگای بُدی پیش بده سال
'وامسالِ خُسرِ خواجۀ داماد سپوزی'

But he also has some serious verses which are incomparable. They say that God Almighty forgave him for this verse:—

چار چیز آورده ام یا ربّ که در گنجِ تو نیست
'نیستی و حاجت و جُرم و گناه آورده ام'

*"I bring four things, O Lord, which are not in Thy treasury :
I bring nothingness, need, shortcoming, and sin."*

36. Sa'dí of Shíráz.

His name was Muṣliḥu'd-Dín b. Musharraf.¹ He is associated with the Atábak Sa'd b. Abú Bakr Salgharí. He died at Shíráz on the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 690 [Dec. 19, A.D. 1291]. He was a mystic, and has written finely both in prose and verse, in both of which he enjoys a wide celebrity. The art of writing odes reached its consummation in him. I give two couplets of his poetry for luck—

غازی ز پُیِ شهادت در تگ و پوست
'عاشق که قَتیلِ عشقِ فاضلتر ازوست'
فردای قیامت آن بدین کی ماند
'کآن کُشته دشمن است و این کُشته دوست'

*"The Ghāzī [champion of the faith] runs after martyrdom :
the lover, who is slain by love, is more excellent than he ;
How should the former be like the latter on the morrow of the
Resurrection, since that one was slain by the foe and this
one by the friend ?"*

¹ Or Mushrif, or Musharraf, or Sharaf.

37. *Siráji*.¹

He has some fine verses. I here set down in writing three couplets which I have in mind of a *qasida* throughout which he has obliged himself to introduce the names of the four elements in each verse :—

آتشى دارم بدل در زآن دو لعلِ آبدار'
 باد تا زلفش پریشان کرد گشتم خاکسار'
 خاکِ ره گِل میشود از آبِ چشم تا چرا'
 آتش اندر من زد و رفت از بر من بادوار'
 گر بر آرم بادِ سرد آتش زنم در آسمان'
 گر ببارم آبِ گرم از خاکِ سازم لاله زار'

"I have a fire in my heart [kindled] by those two luscious [lips like] rubies : since the wind stirred her tresses I am become as dust.

The dust of the road is turned to mud by my tears, [as I wonder] why she set me on fire and then departed from me like the wind.

If I heave a deep sigh, I will set fire to heaven : if I rain down hot tears, I will turn the ground into a garden of anemones."

38. *Siráju'd-Din Qumrí*.

He excelled in verses celebrating the vices. In this sense he says :—

من مئی خورم و هر که چو من اهل بود' مئی خوردن من بنزدِ اوسهل بود'
 من خوردنم ایزد بازل می دانست' گر من بخورم علمِ خدا جهل بود'

"I drink wine, and my wine-drinking will easily be condoned by anyone who is, like myself, a man of sense.

¹ C.¹ reads سگری.

*In eternity past God knew that I should be a wine-bibber :
if I did not drink, then God's foreknowledge would be
stultified."*¹

39. Saná'í.

He was named Abu'l-Majd Majdúd b. Ádam of Ghazna, and lived till the time of King Bahrám Sháh [A.H. 512-547, A.D. 1118-1152]. He has been already mentioned in the section treating of Shaykhs. The *Hadíqa* is one of his compositions.

40. Sa'd-i-Bahá.

He was the contemporary of Uljáytú Sultán [A.H. 703-716, A.D. 1304-1316]. He has some fine verses, amongst them the following:—

حاش لئه که مرا مهر تو از دل برود
یا خود از خاطر آن شکل و شمایل برود
کیست کز جان نشود مایل آن دم که بناز
قدت از غایت مستی متمایل برود
حسن تو شاهِ فلک را چو نهاد اسپ و رخی
مه که باشد که بروی تو مقابیل برود
از دلم عشقی تو اندوه جهان بر دارد
نور حق چون برسد ظلمتِ باطل برود
دل بخوبان مده ای سعدِ بها کآسان نیست
مشکل است آنکه کسی را بکسی دل برود

*"God forbid that love for thee should quit my heart, or that
that form and those qualities should fade from my
memory !*

¹ This quatrain is ascribed by Whinfield (No. 195 of his edition, p. 133) to 'Umar Khayyám, as also is the answer to it (No. 144, p. 99), which is here (No. 50, *infra*) attributed to 'Izzu'd-Dín Karají.

Who is there who does not with his whole soul love that moment when thy stature passes by, swaying [like one] in the extreme of intoxication?

Since thy beauty hath given points¹ to the King of Heaven, who is the Moon that it should seek to rival thy face?

*Thy love lifts from my heart the grief of the world: 'when the Light of Truth comes, the Darkness of Error departs.'*²

Give not thy heart to the beautiful, O Sa'd-i-Bahá, for it is not an easy task; it is a hard thing to lose one's heart to anyone."

41. *Shams-i-Sajási.*

He died at Tabríz in A.H. 602 [A.D. 1205-6], and is buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkháb. He has some fine verses. The *Diván* of *Dhahír* of Fáyáy was collected by him.

42. *Sharafu'd-Din Shufurvah of Isfahán.*³

He was the contemporary of Sultán Arslán b. Tughril the Saljúq [A.H. 556-573, A.D. 1161-1177]. He has some excellent verses, and, particularly in his odes, has originated some fine ideas:—

گرتوانی ای صبا بگذر شبی در کوی او
 و در دلت خواهد بیراز من پیامی سوی او
 آن زمان کآنجای رسی آهسته⁴ باش و دم من
 تا نشود خواب خوش بر نرگس جادوی او
 حلقه زلفش مجتبان مجز بانگشت ادب
 هان وهان تُرکی مکن با طرۀ هندوی او

¹ Literally, "hath given a horse (knight) and a rook (castle)." The metaphor applies to the game of chess. Cf. *Bústán*, ed. Graf, p. 145, l. 70: "A beggar [so wily] that he could put a saddle on a male lion, or give a knight and a queen to *Abú Zayd*." (*Abú Zayd* is the Persian *Zukertort*.)

² A paraphrase of Qur'an xvii, 83.

³ See *Rieu's Persian Suppl.*, pp. 161-2.

⁴ C.¹ reads باهوش for آهسته.

نرم نرم آن بُزْغِ رنگین بر انداز از رُخش
 و رگمانی بد نداری بوسه زن بر روی او
 نی غلط گفتم من این طاقت ندارم زینهار
 گر رسولِ خاصِ مائی نیز منگر سوی او
 چون دلم بینی در آجما گو حرامت باد وصل
 من چنین محروم و تو پیوسته هم زانوی او

"If thou can'st, O Zephyr, pass one night by her abode, and,
 if thy heart be willing, bear to her a message from me.

When thou arrivest there, go quietly and breathe not, that
 the sweet sleep be not troubled in her bewitching
 narcissus[-like eyes].

Do not stir the curls of her tresses save with the finger of
 courtesy; take care, take care that thou play not the
 Turk with her Hindû locks!

Very gently throw aside that coloured veil from her face,
 and, if thou hast no evil thought, imprint a kiss upon
 her cheek.

Nay! I spoke wrongly; beware, for so much I cannot
 endure: even though thou art our special envoy, yet do
 not thou even glance towards her!

When thou seest my heart there, say, 'May union be
 forbidden thee! [For while] I am thus parted, thou
 art her constant companion.'

43. Shamsu'd-Din-i-Tabast.¹

There were two [poets of this name]. One has some
 fine verses, and his *Divân* is well known. The other is
 still alive, and has produced some incomparable verse and
 prose. This humble writer enjoys his friendship, and has
 repeatedly been honoured with communications from him
 both in verse and prose.

¹ C.² omits this life.

44. *Shamsu'd-Din of Káshán.*

He died within the last two years. The *Tárikh-i-Ghazání* ("History of Gházán Khán") was versified by him; but he has done the fullest justice to his poetical talents in a *qaṣida*, embellished with most of the poetical artifices, which he composed in honour of Khwāja Bahá'u'd-Din, the *Ṣáhib-Diwán*, of Juwayn.

45. *Dhahiru'd-Din-Fáryáb.*

His name was Tāhir b. Muḥammad. He died at Tabríz in [the month of] Rabí' I, A.H. 598 [Dec., A.D. 1201], and is buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkháb. He has some delicate verses. This is a verse which he composed in Arabic to indicate the distinction between the letters *dál* (د) and *dhál* (ذ) in the Persian language:—

اعرف الفرق بين دال و ذال ' وهى اصل¹ فى الفارسى معظم
كتل ما قبل سكون بلا واو ' ف دال فما سواء معجم

"Know the difference between *dál* and *dhál*, for this is an essential principle in Persian;

Wherever it comes before a quiescent letter, except *wáw*, it is *dál*; but otherwise dotted [*dhál*]."

46. 'Iráqí.

His name was Fakhru'd-Din Ibráhím b. Buzurjmíhr b. 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár al-Jawálíqí, of the village of Maḥáll in the A'lam district of Hamadán. He died in A.H. 686 [A.D. 1287], in the *Jabalu's-Sálihín* ("Mountain of the Just"), in Syria. He has composed some philosophical verses. His *Diwán* is well known.

47. 'Unṣurí.

He was Prince of Poets² (Poet-laureate) at the Court of Sultán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuktagin [A.H. 388–421, A.D. 998–1030].

¹ C.¹ has اصل for اسم.

² C.¹ ملك الشعراء; C.² ملك الشعراء.

When Firdawsí fled from Tús and came to Ghazna,¹ 'Unṣurí, Farrukhí, and 'Asjadí had gone for an excursion into the country, and were sitting by the side of a stream. When they saw Firdawsí approaching them from afar off, each one composed a hemistich such that there was [as they supposed] no fourth rhyme [to them], and demanded that Firdawsí should supply the fourth [hemistich], so that, when he should be unable to give it, he might cease to trouble them.

'Unṣurí said:— 'چون روی تو خورشید نباشد روشن
"The sun is not so bright as thy face"—

Farrukhí said:— 'هم رنگِ رخت گل نبود در گلشن
"No rose in the garden can compare in colour with thy cheek"—

'Asjadí said:— 'مرگانت گذر همی کند از جوشن
"Thine eyelashes pierce through the breastplate"—

Firdawsí said:— 'مانندِ سنانِ گیو در جنگِ پشن
"Like Giv's spear in combat with Pushan."

This anecdote is well known, and how, in consequence of this, they strove to prevent Firdawsí from obtaining access to the Court, until fortune favoured him, so that he obtained admission to the King's presence, and the business of turning the *Sháhnáma* into verse was entrusted to him. The following are some of 'Unṣurí's verses:—

ای دریغا کزین منور جای ' زیرِ خاک² مغاک باید شد
 پاک نا کرده تن ز گزندِ گناه ' بیشِ یزدانِ پاک باید شد
 با چنین خاطری چو آتش و آب ' بادِ پیمود و خاک باید شد

"Oh alas! that from this bright place we must go beneath the hollow ground ;

¹ For بزنون C.³ has بازون .

² C.¹ has بار for خاک .

*That, with bodies uncleaned from the dust of sin, we must go
before the Pure God !*

*[That] with such a mind [flashing] like fire and [mobile]
as water, one must weigh the wind and become dust."*

48. 'Asjadi.¹

¹ None of the MSS. contain any notice of this poet, but some of them (e.g. C.¹), by omitting the next title, make it appear that what is said of Fakhr'u'd-Din applies to 'Asjadi.

(To be continued.)

ART. XXVII.—*Notes on Malayalam Literature.* By T. K. KRISHNA MENON, B.A., M.R.A.S.

MALAYALAM is the language of the south-west of the Madras Presidency. It is the third most important language of the Presidency, the first and the second being Tamil and Telugu respectively. It is spoken in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. Out of a total of 5,932,207 inhabitants of these parts, 5,409,350 persons are those who speak Malayalam. These countries, taken as a whole, are bounded on the north by South Canara, on the east by the far-famed Malaya range of mountains, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the Arabian Sea.

The earliest Malayalam writing of which we have any knowledge was in *Vatteluthu* characters. This was subsequently modified into *Kōleluthu*. The present script is called *Malayalam Grantha*.

No sketch of Malayalam literature can be complete which does not make mention of the Malayalees who have won renown by their works in Sanskrit.

Kerala claims among her sons VARARUCI, the great progenitor of astronomical science in Malabar, and BHARTṚUHARI, the renowned author of the three Śatakams. The early literary history of the Malayalam language contains so many stories about them that it would be impossible for any one to believe that they were not Malayalees. They may be placed in the seventh century. The great theologian and philosopher, SANKARĀCĀRYA, was born in the eighth century, at Kalati, on the banks of the Ālwaye river, in Travancore territory. *Yudhishtira Vijaya*, a *Kāvya* of a peculiar structure, is the work of VĀSU BHATTATHIRI. He was, like Sankarācārya, a Namburi, which means a Malayalee Vedic Brahman. The *Kāvyamālā* Editors have done an injustice to Malabar

by ascribing the authorship of this poem to a native of Kashmīr. Karingampillī Namburi, the author of *Suka Sandēsam*, lived about A.D. 1480. He gives us vivid sketches of many parts of Malabar which are dear to every Malayalee. VILVAMANGALATH SWĀMĪĀR has written a Kāvya of singular interest. It is in Prākṛit, and every verse serves as an example of a separate rule on grammar. Kākkassēri Bhattathiri, Mānavikrama the Strong, and Eḷaya Rāja 'the learned' of Kodungallor, were also natives of Malayalam. MĒPPUTHUR NĀRAYANA BHATTATHIRI, a poet, grammarian and scholar of unquestioned ability, wrote, in 1587, *Nārāyanīyam*, which treats of the life and teachings of Śrī Kṛishṇa, and is, more or less, an abridgement of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. His grammatical work *Prakriyā Sarvasva* is much more lucid than Bhaṭṭōji Dīkshita's *Sidhānta Kaumudī*.

MĀNAVĒDAN RĀJA composed the *Mānavēda Campu*, which treats of Mahā-Bhārata legends not treated of in the *Bhārata Campu* by Ānantakavi. MALAMANGALAM NAMBŪRI was the author of the famous *Bhānom* called after his name.

ARŪR BHATTATHIRI produced *Uttaranaishadham*, a complement to the work of Śrī Harsha. K. Rāma Warriar, who may be appropriately styled the Mallinātha of modern times, has written various commentaries. The *Viśākha Vījāyam* and *Thulābhāra Satakam* of H.H. Kerala Varma, Valia Koil Tampuran of Travancore, are interesting examples of Sanskrit as it is now written in the Malayalam country, and his nephew and pupil Mr. A. R. Rajaraja Varma, M.A., bids fair to become a good second to his uncle. Mr. Kochunni Tampuran of Kodungallor's *Vipra Sandēsam* and *Bhānam* should be mentioned in this connection. Mr. Mānavikraman Ētan Rāja, of Calicut, is a good scholar and poet. Mr. Punnasseri Neelakandha Sarma edits a Sanskrit journal which reflects great credit on his Sanskrit scholarship and philanthropy. The Sanskrit College and the Text-book Committee of Travancore show the profound interest which the Sovereigns of the Model State take in the cause of Sanskrit and Malayalam.

It is a matter for congratulation to the Malayalees that we see the beginnings of Malayalam prose literature as early as A.D. 200. Deeds then granted to the Jews and Syrian Christians by contemporary kings are written in prose, and there are court chronicles which claim to go back to those days. Many songs, too, are supposed to have been composed at this period for the people to sing when they worship, when they plant, and when they reap. Some of them, and also certain early ballads, are very popular even in these days. Of these the most popular are those that sing of the deeds of Thatchōli Kunhi Othēnan. Kunhi Othēnan was a Nāyar, which is the common appellation of the ordinary middle-class Hindu of Malabar. Nāyars, it may be said parenthetically, form the major portion of the population of Keralam. Othēnan, according to the ballad, was a man of fine physique and skilled in the use of arms. He went about redressing wrongs and helping fallen humanity, and is said to have met with his death by a treacherous shot.

The history of the Malayalam language really commences, however, with *Ramācaritam*, the oldest Malayalam poem still in existence. This is the work of a Mahā Rāja of Travancore, who lived in the thirteenth century. Another work of possibly the same period is KANNASSA PANIKER'S *Rāmāyaṇam*. And we hear of many Nambūries who then wrote works on astrology, architecture, ethics, grammar, and other subjects. But little is known of them now save their names and the names of their works.

The Nambūries, at that time, certainly held a practical monopoly over learning, and created all sorts of obstacles in the way of the education of the commonalty.

Cherussēri Nambūri, the morning-star of Malayalam song, wrote his *Krishna Gātha* in the fifteenth century. This work, like almost all the poetical pieces of Malayalam, is written in what is called *Mani-pravālam*, which means a string of gems. It receives its name from being composed in a mixture of Malayalam and Sanskrit. The addition, here and there, of common Sanskrit words only gives grace and majesty to Malayalam, which otherwise would be bald.

The metres of Malayalam *ślokas* are the same as those of Sanskrit ones; and those that are peculiar to the language, as in the case of the famous works of Thujan and Kunjan, are determined by the number of *mātrās*.

Kathakālī, or the Malayalam play, is one of the most intensely national departments of our literature. These are written in mixed verse and prose, and are founded on episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. The verses simply connect the incidents of the story, while the prose portions represent the words of the characters of the play. The actors, representing the several personages, generally, have all sorts of paints on their faces and are gaudily dressed. By means of certain signs made by their hands and by the expressions on their face, they convey to the audience the meaning of the prose portions when they are sung to the accompaniment of drums and other instruments.

The poet who invented this sort of dramatic composition is one Rāja of the Kottarakara family in Travancore. The subjects of his dramas are episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa. There is a tradition connected with the origin of *Kathakālī*. The then Zamorin of Calicut, for one reason or another, refused to send his troupe of artistes to the southern parts to enact *Krishnāttam*. The inventor of *Kathakālī* produced his first work to make light of the decision of his northern compeer.

The most famous writer of Malayalam is perhaps THUNJATHU RĀMĀNUJAN EḷUTHACHAN, a man of the Nāyar caste, who opposed himself openly to the prejudices and intolerance of the Brahmans. He is said to have declared it his intention to raise Malayalam to an equality with the sacred language of the priests. In the prosecution of this purpose, he made, in the native tongue, adaptations from the Rāmāyaṇam, the Mahābhārata, and the Bhagavatham. These are called the *Kilippāttūs* (parrot-songs) of Eḷuthachan, who was the first to introduce this sort of composition into the Malayalam language. They receive this name, perhaps, from the introductory invocation, which is to the bird of the goddess of learning.

He wrote many other works besides those already referred to. He had several disciples, too, who carried on his work. In this connection, reference must be made to the name of EḷUVATHU NĀNUKUTTI MENON of Chittur, who, by his translation of *Ēkadasa*, has shown how much he has caught of the literary spirit and religious fervour of his great fore-runner, Eḷuthachan.

KĒRALA VARMA RĀJA, of North Kottayam, is the author of a *Rāmāyaṇa* and of a *Vairāgya Candrodaya*. The brother of this Rāja was also a gifted man, and wrote four Malayalam dramas, called *Kathakalīs*, some poems, and a grammar.

The name of MAḶAMANGALAM NAMBŪRI was previously mentioned in connection with his Sanskrit work. He deserves this second reference for his great work in Malayalam called *Bhāshānaishadha Campu*. In the world of literature he is a great man indeed. His description of the wailings and wanderings of Damayanti after she was deserted by Nala is much admired. But he is very monotonous in his verse and prose, and is not free from the prevailing defect of many Malayalee poets of using an unnecessarily large number of Sanskrit words in their Malayalam works.

Thullāls (literally dances) are sung to the accompaniment of music, pantomime, and dancing. There are three classes of *Thullāls*: *Ōattam*, *Sithankan*, and *Parayan*; but, as the poems of the first class predominate, poems of the other classes are also termed *Ōattams*. They are based on the episodes of *Bhāratam* and *Rāmāyaṇam* mostly. *Ōattam Thullāl*, as the name indicates (*Ōattam* = 'running'), consists of a variety of rapid metres well suited for amusing narratives. *Ōattams* are vigorous, *Sithankans* narrative, and *Parayans* pathetic in style. *Naḷacarita* and *Kirātha* are instances of the first class, *Kalyāṇasaugandhika* is an example of the second set, while *Gajēndramōksha* and *Sabhāprarēsa* form instances of the third sort of *Thullāls*. All these *Thullāls* referred to are the works of Kalakkath Kufijan Nambyār, who invented this sort of composition. Besides fifty or sixty *Thullāls*, he

has composed nine Malayalam dramas, a *Pañcatantra*, a *Srikrishṇacarita*, and parrot-songs and poems in different kinds of metres.

Kuñjan Nambyār is, by the unanimous verdict of his countrymen, second only to Thunjath Eḷuthachan. Patricians and plebeians united in honouring him. He was under the special patronage of the Mahā Rāja, who began to reign in Travancore in the year A.D. 1758, and who, besides being a man of letters himself, encouraged literary men in all parts of Malabar.

Another writer of the same period is UNNĀYI WARRIER, who wrote the *Naḷacarita Kathakaḷi*.

ART. XXVIII.—*Addenda to the Series of Pathán Coins.*

II. By H. NELSON WRIGHT, I.C.S.

(Continued from page 499.)

SINCE writing my last paper on the coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli I have had the opportunity of examining with some minuteness the rich collections of the British Museum and Dr. L. White King, C.S.I. In the former are to be found the choicest specimens of General Cunningham's Muhammadan coins, of which many have already been brought to notice by Mr. Gibbs and Mr. C. J. Rodgers, but others are now, through the courtesy of the Museum authorities, described for the first time.

Of the forty-one coins now published, fourteen come from the British Museum, ten from the collection of Dr. White King, and three from the Bodleian Museum, Oxford, while one belongs to Major Vost, and thirteen are from my own cabinet. The majority are coins of the Suri Sultáns, a period which, apart from the important change in the character of the currency on Sher Shah's accession, and the beauty and variety of the coins themselves, is of peculiar interest to the numismatist by reason of the expansion of the mint system, through which the collector is enabled both to direct the interest of the antiquary towards deserted and forgotten cities of erstwhile importance, and also to help the historian in fixing the limits and extent of these sovereigns' dominions by confirming and supplementing the scanty materials on which he has to rely. The account of the coins of the Suri period given by Mr. Thomas in the "Chronicles" has perhaps left more to be added to it than any other part of that work, and though a considerable quantity of fresh information has been published by Mr. Rodgers and Dr. Hoernle, I hope to

have shown by these two papers that there is still much to be done in bringing to light the mint towns used by Sher Shah and his son and in identifying their locality.

I wish here to gratefully acknowledge the constant help given to me by Mr. E. J. Rapson and the other members of the British Museum Numismatic staff during the preparation of these papers.

Note.—L. W. K. = Cabinet of Dr. L. White King; B.M. = Cabinet of the British Museum; H. N. W. = Cabinet of H. Nelson Wright.

1. *Tāj-ud-din Yaldus.*

Gold. Weight 140·4 grs. L. W. K.

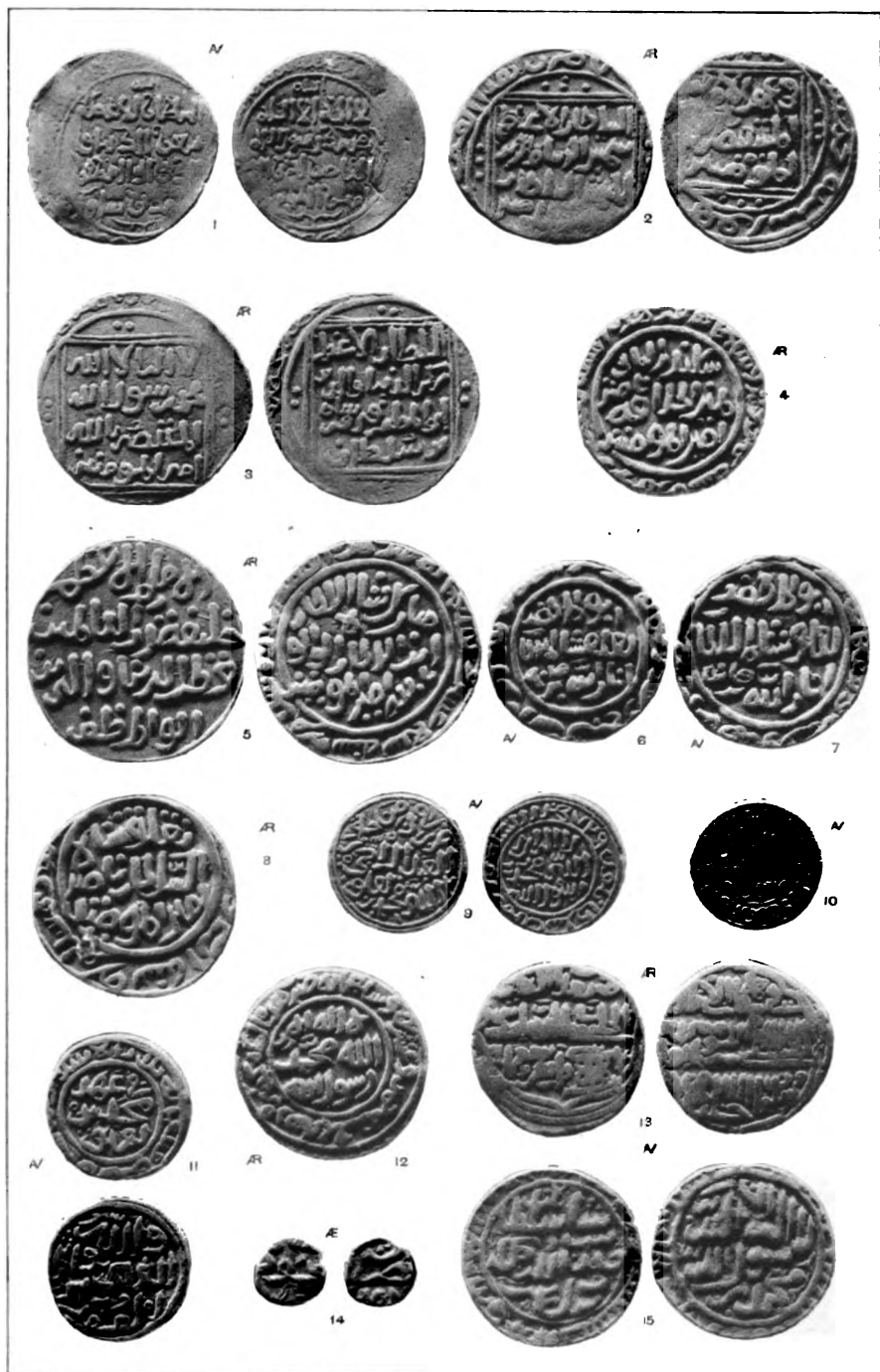
Date ? 607. Mint ? Pl. I, 1.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|--|
| Area in circle | Area in circle |
| الله
السلطان الاعظم
معز الدنيا و
الدين ابو المظفر
محمد بن سام | الله
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين |
| Margin عبده و [مولا * الملك
المعظم تاج | Margin ضرب هذه الدينار سبع |

2. Silver. Weight 142 grs. L. W. K.

Date 610. Mint, Ghazni.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|---|
| Area in double-lined square. | Area in double-lined square. |
| As on No. 1 (omitting the initial الله). | As on No. 1 (omitting the initial الله). |
| Margin
عبده ومولا - [تاج الدنيا] -
والدين يلدز - السلطاني | Margin
ضرب هذه الدر - هم بيلده غدنه -
في شهر سنه - عشر و ستمايه |



PATHÁN COINS OF DEHLI.

These two new specimens of Taj-ud-din Yalduz's coinage are from the cabinet of Dr. L. White King, C.S.I. They were struck after the death but in the name of Muizz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam. No. 2 is similar in character to the coin figured in the "Chronicles," Pl. I (3); its peculiarity is its weight. Táj-ud-din's connection with India was intermittent. From the Minhaj-us-siraj we learn that Yalduz, who had been governor of Karmán, on his sovereign's death disputed with Kutbuddin Aibek the possession of Lahore. In a battle, however, which ensued, victory remained with the latter, and Yalduz fled to Ghazni. After Kutbuddin's death in 607 A.H. Lahore was again a bone of contention, and was held sometimes by Yalduz, sometimes by Nasiruddin Kubacha, and sometimes by Shamsuddin Altamsh. Till A.H. 612 Yalduz was supreme in Ghazni. In that year he was driven out by Alauddin Khwarizm and went to Lahore, but not satisfied with the extent of his possession, he picked a quarrel with Shamsuddin Altamsh, only, however, to be defeated and end his life as a prisoner.

3. *Shamsh-ud-din Altamsh.*

Silver. Weight 169 grs. L. W. K.

Date . . 5. Mint? Pl. I, 2.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|--|
| Area in double-lined square
within a circle, dots in segments | Area in double-lined square
within a circle, dots in segments |
| السلطان الاعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ايلتتمش السلطان
[ناصر امير] المومنين | في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير
المومنين |
| Margin ضرب هذه الفضة | Margin شهر سنه
خمس |

This coin is a variety of No. 31 in Thomas's "Chronicles" (figured in the British Museum Catalogue), from which it differs in its obverse area legend.

4. *Rukn-ud-din Firoz.*

Silver. Weight 167 grs. L. W. K.

Date? Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 3.

Obv.

Area in double-lined square
within circle, 2 dots in each
segment

السلطان الاعظم
ركن الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر فيروز شاه
بن سلطان

Margin

. . . . هذه بحضرت دهلي

Rev.

Area in double-lined square
within circle, 2 dots in each
segment

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
المستنصر بالله
امير المؤمنين

Margin illegible.

As far as I know, this rupee is unique. Mr. Rodgers, in his fifth Supplement to Thomas's "Chronicles" (J.A.S.B., 1894), published a rupee of the year 633, struck in the joint name of Rukn-ud-din Firoz and his father Altamsh. Imagining his throne secure, the former presumably ceased to trade on the influence of his father's name.

5. *Alá-ud-din Muhammad.*

Gold. Weight 170 grs. B.M.

Date 715. Mint, Fort Deogir. Pl. I, 4.

Obv.

السلطان الاعظم
علا الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر محمد شاه
السلطان

Rev.

Area in circle

سكندر الثاني
يمين الخلفه ناصر
امير المؤمنين

Margin

ضرب هذه السكه بقلعه ديوكير
في سنه خمس عشر وسبعمايه

This is a very rare, though not an unpublished coin. It is figured (somewhat poorly) in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and Thomas, in noticing the silver coins

of this mint, refers, parenthetically, to a gold coin of the year 711 A.H. in the British Museum. I cannot, however, trace in that collection the coin to which he alludes, and the present coin was obtained by the Museum from General Cunningham since the publication of the catalogue.

6. *Kutb-ud-din Mubarak.*

Silver. Weight 169 grs. B.M. Pl. I, 5.

Date 717. Mint: Dar ul Islam, Dehli.

Obv.

الامام الاعظم
خليفه رب العالمين
قطب الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر

Rev.

Area in circle

مبارك شاه السلطان
ابن السلطان الواصل
بالله امير المؤمنين

Margin

ضرب هذه الفضة بدار الاسلام
في سنة سبع و عشرو سبعمائة

This coin combines, with one slight variation, the obverse legend on No. 145 and the reverse legend on No. 146 of the coins noticed in Thomas's "Chronicles." Dr. White King possesses a specimen, and a third existed in the collection of the late Sir E. C. Bayley, so that it is a little surprising not to find the coin noticed in the "Chronicles." Nor, so far as I am aware, does it find mention in any later publication.

7. *Ghiyās-ud-din Tughlak.*

Gold. Weight 165·5 grs. L. W. K.

Date 725. Mint: The Town of Daulatabad. Pl. I, 6.

Obv.

السلطان
السعيد الشهيد
الغازي غياث الدنيا
والدين

Rev.

Area in circle

ابو المظفر
تغلق شاه السلطان
انار الله برهانه

Margin ضرب هذه السكه في

بلدة داولت اباد سنة خمس
وعشرين وسبعمائة

8. Gold. Weight 169·2 grs. B.M. Pl. I, 7.

Date 727. Mint: The Town of Daulatabad.

Legends similar to those on No. 7, but mint name more legible.

These coins, as struck in the name of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak and bearing in the reverse area what is not unlike the date 721, have always been classified as coins of that Sultán. They were, however, undoubtedly struck after his death. In the J.A.S.B. 1886, Mr. C. J. Rodgers published a coin of this type bearing a marginal date of 726, and he consequently interpreted the characters immediately following **تغلتی شاه** in the reverse area, which in the "Chronicles" (p. 190) are read as 721, to be 726. On coin No. 8 above, however, the same characters appear in conjunction with a clear marginal date of 727, and Dr. White King's coin finally settles the point by leaving no doubt that the characters are not figures, but a badly formed **السلطان**. The crudeness of these Daulatabad coins is also shown by the omission, in all the coins of the type which I have seen, of the initial **د** of the mint name.

In his second Supplement to the "Chronicles" Mr. C. J. Rodgers edited a coin of this type (No. 8) on which he read "Mulk-i-talang" as the mint place. I have seen no other coin of this type struck at Telingana, and, judging merely from Mr. Rodgers's drawing of the coin, I am inclined to think that the word which he read as **ملك** was really the first part of **بلده**, the rest of the mint name being too indistinct to be legible.

The small silver or billon posthumous pieces noticed by Mr. Thomas, pp. 212 and 213 (notes), and also by Mr. Rodgers in his Supplements, were also probably struck in the Deccan.

9. Silver. Weight 168·4 grs. B.M.

Date 724. Mint: Dar ul Islam, Dehli. Pl. I, 8.

Obv.
In double-lined square
السلطان الغارى
غياث الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر

Rev.
Area in circle
تغلق شاه
السلطان ناصر
امير المومنين
Margin بدار الاسلام
في سنة اربع

From the British Museum Collection. I know of no duplicate.

10. *Muhammad bin Tughlak.*

Gold. Weight 142 grs. B.M.

Date 729. Mint: Sultanpur (Warangol). Pl. I, 9.

Obv.
ضرب في زمن
العبد الراجي رحمته
الله محمد تغلق

Rev.
Area in circle.
The Kalima.
Margin هذه السكه بدار الملك
سلطانپور ۷۲۹

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 173.

11. Gold. Weight 141 grs. B.M.

Date 728. Mint: Daulatabad (Deogir). Pl. I, 10.

Obv.
As in No. 10.

Rev.
Area in circle.
The Kalima.
Margin هذه السكه في قبه بن اسلام اعنى
دار الملك دولت آباد ۷۲۸

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 174.

12. Gold. Weight 170·5 grs. B.M.

Date 737. Mint: Dar ul Islam, Dehli. Pl. I, 11.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Area in circle · | والله |
| في عهد | الغنى وانتم |
| محمد بن | الفقراء |
| تغلق | |
| Margin بدار الاسلام سنة سبع | |
| وثلاثين وسبعماية | |

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 176.

13. Silver. Weight 168·8 grs. B.M.

Date 725. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 12.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| ابو بكر | Area in circle. |
| المجاهد في | The Kalima. |
| سبيل الله | عرب هذه السكه |
| محمد بن تغلق | بحضرت دهلي في سنة خمس |
| ١٠٢٥ | وعشرين وسبعماية |

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 184.

The above four coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak are from the British Museum Collection. I have a specimen of No. 12 in my own cabinet, of date 734 H. I have heard of no duplicates of the other three.

It will be noticed that my reading of the designation of Daulatabad on No. 11, which is a variety of the coin noticed in Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 174, differs slightly from that given by Mr. Gibbs in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1885, viz. قبه الاسلام, which in its turn was a correction of the reading given in the "Chronicles," قبه دين اسلام, and the

alternative suggested by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, **فى قندل اسلام**. I can trace no *alif* after **قبه** on the coin I have figured, and I am doubtful whether any exists in the variety quoted by Thomas, and figured by Mr. Gibbs. I can find none in my own specimen of that variety, nor in the specimen belonging to the British Museum.

The silver coin is of the first year of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign. The weights of Nos. 10 and 11 are remarkable.

14. Silver. Weight 161·7 grs. L. W. K.

Date 742. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 13.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|---|
| ضرب هذه الدينار (P)
الخليفة الدهلي في شهر
٨٨٨ سنة اثنى و اربعين وسبعماية | في زمان الامام
المستكفي بالله امير المؤمنين ابو
الربيع سليمان خلد الله خلافته |

This rupee seems to have been struck from a gold die (cf. No. 212, p. 259, Thomas's "Chronicles"), the word after **هذه**, though indistinct, being probably **دينار**, as on the gold coins. No other Khalifate rupee has, I believe, been found.

15. *Mahmud bin Muhammad Shah.*

Copper. Weight 17 grs. L. W. K.

Date ? Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 14.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|----------------------|---------------|
| شاه
محمود
.... | بحضرت
دهلي |

This is the smallest coin known of this Sultan.

16. *Sher Shah.*

Gold. Weight 166·7 grs. W. V.

Date 951 ? Mint not specified. Pl. I, 15.

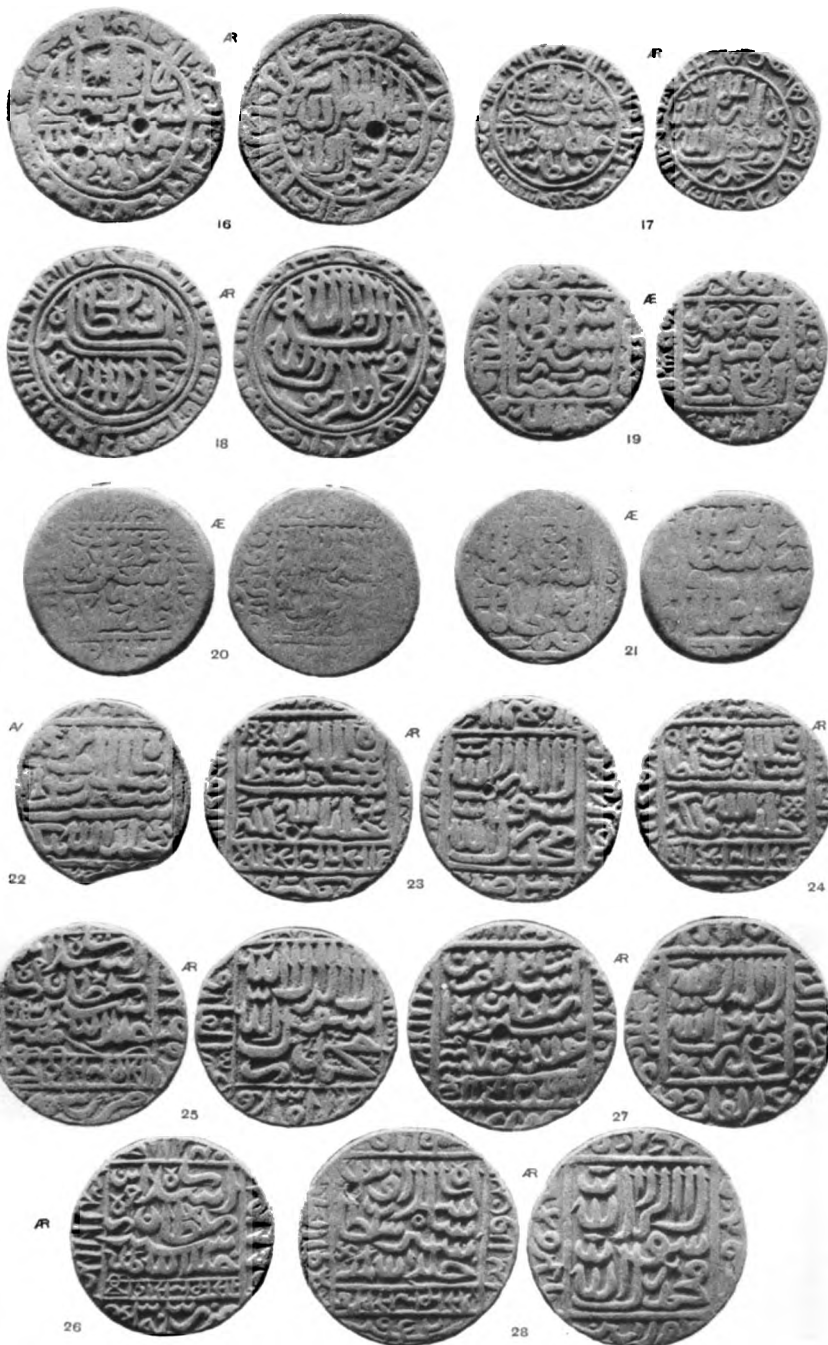
| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|-------------------|
| Area in circle | Area in circle. |
| شیر شاه سلطان
خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه | The Kalima. |
| Margin much cut | Margin illegible. |
| فريد الدنيا والدين
۹۵۱ شيرساھ | |

This coin belongs to Major Vost, I.M.S. Gold coins of Sher Shah are uncommon, though forgeries are frequently met with in the bazárs. I was disposed myself to doubt the genuineness of this coin, but both Dr. Codrington and Major Vost accept it. The crudeness of the characters may be due to its having been struck in Bengal. The die bears considerable resemblance to that of the silver coin published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers as No. 8 of plate i in the *Indian Antiquary* for March, 1888.

17. Silver. Weight 166·2 grs. H. N. W.

Date 949. Mint not specified. Pl. II, 16.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|--|
| Area in circle | Area in circle. |
| * شیر شاه سلطان
خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه ۹۴۹ | The Kalima. |
| Margin | with * after the و of رسول |
| فريد الدنيا والدين
شیرساھ ابوالمظفر | Margin |
| | السلطان العادل ابوبکر
عمر عثمان علی |



PATHAN COINS OF DELHI.

This is an unfigured and uncommon variety. It is not unlike in general appearance to the type figured as No. 10 in the *Indian Antiquary*, March, 1888, pl. i, and probably was struck at the same place (Dehli-Jahánpanáh). The mint-mark—an eight-pointed star—on the obverse, is noticeable. There are two specimens of this type in the Bodleian Museum, and one in the collection of Mr. Wilmot Lane. I know of no others.

18. Silver. Weight 87·5 grs. L. W. K.

Date 948. Mint? Pl. II, 17.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Area in circle as on No. 17,
but no date. | Area in circle. |
| Margin as on No. 17, but
after مظفر. | The Kalima with ✱. |
| سنه ٩٤٨ | Margin as on No. 17. |
| | N.B. عثمان is spelt with س. |

Thomas, in the "Chronicles," mentions a half-rupee, but does not describe it in detail. He probably referred to the type with square areas, of which two or three are known. I believe the present half-rupee with its circular areas to be unique. To the left of the Nágri on the obverse margin are characters which look as if they were remnants of the mint name.

19. Silver. Weight 173·3 grs. L. W. K.

Date 951. Mint? Pl. II, 18.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Area in double circle | Area in double circle. |
| السلطان | The Kalima, but الرسول |
| شاء | instead of رسول. |
| شير | Margin |
| خلد الله ملكه | ابابكر عمر عثمان |
| | على ضرب |
| Margin | |
| السلطان العادل ابوالمظفر | |
| فريد الدنيا والدين ٩٥١ | |

Though in every other respect a fine specimen, this coin lacks, through fault of the striker, the most interesting part of the obverse marginal legend, viz., that which should contain the name of the mint town. Too little of the characters remains to admit of any conjecture. The use of الرسول for رسول is unusual, and suggests a mint distant from headquarters, possibly in Bengal.

20. Copper. Weight 303·7 grs. H. N. W.

Date 950. Mint, Chunár. Pl. II, 19.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Area in square | Area in square |
| شاه سلطان | في عهد |
| شیر * | الامير |
| ضرب چنار | الحمامي |
| Margins: top ابو المظفر | Margins: top العدل |
| bottom خلد الله | bottom الدين |
| left ملکہ ۞ | left الدنان |
| right وسلطانہ | right ۱۰۰ ۞ |

This coin is, so far as I know, unique. Major Vost, in the J.A.S.B., 1895, Pt. i, published a coin of this mint, but of a different type, now represented by several specimens.

21. Copper. Weight 313·9 grs. H. N. W.

Date 951. Mint, Chunár.

This coin is similar to No. 20 except that the mint name is in the right obverse margin, its place in the obverse area being taken by the words خلد الله. The peculiarity of the coin, as distinct from that published by Dr. Vost and referred to above, is that the areas are enclosed in double-lined squares.

22. Copper. Weight 300 grs. B.M.

Date 947. Mint not given. Pl. II, 20.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Area in square | Area in square. |
| سلطان* | The Kalima. |
| شیر شاه | |
| الله | |
| خلد ملکه | |
| Margins : | Margins. The names and |
| bottom السلطان العادل | titles of the four companions. |
| left ابو المظفر | |
| top فرید الدنان | |
| right والدين | |

This coin looks like an attempt to assimilate the legends on the copper coinage to those on the silver coins. I had a duplicate in my own collection, but it has got mislaid. I do not remember seeing any others. This specimen is unfortunately rather worn.

23. Copper. Weight 306·7 grs. B.M.

Date? Mint? Pl. II, 21.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Area in square | Area in square |
| شیر شاه سلطان | السلطان العادل |
| خلد الله ملکه | الامير الحاكمی |
| Margins: left على | Margins illegible. |
| others illegible. | |

A new type, not included in Dr. Hoernle's list in the J.A.S.B. 1890.

24. *Islám Shah.*

Gold. Weight ? (the coin is ringed). H. N. W.

Date 954[?9]. Mint [Shergarh, *alias* Bhakkar]. Pl. II, 22.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Area in square | Area in square. |
| اسلام شاه ابن ١٥٢ | The Kalima. |
| شاه سلطان | Margins illegible. |
| شیر | |
| خدا الله ملکہ | |
| Margins illegible. | |

This is, I believe, the only circular gold coin of Islam Shah hitherto found. None has at any rate been published. I know of only one square gold piece. I obtained this in the Cawnpore bázár. The coin may be safely assumed to have been struck at Bhakkar, if a comparison is made with the silver coins Nos. 25 and 26 figured below. It is unfortunately not a very perfect specimen, and has been worn as an ornament.

25. Silver. Weight 173 grs. H. N. W.

Date 955. Mint: Shergarh, *alias* Bhakkar. Pl. II, 23.

| Obv. | Obv. |
|--|-----------------------|
| Legend in square area as on No. 24 ante, but ١٥٥ (inverted) and below square श्रीसहस्रमसाह | Area in square. |
| | The Kalima. |
| Margins : | Margins : |
| right شیرگرہ | right علی المرتضی |
| bottom شق or عرف بکر | bottom ابا بکر الصديق |
| left ? | left عمر الفاروق ? |
| top ? | top عثمان العفان |

26. Silver. Weight 168 grs. Bodleian.

Date 960. Mint: Shergarh, *alias* Bhakkar. Pl. II, 24.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Legend in square area as on
No. 24 ante, but ۱۲۰ (<i>sic</i>), and
mint-mark ✕. | Area in square.
The Kalima. |
| Margins as on No 25. | Margins as on No. 25. |

Coins of this mint have not, so far as I am aware, been figured hitherto. Thomas, on p. 412 of the "Chronicles," mentions coins struck at Shakk-i-Bakar, but as he does not describe in detail or figure any specimen, and merely notices them along with a coin of Satgón, from which they differ so materially as to deserve a separate description, I think it is possible that none actually passed through his hands. Mr. C. J. Rodgers also omitted them from his list of Suri coins published in the *Indian Antiquary* for March, 1888, and I know of only one other specimen (bearing date 954) besides those now described. They seem, therefore, to merit publication.

27. Silver. Weight 174 grs. H. N. W.

Date 953. Mint, Biána. Pl. II, 25.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|---|
| Area in square
اسلام شاد بن
سلطان شاد
شیر ۹۵۳
خدا الله ملکہ
ओइसखेमसहे | Area in square.
The Kalima. |
| Margins: right ابوالمظفر
bottom ضرب بيانه
left and top illegible. | Margins :
bottom ابابکر الصديق
left عمر الفاروق
right and top illegible. |

28. Silver. Weight 170 grs. Bodleian. H. N. W.

Date 953. Mint, Biána. Pl. II, 26.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Area in square as on No. 27,
but no date. | Area in square.
The Kalima. |
| Margins : | Margins as on No. 27. |
| right ابو المظفر | |
| bottom ضرب بيانه ٩٥٣ | |
| left جلال الدنيا | |
| top والدين | |

Biána was a copper mint in Sher Shah's time. In Islam Shah's reign the jagir of Biána was given to the Sultán's unfortunate elder brother when he renounced his claims to the throne. The town was also the headquarters of one Sheikh Alái, who created considerable disturbance by professing Mahdiism.

29. Silver. Weight 170·5 grs. Bodleian.

Date 955. Mint, Kálpi. Pl. II, 27.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|---|
| Legend in square area as on
No. 27, but ٩٥٥ in left bottom
corner. | Area in square.
The Kalima and ✕ in the left
bottom corner. |
| Margins: right السلطان العادل | Margins. Names and titles
of the four companions. |
| top جلال الدنيا | |
| left والدين ابو المظفر | |
| bottom ضرب كالپی | |

This coin comes from the Bodleian Collection, but the mint name is not given in the catalogue. A similar coin is also described and figured in the British Museum Catalogue without any mention of mint name, No. 597, Pl. ix. There can, I think, be no doubt that it is a coin of Kálpi. The first three letters of the mint name on the Bodleian

coin are, in my opinion, unmistakeably **كال**, and this conclusion is strengthened by the mint-mark on the reverse—a six-rayed star—a mark which is borne on all the silver coins of Kálpi struck by Sher Shah, and which is very prominent on a copper coin of that mint figured by me in the July number of this Journal.

30. Silver. Weight 177 grs. B.M.

Date 952. Mint: ? Fort Ráisín. Pl. II, 28.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|--------------------|
| Area in square | Area in square. |
| اسلام شاه ابن
شير شاه سلطان
خلد الله ملكه
श्रीसहस्रसह | The Kalima. |
| Margins : | Margins : |
| left سلطان العادل | left ابابكر وعمر |
| top ابو المظفر [جلال] | top وعثمان |
| right الدين والدنيا | right وعلى ضرب |
| bottom ٩٥٢
سنة | bottom قلع راسين ? |

This coin is No. 612 in the British Museum Catalogue, but is not figured. Mr. Lane-Poole thought the mint might be Gwalior. I do not think this is possible, judging from the formation of the letters and the fact that the coins of Gwalior mint are of quite a different type, but my own reading is also tentative. The coin is, I believe, unique, and I feel justified in drawing special attention to it by reason of the interest which accrues to a new mint town. Ráisín is in the Native State of Bhopal, 10 miles from the Sánchi topes on the road from Hoshangábád to Ságor. As a fort it played a fairly conspicuous part in the attempt of the Hindu chiefs to escape from subjection to Sher Shah and his Afgháns. In 950 A.H. Sher Shah, hearing that Puran Mal, who was acting as deputy to the minor raja of that district, had insulted the Mahommedan

families in Chanderi, spent six months in the siege of Ráisín, and after enticing Puran Mal and his followers out with promises of safety, perfidiously had them massacred on a pretence of obeying a decision of his 'ulama.

There is also a Rásan in Tahsil Badausa, Banda District, Bundelkhand, which was the headquarters of a pargana in the reign of Akbar.

31. Silver. Weight 175·7 grs. H. N. W.

Date 956. Mint: Jahanpanáh (Dehli). Pl. III, 29.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|---|
| Area in square | Area in square. |
| اسلام شاه سلطان
شیر شاه
خالد الله ملكه
श्रीहसनमसह | The Kalima. |
| Margins: bottom ابو المظفر
left جهانپناه
top and right illegible. | ۹۵۶ in lower left-hand corner. |
| | Margins. Probably the names of the four companions. |

The mint name is to some extent conjectural, parts only of the letters being visible. The characters resemble somewhat in style those found on Dehli-struck coins. The British Museum possesses a duplicate, but without any traces of a left obverse margin.

32. Silver. Weight 162·5 grs. H. N. W.

Date 956. Mint? Pl. III, 30.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|--|--|
| Legend in square area as on No. 31, श्रीहसनमसह | Area in square. |
| Margins: right ابو المظفر
top ? جلال الدنيا
left والدين
bottom deleted. | The Kalima. |
| | ۹۵۶ in lower left-hand corner. |
| | Margins illegible. Probably the names and titles of the four companions. |

Another uncommon variety of Islam Shah's coins.



R

29



R

30



R

31



R

32



R

33



R

34



R

35



R

36



R

37



R

38



33. Silver. Weight 175.1 grs. B.M.

Date 956. Mint? Pl. III, 31.

The areas read as in No. 31 above. The marginal legends are much cut. The coin, which is from the British Museum, is similar in type to No. 32, but is of a different die and probably not from the same mint.

34. Silver. Weight 170 grs. B.M. H. N. W.

Date 952. Mint, Satgáon. Pl. III, 32.

Obv.

Area in circle

اسلام شاه ابن
شیر شاه سلطان خلد
الله ملکه و سلطانه
..... و اعلى

Margin

جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر
٩٥٢ ضرب ستگانو سوادسنامساھ

Rev.

Area in circle.

The Kalima.

Margin

ابابکر صدیق عمر خطاب عثمان
عنان علی مرتضی السلطان العادل

A coin of this mint, with square areas, was published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1888. This coin, with circular areas, has not, I believe, been figured previously.

35. Silver. Weight 172.5 grs. H. N. W.

Date 953. Mint? Pl. III, 33.

Obv.

Area in square

شاه سلطان
اسلام
شیر ساد
خلد الله ملکه
سوادسنامساھ

Margins: bottom جلال الدنيا

left والدين

top and right deleted.

Rev.

Area in square.

The Kalima.

٩٥٦ (sic) in lower left-hand corner.

✕ over the رسول.

Margins: top ابوبکر

left عثمان

bottom and right deleted.

This is a rare variety; I do not remember to have seen any other like it. Judging from the characters, I think

it possible that it may be found to be a coin of Chunár. I describe below a half-dám of Islam Shah, which gives a clue to the mint of the rupee. That coin, however, is worn and does not photograph well enough to be figured.

36. Copper. Weight 144·4 grs. H. N. W.
Date 953. Mint, Chunár.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|---|
| اسلام
شیر شاه
خلد الله ملكه
ضرب چنار | فی عهد
الامیر الخامس
الدين و
الدين |

The form of the terminal م of اسلام, the mint-mark, the inverted ۳ of the date, and the general style of the characters are the same in this coin as in the rupee described above. The mint I take to be Chunár, though it is not usual to see the ب of ضرب joined to the following word. It is possible, however, that what I read as the ر of ضرب may be its terminal ب, in which case the reading would be ضرب چنار, which would be unobjectionable.

37. Copper. Weight 152·4 grs. H. N. W.
Date 960. Mint, Shahgarh. Pl. III, 34.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---|---|
| Parts of
ابو المظفر
اسلام شاه
سلطان
شیر شاه
خلد الله | Parts of
فی عهد
الامیر الخامس
الدين الدنان
ساده ۹۶۰ |

38. Copper. Weight 156·3 grs. H. N. W.
Date 959. Mint, Shahgarh. Pl. III, 35.

Similar to No. 37, but without the six-rayed star on obverse, and date 959.

These half-dáms of Shahgarh have not, I believe, been previously figured or described. The Indian Museum,

Calcutta, and the Lahore Museum each possess a *dám* of this mint, and in July last I published a heavy coin of 460 grs. similar in character and mint-mark to No. 37.

39. Copper. Weight 28·3 grs. L. W. K.

Date? Mint? Pl. III, 36.

Obv.

ابو المظفر
اسلام شاه

Rev.

في عهد
امير النخا

I have heard of no other coin of Islam Shah of this weight. The legends also differ from those usually found on the smaller copper pieces. What its denomination may have been I am not prepared to say. To call it a twelfth of a *dám* would make the *dám* 340 grs. The coin is scarcely heavy enough to be a tenth of a *dám*, and it does not appear to have lost weight to any appreciable extent by wear and tear. In my last paper I endeavoured to show, on the evidence of certain coins, that Sher Shah coined decimal fractions of the *dám*. It is possible, therefore, that Islam Shah continued the practice, and that the present coin must be taken as a short-weight tenth of a *dám*.

40. *Muhammad Adil Shah.*

Silver. Weight? (The coin is ringed.) H. N. W.

Date 961. Mint? Pl. III, 37.

Obv.

Area in square

سلطان محمد
عادل خلد الله
ملكه و سلطانه

below which is श्रीसुक्तानम

हमदशादल

Margins: top illegible.

left ابو المظفر

right ٩٦١
سه

Rev.

Area in square.

The Kalima.

Margins. Names and titles of the four companions.

This is an unfigured rupee of Muhammad Adil. It is peculiar in that it has a very full Nágri legend.

41. Silver. Weight 177·4 grs. B.M.

Date? Mint : Shergadh urf Shakk-i-Bakar. Pl. III, 38.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Area in square | Area in square. |
| شاه سلطان | The Kalima. |
| محمد | |
| خدا الله ملكه | Margins. The names and |
| श्रीमहमदसाह | titles of the four companions. |
| Margins : | |
| right شیر [گده] | |
| bottom عرف سق بكر | |
| left and top cut. | |

This coin belonged to Marsden, and is now in the British Museum, but is not noticed in the printed catalogue. It is figured as No. 727 in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, but is there assigned to the Muhammad Shah (son of Farid Shah) who reigned in 837. The mint, too, was not read. The coin has not been described by Thomas, and I have never seen any correction of Marsden's mistake elsewhere. The type of the coin shows that it was struck by Muhammad Adil. It is, I believe, unique. All rupees of this Sultan are rare, particularly those giving the name of their mint town.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE AŚOKĀṢṬAMI FESTIVAL.

SIR,—Captain Gurdon, in his interesting account of the Aśwagrānta shrine near Gauhati (not Ganhati, as printed), writes of the Aśokāṣṭami festival as if it were peculiar to that shrine, and indeed attributes the origin of the festival to the legend that it was there that Rukminī bathed. But on the Aśokāṣṭami day (the day before the Ramnavami) people bathe in the Brahmaputra all along the north bank. The correct procedure is to stand up to your waist in the water, holding in your hand eight buds (why eight, I know not) of the Aśoka. You recite the following mantra :—

“Yam açokaṁ harabhīṣṭam madhu māmsam samudbhavet
Pibāmi çokasantāptam mām açokaṁ sadā kuru.”

You then swallow the buds, and obtain all the benefits you might have got by bathing in the sacred Ganges itself.

The legend of the festival's origin told me differs from Captain Gurdon's version, and is interesting as an instance of a Hindu story growing out of a pre-Hindu belief. The name Brahmaputra is no doubt a translation of the primitive Assamese name of the river, just as the Khyendwin in Burma is said to mean “Son of God.” Given the name Brahmāputra, required to find an etymological explanation. The explanation is found in a local variant of the Paraśurām mythus. The sons of Brahmā figure largely in Assamese mythology. The fire sacrifice of Dakṣha, for instance, is thought to be reproduced every year in the cressets of jungle fire which create pillars of smoke by day and of fire

by night along the summits of the northern hills. I do not remember who it was that bore Brahmāputra to Brahmā, but

“ His daughter she : in Saturn’s reign
Such mixture was not held a stain.”

For long years she bore her son in her womb, and only obtained delivery by visiting the sacred spring of Brahma Kunda far in the Mishmi hills. But Brahmāputra was still only a pool, and not yet one of the mightiest of Indian rivers. Here comes in the Paraśurām legend. The Mahā-bhārata tells how Paraśurām alone of his brothers obeyed the command of his father and cut off the head of his mother Renukā. The epic says that his obedience so pleased his father that he was told to ask a boon. He begged that his mother might be restored pure to life, and that he himself might be invincible in single combat and enjoy length of days. The Assamese version is that he received the curse that his great axe should cleave to his hand till he should set free the son of Brahmā by cleaving the Brahma Kunda gorge. This reminds one (as Assamese versions of Hindu stories frequently do) of the Madras story, that Paraśurām “drove back the ocean, and cut fissures in the Ghāts with blows of his axe.” Doubtless the Aṣokāṣṭami is the survival of some primitive prehistoric bathing festival, adopted in the usual catholic fashion of Hinduism, and explained at Gauhati, as Captain Gurdon suggests, by the legend of the fair Rukmini’s bathing. It is sad to think that we shall never know the real, the primeval reason why the bathing is confined to the north bank.

Even more interesting than the Aśwakraṅta shrine are the wonderful ruins at Singri parvat and at Tezpur in the Darrang district, to which I hope the Assam Director of Ethnography may be able to turn his attention. At both these places are heaped vast blocks of carved granite, volutes, pilasters, and images, some of the blocks covered with a curious conventional ornament which the modern Assamese calls “Daffla writing.” The Singri ruins are visited in the cold weather by pilgrims from the Daffla

hills, who maintain that they are relics of the Daffla rule in the plains in bygone days. They have doubtless been wrecked by some tremendous earthquake, though there is a story that they were blown up with gunpowder by "Kālā pahār," the Mahomedan general. But assuredly no Mahomedan gunpowder could work such havoc in buildings constructed solely of huge square blocks of granite such as modern engineers would find it hard to move with all their appliances. I know of no Hindu legend which has attached itself to the Singri ruins, which lie in dense forests and far from human habitation. The Tezpur ruins, however, are in the heart of the modern civil station, and (I shudder to tell it) the plinth of the Deputy Commissioner's cutcherry is largely composed of carved granite blocks. About these ruins has grown the pretty story of the princess Ūshā and her handmaiden Chitrālekhā, and the Assamese believe that Tezpur was once Mahābalipura, the capital of her grandfather. This is another instance of a legend borrowed from Southern India, as are many of those connected with the great Tantric shrine of Kāmākhshyā at Gauhati, of which Captain Gurdon has probably much that is interesting to tell. The chief interest of these borrowed legends lies in their adaptation to local conditions, and especially to the primitive local beliefs. We shall soon have from the pen of Mr. E. A. Gait a History of Hindu Assam, and, as far as can be gathered from scanty records, of the Assam of pre-Hindu days. It is a pity that so much of ancient belief and history has been obliterated by Hindu legend, so that, for instance, it is only due to the comparatively recent conversion of Manipur to Hinduism that we happen to know by how quaint a fiction the Manipuris, the Nāga folk of Imphal, became "sons of Arjun." The local legends of Assam, as containing traces of prehistoric belief, are well worth studying, and we must hope that Captain Gurdon's paper in the Journal is a foretaste of further investigations into shrines even more interesting.—Yours faithfully,

J. D. ANDERSON.

P.S.—Professor Barnett has been so good as to write the following note on the *çloka* quoted above :—“ This mantra is apparently to be spoken in drinking the sacred waters. The text may be rendered : ‘ May that which (men call) the Açoka, sweetmeat, agreeable to Hara (Çiva), grow up ! I drink. Make thou me, who am oppressed with grief, to be ever griefless.’ The difficulty is in the first half of the stanza. There is a play on the word *açoka*, which signifies both ‘ sorrowless ’ and the tree *Jonesia Açoka*, branches of the latter being used in this ceremony ; and, further, *madhu* may also mean this tree, though usually signifying nectareous liquid (butter, honey, etc.), or simply ‘ sweet.’ Thus, we might take *madhu mâmsam* as a compound adjective qualifying *açokam*, and meaning ‘ sweet of flesh,’ or as a compound noun, ‘ butter and meat.’ In any case, the prayer means that food is to rise to the worshipper, as the Açoka grows, in some causal connection with the latter. I strongly suspect that the masculine *yam* should be altered to the neuter *yad*. In that case it would be best to take *açokam* as adjective, rendering ‘ I drink that which (I pray) may rise as sorrowless food (or the like),’ etc. Water is the source of vegetable and other life.”

July 14, 1900.

2. END OF THE WORLD.

24, Buckingham Gate, S.W.

Aug. 4th, 1900.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—A very widely spread belief that the end of the world would take place on the night of the 13th November prevailed last year in Egypt. This was no doubt connected with the shower of Leonids which was expected by the European papers to be especially brilliant about then, and the native newspapers started reports which were the cause of the idea referred to.

I have heard that in some of the balads of Gizeh the inhabitants camped out in the desert, I suppose with a vague

idea of escaping, leaving their balads deserted and giving thieves an opportunity that they did not lose.

Perhaps this and similar stories of people eating up their stores and beasts, thinking it useless to keep them, are exaggerated, but I can vouch for the belief having been held to a considerable extent in the provinces of Girgeh and Assyut, where I happened to be at the time. The enclosed copy of a telegram from some cultivators of a small town is therefore rather interesting, and I forward it to you in case you should care to give it a place in your Journal.

I note a similar event having taken place in 1735 A.D. recorded by El Jabarti, vol. i, p. 147 (Cairo ed.).—Yours sincerely,

A. R. GUEST.

تاريخ ١١/١١/١٣

ساعة دقيقة
١

محطة اسيوط

١٢٢
مرو

عدد الكلمات ١٥

من - الى ابو تيج

لسعادة جست بيك مفتش الد اخلية

باسيوط و صورة لسعادة وكيل مديريه اسيوط باسيوط بعد ان امرتنا الهندسة بتخصير ما ينكشف بحوض بنى سميع شرقى السكه الحديد و خضرناه سدوا هويس ابو تيج محكم و فاضت المياه على المنزرع و غرقت اغلبه و باقى الحوض غربى السكه الذى ينوف عن ستة الاف فد ان ميعاد تخضيره مضى و صار لا ينتفع زراعته و كنا ما ملين انتهى الدنيا يوم ١٢ الجارى كما اشاعت الجرايد و لكوننا فاضلين لان فى الوجود فنلتمس اسعافنا بمعانيه ذلك و الاسراع بفتح المصرف و الا يصير معا فاتنا من تخضير الاطيان و رفع اموالها لئله نعدم التقاوى و مال الميرى بدون ثمر افندم

عن مزارعين النخيله

Translation.

"To one of the Government officials at Assyut, etc.

"(A telegram dated 14th November, 1899.)

"Having been directed by the Irrigation to sow any land uncovering in the basin of Bani Sami, and we having done so, they have shut fast the lock at Abu Tij. The water has overflowed the cultivation and drowned most of it, and the time for sowing the rest of the basin, which lies to the west of the railway, upwards of 6,000 acres, is past, so that it has become profitless for cultivation. And we were expecting the end of the world on the 13th inst., according to the newspaper reports, but as we still remain alive we beg that we may be assisted by having the above viewed, and that the drain may be opened at once. Or else that we may be excused from cultivating the land, and that its taxes may be remitted, lest we lose both the seeds and the Government impost without fruit.

"From the cultivators of Nukhailah" (a small village near Assyut).

3. A NĪTĪMAÑJARĪ QUOTATION IDENTIFIED.

DEAR SIR,—While looking over the MSS. of the Hultzsch Collection, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, I came across what is probably the original of a quotation made by Dyā Dviveda in his Nītimañjarī. No. 247 of the Hultzsch Collection (see ZDMG., xl, 19), whose shelf-mark in the Bodleian is d. 165, contains a Vedānta work, the *Saptasūtra*. In the colophon on f. 12b it is attributed to Śaṃkara: *śrīmac-chaṃkarācāryaviracitaṃ Saptasūtram samāptaṃ*. It is apparently a somewhat rare work, as Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 696a, only cites besides this MS. three others, one in Oudh and two in Benares. What claim it has to be Śaṃkara's I do not know. Its style seems too simple, though its philosophy is pure Vedāntism, and as Aufrecht says (op. cit., p. 626b), of the treatises attributed to

him hardly the third part is his own. If it be not his, its date is quite uncertain. The MS. is not dated, but is probably, to judge from the paper, writing, etc., fully 100 years old.

The pertinent quotation occurs on f. 1b at verse 4. It runs: *anātmabhūte dehādāv ātmabuddhis tu dehinām, sāvīdyā tatkrto bandhas tannyāso mokṣa ucyate*. With the first half of this stanza is identical the quotation in the *nītimañjarī* cited in J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 135. There the work is called the *Ātmavṛtti*, a very curious title, not elsewhere known. It is most probably merely a careless mistake on Dyā's part.—Yours truly,

A. B. KEITH.

P.S.—Professor Macdonell has pointed out to me, on the authority of Colonel Jacob, that this verse also occurs in the last chapter of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, p. 167 (ed. 1858), or p. 188 (ed. 1872), in this form:

*tad uktam ; anātmani ca dehādāv ātmabuddhis tu dehinām,
avidyā tatkrto bandhas tannāśe mokṣa ucyate.*

This is the reading not only of these two editions but also of an undated edition in my possession, and of the MS. in the Bodleian. But it is distinctly inferior to that of the *Saptasūtra*, so it still is most probable that the latter was *Dyā's* source.

I have just discovered that Professor Peterson gave up his view of *Dyā's* date. In his Report for 1886–92, p. lx, he writes: "The date assigned by me to *Dyā Dvivedin* is wrong. The commentary shows that the line, in which the date is given, is to be read

*binduśaraśaraikena mite samvati durdabhe,
vatsare māghasuklādāv akarot Dyā tithāv imām.*

Dyā Dvivedin, therefore, wrote in samvat 1550, and Professor Kielhorn was right in pointing out that he often used *Sāyana*. See *Ulwar Catal.*, No. 37."

The date thus given, corresponding to A.D. 1493, is in itself quite acceptable. But the Ulwar MS., to judge from the specimens in Peterson, contains quite a different recension of the text from that in the MSS. used by me, and gives Dyā's ancestry differently, besides assigning to him Ānandapura (perhaps Vāṇanagar, in Upper Gujerat) as his place of abode. So I hesitate to put much confidence in this date, unless further confirmation is forthcoming.

Oxford, July, 1900.

4. THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF VAN : LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

Queen's College, Oxford.

August 27, 1900.

SIR,—In my Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, Pt. IV, lxxvii, 9 (J.R.A.S., January, 1893), I arrived at the conclusion that the word (GIS) *uldi* signified "a post." An inscription of Argistis II, recently discovered and published by Drs. Belck & Lehmann (Nos. 130 and 131 of their collection) makes it the equivalent of the ideographs GIS KARANU, and thus shows that it was a particular kind of post, a "vine-stock" namely. Indeed, as *udulis* was "a vine," it is possible that it is sometimes used in the sense of "vineyard"; in this case we should have to translate xxiii (*Menuainei kilāye Taririai ini uldi Tariria-khi-ni-li tt-ni*), "In honour of Taririas, the mother of Menuas, this has been called the vineyard of Taririas."

Now, the discovery of the exact meaning of *uldis* clears up that of another word, *zaris*, which I had supposed to mean "door." *Zaris*, however, has nothing to do with *zaises*, "a gate." In lxxvii, 9, 10, we read, (GIS) *ulde* (GIS) *sare* *terubi zadubi arnisi-ni-li istini*; in lxiv, 1, 2, ALU (GIS) *uldi* (GIS) *zari* [*teruni u SE-KAL-*]MES *arniusi-ni-li is-[tini du-li?]*; and in lxxix, 18–21, *terubi ikuka-khi-ni kigu GIS-KARANU GIS-TIR-GAN u SE-KAL-*[MES] *arniusi-ni-li isti[ni] duli inani*. Here (GIS) *zari* or *sare* is made the equivalent of the ideographs

GIS-TIR-GAN, "grove of the garden" (*kistu sa meristi*), and *zaris* accordingly must mean "a garden grove" or "plantation" consisting of peaches and pomegranates and similar trees. In W.A.I., ii, 23, 57*e*, it is said that *sarme*, or rather *sarwe*, signified "a forest" or "grove" (*kistu*) in the language of Šu (i.e. Šuri or Northern Mesopotamia), and by the language of Šu, as I first pointed out in the *Academy* (Jan., 1890, p. 64), the Assyrian scribes meant the language of Mitanni.

A. H. SAYCE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE EARLY ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL. By
C. R. WILSON, M.A., Bengal Educational Service.
Volume II, part 1. (London : W. Thacker & Co.,
Creed Lane, 1900.)

This is a continuation of the excellent work, the first volume of which has been already noticed on pp. 178-183 of this Journal for January, 1897. The present instalment covers the years 1711 to 1717. As in the former volume, there is a very good introduction; it gives an account of Calcutta under the rule of Weltden, Russell, and Robert Hedges. The Addenda include notes on the family history of these governors and other subjects of interest. The Letters and Diaries of the Surman Embassy to the Great Mogul will, we understand, appear as Part 2 of the present issue. We have several entries in this volume relating to that mission, and incidentally, on p. 155, we have a graphic and hardly overcharged picture of the way audience was accorded by the Dibli emperor in the days of his glory.

"Whoever the Great Mogull is pleased to Honour with leave to appear in his presence will after he is disarmed be admitted into a Court Yard where he must stand exposed to the weather, (whatever it happens to be) at the appointed distance which will be out of hearing a word the King shall speak, who looking out at a window a Story high in his Pallace every man in sight of him must stand with his Arms

a little crossing on his Stomack and his Toes close together without presuming to look up, when the King goes from his Window a Curtain is lett fall and every man in the Court Yard Shuffles away without observing any order this is a Short account of the reception the King will give, but his Ministers generally admit Foreigners to sett Cross Legged in their Presence and talk to them but scarcely of their business for that must be treated by means of their under officers."

There are a great number of strange words scattered up and down these old records; and, even after Mr. Wilson has worked hard at them, there are still many left without explanation. One or two instances may be given. The odd word *Botard* on p. 175, evidently the title of some Mogul official, is, we would suggest, meant for *Buyūtāt*, formed by a double plural from *Bait* (Arabic), a house, *Buyūt*, houses. The proper form for the holder of the office is *Buyūtātī*; but it is generally contracted into *Buyūtāt*, of which *Botard* is an easy corruption. The duties of the office were connected with the enforcement of escheats to the Crown, and the collection of the hated Poll Tax or *Jizyā*.

The *swanagur* of the same page is for *Siwāniḥ-nigār*, news-writer, an official who must be distinguished from the *Wāqa'h-navīs*, the official journal-keeper or recorder. The latter prepared a gazette or record of official acts, changes of officials, and so forth; the former, the *Siwāniḥ-nigār*, was a sort of spy or retailer of gossip and complaints. Both of these officials were in direct communication with the *Dāroghah-i-dāk* (Superintendent of the Post) at the emperor's court, and they sent in weekly or fortnightly reports. On p. 289, under the date of 25th November, 1717, we see that when the mace-bearer (*Gurz - bardār*), a very important personage, arrived from Court with the imperial *farmāns* granted to the East India Company by Farrukhsiyar, the *Wāqa'h-navīs* and the *Siwāniḥ-nigār* both came down with other officials from Hūgli, "to take notice of Ceremonys and Respect we mett and received the King's favours with," and both received a present of broadcloth for their pains.

DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA. Translated from the Pāli [of the Dīgha Nikāya] by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Being Sacred Books of the Buddhists, volume ii. (London, 1899.)

One is sometimes tempted to wish that there might grow up a body of international law for scholars—*paṇḍicca-dhamma*, so to say—which should provide, among other things, a pillory for those sinners against all the economics of scientific advance who edit texts and do not also translate them. The comprehending of a hard text and the editing thereof must proceed *pari passu*. When the editing is done, and well done, who in all the world is so well qualified to say what it means as the editor? His peculiar qualifications are the fruit of long and special study, and are often simply thrown away—so far as his colleagues are concerned—by his neglect to use them for the construction of what is, after all, the most convenient, the briefest, and the best of all comments, a good translation. I am convinced that Indian studies would have been a more important factor in the intellectual life of our day, and even that they would have made better progress, had the masters of Indology devoted more of their time to the work of translation and popular exposition. This work is too often left to second-rate men, and with results that are lamentable. “What is the use of your erudition?” “What rapport can you establish between your department of science and the material, intellectual, and spiritual needs of to-day?” Such are some of the blunt questions that confront the scholar of the English-speaking world, and that may not be ignored with top-lofty indifference.

The Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893 awakened great interest in the Eastern systems; and ever since that time there has been here in New England a steady succession of expositors and teachers of the religious life and

beliefs of India. There has come into vogue a dabbling with the 'isms' of the Land of the Rose-apple, which has often been directed or misdirected by worse than half-knowledge of what those 'isms' really signify. And its mischievous outgrowth has been a flabby mongrel eclecticism.

Very timely, therefore, is the appearance in English form of such ancient and authoritative texts of Buddhism as are these Dialogues of the Dīgha Nikāya, and withal from so masterly a hand as that of Professor Rhys Davids. He, at any rate, has not shirked the work of translation, as no less than six volumes of the Sacred Books of the East attest. Thirteen suttas, or considerably over a third of the Pāli original of the Dīgha, were edited by him, with the collaboration of Professor Estlin Carpenter, about ten years ago; and a little earlier appeared Buddhaghosa's comment on the first seven of these suttas from the same hands. The translation before us just covers those first thirteen suttas. And it is most pleasant to learn from an incidental note on p. 239 that Davids has definitively planned to give us more (let us hope, the whole) of the Dīgha in English.

Some of the suttas have an especial interest for us, in that they were among the very first Buddhist texts to become known in the West. The "Perfect Net" was translated by Gogerly over fifty years ago; and the "Fruits of the Life of a Recluse," a little later by the great Burnouf, the version being hidden away as a kind of excursus to his note on the technical term *kleśa*, which forms the second appendix to his "Lotus"! Marvellous as are the erudition and breadth of grasp displayed in Burnouf's big quarto, it does seem as if a few compact octavos like the one before us, each laying before students of the Occident a distinct and important text, were much more likely to be of practical service.

The intrinsic interest of the Dīgha, however, seems to me, if I may venture so comprehensive a statement, to transcend that of almost any other scripture of the Buddhist canon. It is the last forty-five years of Gotama's life that

made it what it has been for humanity. Barren indeed they are of such striking incidents as form the themes of the beautiful and touching legends of his childhood and young manhood; but he was, above all, a great teacher; and it is his teachings, that is to say, the very essence of his life-work, that we find presented, with great directness, in the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima*.

The translation premises some interesting general considerations concerning the Sacred Books. The *Piṭakas* were known and regarded as authoritative at the time of the *Milinda*, say the beginning of our era. It is to the Five *Nikāyas* that Tissa, in the *Kathā-Vatthu*, which he wrote about 250 B.C., regularly appeals. In the inscriptions of the same date already adduced by Bühler and Hultzsch (*Epigr. Ind.*, ii, 93), the "followers *or* reciters of the Five *Nikāyas*" are clearly mentioned; and Aśoka's Bhabra edict recommends to the Order as especially edifying some seven passages, no less than five of which have been identified in the *Nikāyas*. The method of Buddha's teaching has much that reminds us of the Socratic; and the essence of his doctrine was, in accordance with the usage of his day, couched in set forms or *sūtras*, which served as the themes to the endless variations which constitute the most striking stylistic peculiarity of the Buddhist literature. At Buddha's death, his *λόγια* were collected by his disciples and form the substance of the Four Great *Nikāyas* (although hardly put into final shape till half a century later), and were so handed down for a couple of generations by oral tradition.

Most illuminating is Davids's exposition (pp. 206-8, 232-3) of the attitude of mind in which Gotama conducted his religious disputations. He truly puts himself in his opponent's place; refrains from disturbing his prejudices harshly; makes the most of such points as are common to both; and thus, with marvellous patience and dignity, he leads the questioner on, until at last he has shown him "a more excellent way." In the *Kassapa*-dialogue (p. 232, note) "*Kassapa* uses the word *Brāhmaṇa* in his own sense; that is, not in the ordinary sense, but of the ideal *religieux*."

Gotama, in his answer, keeps the word; but he means something quite different, he means an Arahāt." Just such *aperçus* as these are most helpful; they do more than any dictionary or minute comment to effect for the young student of Buddhism in his new and strange environment what I may call his mental acclimatization.

As for the actual substance of the dialogues, although it cannot well be summarized, some notion of it may yet be given. Davids renders the title of the first as "The Perfect Net," a happy version of a happy title: for in this dialogue the holders of the sixty-two "views" are completely enmeshed, as might be the fishes of a little pool which some fisher should drag with a fine-meshed net. The speculators whom Gotama here confutes are those who proceed from the traditional theory that there is such a thing as "a soul," an individual entity, continuous, and separate from the body. The denial of this theory is (with the assertions that all things are transitory and that all things are misery) one of the three fundamental elements of Buddhist doctrine. The "Net," therefore, very properly comes first; and, no less appropriately, the dialogue that aims to justify the establishment of an Order comes immediately after it, as second. That these two dialogues held a very important place in the oldest tradition is highly probable (p. 59). Ostensibly, the subsequent dialogues deal with less fundamental matters: the third is a question of caste; the fourth asks what is the true Brahman? the fifth, what the true sacrifice? the seventh, is the soul the same as the body? Others treat of the mystic trance, the miraculous powers, and so on; while the last is of surpassing interest in itself and as indicating that the flower of Indian mysticism was as full blown as the blossom of the monism of the Upanishads in Buddha's own day.

The lofty morality and noble thought of these dialogues constitute of course their best claim upon our interest, but not their sole claim. Incidentally they abound in matter of the deepest significance for the student of Indian history and antiquities. We have here a passage about the great

heretics or *Titthiyas*, among them the famous *Jaina*,¹ *Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta*, p. 66. At p. 220, the translator discusses a curious list of ten classes of *religieux* from the *Aṅguttara*; and in the *Kassapa-sutta*, p. 227, we have details of the strange vagaries to which the practice of asceticism led. The opening sections of the *Sāmañña-phala* (which, by the way, have much of uncommon interest and beauty) yield a valuable datum as to the calendar and the beginning of the year in *Çrāvāṇa*, p. 66. Here, too, we see how the "Three Refuges" and the "Five Precepts" (p. 182) and the "Noble Eightfold Way" (p. 226) are represented as the immediate teachings of Gotama himself.

The translator fails not to bring out in a striking manner how much there is, commonly credited to Buddhism, which is in fact pre-Buddhistic: so, for example, the Four Raptures or Ecstatic Trances, p. 51. It is well that this truth should be recognized in its wider applications. Thus the tales of the *Jātakas* are not specifically Buddhistic nor *Jaina* nor *Brahmanical*. The old motifs are simply *Indian*. It is only their setting that is essentially Buddhistic.

A glance at the Index reveals the wealth of these texts in the most various data. The list of games, p. 9, is especially curious, and includes "games on boards with eight or ten rows of squares," dicing, jackstraws, tip-cat, and so on. An attractive collection of the "Similes" of the text is made under that heading in the Index, p. 325. The excursus on names and nicknames, p. 193, makes all the more earnest our wish that the translator's *Onomastikon* may not be long deferred.

The annotations contain many valuable items supplementary to Childers. Meantime, pending the elaboration and publication of the extensive lexicographical material to which Mrs. Rhys Davids alludes on p. xcv of her *Dhamma-*

¹ My friend Mr. A. J. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, kindly calls my attention to two most important Buddhist texts on Jainism, accounts of the death of Mahāvīra, the one at *Digha* 29, the other at *Majjhima* 104. These, not accessible to Jacobi in 1894, may be added to the texts given by him, S.B.E., 45, p. xv f.

sangani, it would be a meritorious work if some young scholar should render useable these explanations of hard words now scattered through the Sacred Books of the East and various periodicals, by means of a simple and easily constructed index.

Many questions concerning the history of Pāli literature¹ almost settle themselves with the help of good translations²; their *Uebersichtlichkeit* is so great a convenience that I could not be persuaded to the contrary by the most solemn assurances or contemptuous gibes of the best Pāli scholar living. That the value of the discoveries thus made is in no wise impaired by their obviousness is well illustrated by the *Kūṭadanta*, p. 173. This is essentially a *Jātaka*, with *paccuppanna*- and *atīta-vatthu* and *samodhāna* complete, albeit with important diversities of form; and it is especially noteworthy, p. 164, as not having been incorporated into the *Jātaka* book.

Moreover, any extensive and efficient comparative study of these texts in other versions such as the Chinese or Tibetan is of course impracticable save with the help of abundant translations. I have before me in MS. an English translation from the Tibetan of the *Brahmajāla* by my friend the Hon. W. W. Rockhill. It would be most useful to institute a thorough and careful comparison. Thus the Tibetan cuts short at the outset the interesting *Cūla-* and *Mahā-sīla*, in order apparently to proceed at once to the first *Bhāṇa-vāra*, about the Eternalists; there are differences in the sequence of the doctrines confuted; and both the Pāli and the Tibetan have the same picturesque ending. But space forbids further discussion.

As I attach much importance to a due regard for the convenience and the eyesight of the users of a book, I cannot forbear thanking Professor Davids publicly for the pains he has taken to facilitate reference from the translation to the original and from the original to the translation.

¹ See note to p. 240.

² Used, when they are used, of course, with the originals at hand.

His management of the repetitions, whether by references looking backward or by skilful condensations, is marked by practical good sense. I refer to p. xxi for his theory of their origin and significance, and regret that I cannot here report its substance.

If, as in duty bound, I must spice this notice with the mention of a flaw or two, I will say that the book is in places underpunctuated. Perhaps a pound of pica commas might have been put in to advantage. Doubtless some of Professor Davids's friends have already chaffed him on the over-frequency of his pet locution "set out." On the whole, I like "The Exalted One" for Bhagavant, whether it is the Chāndogya Upanishad or a Buddhist sutta that I am Englishing. Where capitals are used in rendering names like "Great Wood" or "Gabled Hall," p. 197, I think the omission of the definite article would be a distinct improvement. As for an occasional misprint (conconsus, p. 211; nīvāra, p. 233; "398" for "389," p. 199), I remember that Böhlingk once told me that he believed in leaving a few any way—for the critics, I think he said, or (to put it in Vedic phrase) as a sop to the Dogs of Yama. Besides, Davids will retort, "The better is the foe of the good!" and who am I that I should answer him on that point?

But enough. Let me end by calling attention once more to the lofty antithesis of religion and dogma which informs the argumentations of the Digha; to the gentleness and dignity of the Teacher's spirit; and to the *metta* which is naught else than St. Paul's ἀγάπη, "that suffereth long and is kind, seeketh not her own, thinketh no evil." Truly, much of the book may be read with profit as a guide of life. Would that our modern Jingoës might take a lesson from it!

C. R. LANMAN.

Harvard University.
July, 1900.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1900.)

I. NOTES AND NEWS.

MR. A. B. KEITH, who has taken his degree in Sanskrit and Pali at Oxford, is now engaged there in preparing a catalogue of the Hultzsch Collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

THE GOLD MEDAL.

ON July 11th His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales presented the Jubilee Gold Medal for 1900 to Dr. E. W. West. The presentation took place at Marlborough House. There were present—Lord Reay, President; Sir Charles Lyall, Sir F. Goldsmid, and Sir W. Lee Warner, Vice-Presidents; and the following Members of Council: Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Brandreth, Dr. Cust, Mr. Fleet, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Kay, Mr. Lyon, Professor Macdonell, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Wollaston, and the Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids.

His Royal Highness said :

The Royal Asiatic Society has founded a Gold Medal for Oriental scholarship, and has chosen as the medallist for this year Dr. E. W. West, who, born in 1824, was employed as civil engineer in the Bombay Presidency from 1844 to 1866. His duties taking him near the Buddhist cave

temples of which there are so many near the Western capital, Mr. West became interested in the inscriptions. In order to understand them he studied Pali; and his first scholarly work was a glossary of words in the great chronicle, The *Mahā Vamsa* of Ceylon, written in Pali: this was never published. But Mr. West published in 1861 and 1862, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, facsimiles of the inscriptions he had copied at the Kanheri and Nāsik Caves.

Shortly after this, however, Mr. West's attention was attracted to the records of the Zoroastrian religion in the Avesta and Pahlavi dialects of ancient Persia. On his retirement from active service, in 1866, he spent three years at München—there was no provision in England for the purpose—in studying with Professor Haug these ancient records. In 1870 he published, at his own expense, the *Mainyo-i-Khard* (or “Spirit of Wisdom”), and in 1872, in conjunction with Professor Haug, three other old Persian texts.

He then began to work at translations, and from 1880 to 1897 published five volumes in the Oxford series of translations of the Sacred Books of the East, all these being from the Pahlavi. Dr. West is acknowledged to be the greatest living authority on Pahlavi literature; and the elaborate introductions and notes to the texts he had thus been the first to render into English are a mine of information on the history of the Zoroastrian faith and on the very difficult literature in which the remains of its ancient records are preserved. No one else could have done the work he has done so well—work distinguished not only by unique knowledge, but by a sobriety of judgment most important for a solution of the historical problems involved.

Dr. E. W. West is an Honorary Doctor of Philosophy in the University of München, an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society, and a Corresponding Member of the Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences. Besides the above works, Dr. West has published a *History of Pahlavi literature* in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*

and numerous articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

I have very much pleasure in handing to you, Dr. West, this Medal, awarded to you by the Society in consideration of your distinguished services to the objects the Society was founded to promote.

His Royal Highness then handed the Medal to Dr. E. W. West; and the President, on behalf of the Council, gave expression to its most respectful and grateful thanks for the honour thus conferred by His Royal Highness upon the Royal Asiatic Society.

AN INTERESTING CEREMONY AT JUNAGADH.¹

ON Monday, the 4th inst., Colonel C. W. H. Sealy, Alienation Settlement Officer, Junagadh State, laid the foundation-stone of the building to be erected over the ancient rock-inscriptions of Asoka, Rudradāma, and Skandagupta, on the way to the Girnar Hills.

H.H. the late Nawab Saheb, Mahabatkanji, K.C.S.I., the father of the present Nawab Saheb, had erected a small building over the rock to save the inscriptions from the ravages of time. This was done twenty years back; but H.H., moved by the reverence-inspiring suggestions of the Sanskrit scholars and other eminent personages who visited this place, decided some time ago to get a more suitable building put up over the rock in keeping with its world-wide renown and historic importance.

There was a pretty large gathering in the pandal of Amirs, officials of the State, and several Shethias, who had commenced to arrive from 5 p.m., and by the time H.H. Nawab Saheb Sir Rasulkhanji, accompanied by the Heir Apparent, Vali-e-hed Sher Zumakhanji, Madar-ul-Maham

¹ Abridged from *The Kathiawar Times* of June 9th, 1900.

Vizier Baha-ud-deen-bhai, C.I.E., and Diwan Rao Bahadur Chunilal, arrived, the Shamiana was filled with audience and spectators. His Highness and suite were shortly followed by Colonel Sealy, accompanied by the Naib Diwan Khasusiat Dastagah Purushottamrai Jhala.

The Diwan Saheb Khasusiat Dastagah, Rao Bahadur Chunilal Sarabhai, addressed Colonel Sealy on behalf of His Highness as under :—

COLONEL SEALY,—I am desired by His Highness the Nawab Saheb to express to you the great pleasure it has given him to see that you have, in compliance with His Highness' wishes, kindly consented to lay the foundation-stone of a more suitable building which His Highness intends to erect over the world-renowned rock-inscriptions of Asoka, Rudradāma, and Skandagupta, which have from times immemorial graced this city, and which form an object of unabated interest to visitors and men of letters in all quarters of the globe.

The edicts of Asoka, preaching as they do unreserved toleration, universal benevolence, moral obligation, etc., have justly been held in veneration by successive generations; and many of the distinguished savants who have from time to time visited this place expressed a desire to have these precious relics of antiquity housed in an elegant building. His Highness' eminent friend and well-wisher, Sir Charles Ollivant, who has been Political Agent of this Province, and is now a Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, was also desirous, with his wonted well-known keen interest in matters of history, ancient and modern, of Gujarat and Kathiawad, to see that a befitting building was erected over this rare treasure.

The idea of such a building was uppermost in the mind of His Highness, and enquiries were therefore at once instituted by the administration as to the nature of the building and the style of architecture that would best suit the purpose.

The design has just been settled, and now as your labours as Alienation Settlement Officer in this State have been completed, and you are about to rejoin your appointment in the British Service, His Highness considers it most fitting in the nature of things that the laying of the first stone of the proposed building over these old rock-inscriptions should be performed by you, and that your esteemed name should be connected with the edifice that is to be the future receptacle of this glorious relic of the past,

particularly because in the course of your duties as Alienation Settlement Officer of the State you have often had to come across, decipher, consider, and form opinion on many ancient writings and learn in detail the past history of Saurashtra, because your services in this direction have been found to be very valuable and meritorious, and, above all, because you have always taken a warm interest in rare monuments of ancient history like the one we now see before us.

That the Junagadh State is keenly alive to the high value attached to these rock-carved inscriptions, which have withstood the ravages of time, will be amply testified by the fact that with a view to provide against future contingencies, and to leave to generations yet to come another memento (should the present one perchance give way in course of ages) of the past greatness of the Empire of which Saurashtra formed a not unobscured portion, arrangement has been made and the work is commenced to have these inscriptions copied on a rock of equal solidity which has fortunately been found in its vicinity, and to add to these inscriptions a short account of the present period.

During the dire calamity and distress of the severe famine that we are on this side passing through, all that human aid can do to afford relief to the persons requiring it has been and is being done, and numerous works of public utility, varying in magnitude and importance to the ryots, have been started in different parts of this State; and it may be hoped that the advent of the monsoon, which we all look forward to so eagerly, and indications of whose near approach are already visible, will reopen the usual resources and avocation of those now labouring in distant lands for want of the same, and establish them once more in peace and prosperity in their homes.

I cannot help adding that the pleasure of this occasion would have been much augmented by the presence of Mrs. Sealy, who is now in England, and who has with her genial and obliging disposition, her kind-heartedness and courtesy, willingly joined you in all social functions of the State during your stay here. His Highness regrets her absence, and hopes you will kindly convey to her his best thanks for the trouble she has taken on His Highness' behalf.

With these brief remarks, I request, on behalf of His Highness, that you will oblige us by laying the foundation-stone of the building.

The same having been translated into Gujarati for the behalf of the non-English-knowing members of the audience

by Rao Bahadur Gulabdas Laldas Nanavati, our State Judicial Councillor, Colonel Sealy spoke as follows:—

YOUR HIGHNESS, WAZIR BAHAUDDINBHAI SAHEB, DIWAN CHUNILAL,
AMIRS, AND OFFICIALS OF THE STATE—

GENTLEMEN,—Before proceeding to the ceremonial part of the function for which we are assembled to-day, it will not be out of place for me to say a few words. And first I must thank Your Highness for the very appreciative terms in which you have deemed fit to refer to Mrs. Sealy and to myself, as well as for the very kind thought which has prompted Your Highness to assign this pleasant task to myself. I am quite sure that Sir Charles Ollivant will be gratified to hear of this day's proceedings, than whom the State of Junagadh possesses no truer friend and well-wisher.

It is not for me to bring to your notice the terms of the various edicts which are engraved on this rock before us. Those edicts have been translated and commented on by numbers of distinguished archaeologists and savants, and there are, no doubt, many among you who know a good deal more about them than I can profess to do.

But perhaps I shall not be far out in saying that those edicts, ancient though they be, preach a code of morality and civilization which is for all ages. The sword having been laid down, the ruler of a vast kingdom has here indicated the direction in which his efforts were then directed, viz., in the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, the observance of charity and kindness to men as well as to animals, and the encouragement to be given to philosophy and morals.

That monuments of this kind deserve all the care that can be bestowed upon them is a self-evident fact, and when such an authority as His Excellency the Viceroy has spoken on the subject, it is unnecessary for me to add anything.

But I think it is a happy coincidence that this day's ceremony should be synchronous with what we all hope will be the termination of a famine than which none sorer has afflicted this province within the memory of living men. If the grievous affliction, which has visited Kathiawad in common with Gujarat and other even larger tracts of country, has taught both rulers and ruled one lesson more than another, it is, perhaps, the entire mutual interdependence of the one upon the other. Without his patient ryots the chief cannot obtain the sinews of war or the means to advance

the arts of peace, and without the application of such means to useful public works the condition of the ryot can never be ameliorated.

I therefore look upon this day's ceremony as an indication that Your Highness intends to carry on the beneficent ideas of the famous Asoka, of which good intention so many examples already exist in this State, and more especially in its capital. The famine has necessitated the undertaking of numerous works of improvement, all tending more or less to the benefit of the poorer classes of the community, and if it has opened the eyes of the cultivating class to the necessity of making the utmost use of the means in their power and the desirability of laying up something in times of prosperity for days of adversity, the visitation will be a blessing in disguise.

In conclusion, I will take this opportunity of declaring the regret with which I see my connection with this State severed. It is a State of peculiar interest to all connected with Kathiawad, and I need hardly say that during our stay therein Mrs. Sealy and I have received every attention and consideration from Your Highness and all your officers with whom it has been our fortune to come in contact, and we shall always look back to our stay in Junagadh with particular satisfaction.

And now, Your Highness, I am entirely at your disposal to carry out what is required of me.

The above having been explained to the audience in Gujarati by Rao Bahadur Gulab Das, His Highness took Colonel Sealy to the place where the foundation-stone was to be laid, which, on being done, the band struck up a few notes of joy, as the usual declaration of the foundation-stone being well and truly laid was made, and on their return to the Shamiana bouquets and garlands of flowers, attar and pan supari, were distributed.

Colonel Sealy then drove back to his bungalow, accompanied by the Naib Dewan, while His Highness the Nawab Saheb, the Vizier Saheb, and the Divan drove to the Bhavnath Relief Camp and works at the foot of the Girnar, where there have been a poor-house having about one thousand inmates and about six thousand relief-seekers, working for nearly eight months past.

Royal Asiatic Society.

GOLD MEDAL FUND.

IN 1897 the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world; and to meet the expense contributions were invited from those interested in the scheme.

A beautiful design was prepared, and dies engraved, by Mr. Pinches; the first Medal was awarded, on the report of a Committee of Selection, to Professor Cowell, and was presented to him by Lord Reay at a Special General Meeting of the Society, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the Journal for July, 1898. The second Medal was bestowed upon Dr. E. W. West, and presented to him at Marlborough House on the 11th of July, 1900, by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, a Vice-Patron of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The subscriptions (including interest on deposits) amounted to £448 10s. 5d., and the disbursements (including cost of die) to £100 16s. 11d., leaving a balance (after providing the Medal for 1897 and for the present year) of £347 13s. 6d., of which amount £343 13s. 6d. was expended in the purchase of £325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock (a Trustee Stock), and there is therefore a sum in hand of £4 0s. 0d. The amount invested forms an Endowment Fund which will produce an income of £9 15s. 0d. per annum. As this provides the amount which will be required, the Fund in question is complete, and the subscription lists will be closed so soon as all outstanding donations have been received.

A. N. WOLLASTON,
Chairman of Committee.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.
September, 1900.

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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| अ a | ओ o | ट ṭ | ब b |
| आ ā | औ au | ठ ṭh | भ bh |
| इ i | क k | ड ḍ | म m |
| ई ī | ख kh | ढ ḍh | य y |
| उ u | ग g | ण ṇ | र r |
| ऊ ū | घ gh | त t | ल l |
| ए e | ङ ṅ | थ th | व v |
| ऐ ai | च c | द d | श ś |
| | छ ch | ध dh | ष ṣ |
| | ज j | न n | स s |
| | झ jh | प p | ह h |
| | ञ ñ | फ ph | ळ ḷ |

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ˙ (Anusvāra) ṁ | § (Acagraha) ’ |
| ˘ (Anundāsika) ṁ | Udātta ˘ |
| : (Visarga) ḥ | Svarita ˘ |
| × (Jihvamūliya) ḥ | Anudātta ˘ |
| ⌘ (Upadhmanīya) ḥ | |

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

| | | |
|--|------------------|---|
| ا at beginning of word omit;
elsewhere . . . <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u> | ك k | آ a |
| ب b | ل l | ي i |
| ت t | م m | و u |
| ث <u>t</u> or <u>th</u> | ن n | |
| ج <u>j</u> or <u>dj</u> | و w or v | DIPHTHONGS. |
| ح h | ه h | ي ai |
| خ <u>h</u> or <u>kh</u> | ي y | و au |
| د d | | wasla ' <u>َ</u> |
| ذ <u>d</u> or <u>dh</u> | VOWELS. | hamza <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u> |
| ر r | ا a | silent t <u>ه</u> |
| ز z | ي i | letter not pro-
nounced <u>ـ</u> |
| س s | و u | |
| ش <u>s</u> or <u>sh</u> | | |
| ص <u>s</u> or <u>z</u> | | |
| ض <u>d</u> , <u>dz</u> , or <u>z</u> | | |
| ط <u>t</u> | | |
| ظ <u>z</u> | | |
| ع <u>ع</u> | | |
| غ <u>g</u> or <u>gh</u> | | |
| ف f | | |
| ق q | | |

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

| PERSIAN, HINDI,
AND PAKSHTŪ. | TURKISH ONLY. | HINDI AND
PAKSHTŪ. | PAKSHTŪ ONLY. |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------|----------------------|
| پ p | ک when pro-
nounced as
g k | ت or پ t | خ ts |
| چ c or <u>ch</u> | | ڈ or د d | ج g |
| ژ z or <u>zh</u> | گ ģ | ز or ر r | ن n |
| گ g | ڱ ñ | | ک <u>ksh</u> |
| پ s | | | |
| ز z | | | |

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